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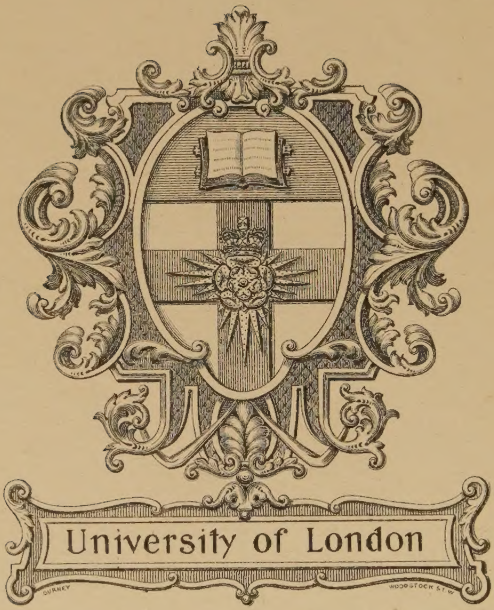
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THE

Parliamentary Debates,

DURING THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AND OF THE

KINGDOM OF GREAT-BRITAIN THE TWENTIETH,

Appointed to meet at Westminster, the Fifteenth Day of December, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Six; And, also, during the First Session of the Fourth Parliament of the said United Kingdom, appointed to meet at Westminster, the Twenty-Second Day of June, in the Forty-seventh Year of the Reign of his Majesty King GEORGE the Third, Annoque Domini One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seven.

VOL. IX.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD

BETWEEN THE 5th OF MARCH AND THE 14th OF AUGUST, 1807.

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1807.

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29. Sierra Leone Company bill.—Messrs. Dent, Wilberforce, Eden, Huskisson, Fuller, Sheridan, lord H. Petty, mr. H. Thornton - - 1001
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LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS, AS IT STOOD IN MARCH, 1807.

Cabinet Ministers.

Viscount Sidmouth	President of the Council.
Lord Erskine	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Holland	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Grenville	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Right Hon. Thomas Grenville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Moira	Master-general of the Ordnance.
Earl Spencer	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Howick	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Right Hon. William Windham	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Lord Ellenborough	Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.
Lord Henry Petty	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Earl Fitzwilliam	(A Seat without an Office).

Not of the Cabinet.

Right Hon. George Tierney	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Earl of Derby	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Auckland	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan	Treasurer of the Navy.
Earl Temple	Joint Paymaster-general.
Lord John Townshend	
Earl of Buckinghamshire	Joint Postmaster-general.
Earl of Carysfort	
Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Secretaries of the Treasury.
William Henry Fremantle, Esq.	
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Arthur Piggott	Attorney-General.
Sir Samuel Romilly	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford	Lord Lieutenant.
Right Hon. George Ponsonby	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. William Elliot	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. Sir John Newport	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS, AS IT STOOD IN APRIL, 1807.

Cabinet Ministers.

Earl Camden	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Portland	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Lord Mulgrave	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master-general of the Ordnance.
Earl Bathurst	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Right Hon. George Canning	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Castlereagh	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Right Hon. Spencer Perceval	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Not of the Cabinet.

Right Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. George Rose	Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Sir James Pulteney, Bart.	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset	Joint Paymaster-general.
Right Hon. Charles Long	
Earl of Chichester	Joint Postmaster-general.
Earl of Sandwich	
William Huskisson, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Hon. Henry Wellesley	
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Attorney-General.
Sir Thomas Plomer	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Sir Arthur Wellesley	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST
OF
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

AS RETURNED FOR THE NEW PARLIAMENT,

Which met on the 22d of June, 1807.

Abbot, right honourable Charles, Speaker, Oxford University

Abercomby, honourable Geo., Kinross-shire

Abercromby, hon. J., Midhurst

Adair, Robert, Camelford

Adam, William, Kinross-shire

Adams, Charles, Weymouth, &c.

Adams, William, Totness

Addington, right honourable John Hiley, Harwich

Agar, Eman. Felix, Sudbury

Allan, Alexander, Berwick

Althorp, visct., Northamptonshire

Andrews, Miles Peter, Bewdley

Anson, George, Litchfield

Anstruther, right honourable sir John, bart.; Anstruther

Antonie, William Lee, Bedford borough

Archdall, M., Fermanaghshire

Ashburnham, Geo. New Romney

Ashley, hon. Cropley, Dorchester

Astley, sir J. H. bart.; Norfolk

Aubrey, sir J., bart.; Aldeburgh

Babington, Thomas, Leicester borough

Bagenal, W., Catherloghshire

Bagot, hon. C., Castle Riding

Bagwell, William, Clonmell

Baillie, Evan, Bristol

Baillie, George, jun., Berwickshire

Baillie, Peter, jun.

Baker, John, Canterbury

Bampfylde, sir Charles W. bart.; Exeter

Bankes, Henry, Corfe Castle

Barham, Jos. F., Stockbridge

Baring, Alexander, Taunton

Baring, T., Chipping Wycombe

Barlow, Hugh, Pembroke

Barne, Snowdon, Dunwich

Barry, John, Max., Cavanshire

Bastard, Edmund, Dartmouth

Bastard, John Pol., Devonshire

Bathurst, right hon. Charles B., Bristol

Beach, Mich. Hicks, Cirencester

Beaumont, Thomas Richard, Northumberland

Beckford, William, Hindon

Bennett, Richard Henry Alexander, Enniskillen

Bentinck, lord C., Ashburton

Benyon, Richard, Wallingford

Beresford, lord George Thomas, Londonderryshire

Beresford, John Claudius, Waterford county

Berkeley, honourable George Cranfield, Gloucester county

Bernard, viscount, Corkeshire

Bernard, Scrope, St. Mawes

Bernard, T., jun., King's county

Bertie, Albemarle, Stamford

Bewicke, Calv., Winchelsea

Biddulph, Robert Myddelton, Denbigh borough

Binning, lord, Cockermouth

Blackburne, J., Lancashire

Bligh, Thomas, Meathshire

Boddington, Samuel, Tralee

Bond, right hon. Nathanael, Corfe Castle

Bonham, Henry, Leominster

Bootle, Edward Wilbraham, Newcastle-under-Lyme

Boscawen, hon. Edw., Truro

Bouverie, hon. B., Downton

Bouverie, honourable Edward, Northampton borough

Bowyer, sir George, bart.; Malmesbury

Boyle, lord visct., Corke county

Bradshaw, hon. A. C., Honiton

Bradshaw, R. Haldane, Brackley

Brand, hon. Th., Hertfordshire

Brandling, Charles John, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Brodrick, hon. W., Whitchurch

Brogden, James, Launceston

Brooke, H. V., Donegalshire

Brooke, lord, Warwick borough

Browne, Anthony, Heydon

Browne, right hon. Denis, Mayo

Browne, Is. Hawk., Bridgenorth

Brownlow, Wm., Armaghshire

Bruce, lord, Marlborough

Buller, Edward, East Looe

Buller, James, Exeter

Buller, James, West Looe

Bullock, John, Essex

Bunbury, sir T. C., bart.; Suffolk

Burdett, sir Fran., bart.; Westminster

Burghersh, lord, Lyme Regis

Burrell, sir Charles Mer., bart.; New Shoreham

Burton, Francis, Oxford city

Burton, hon. F. Nath., Clareshire

Butler, hon. Charles Harwood, Kilkenny city

Butler, hon. J., Kilkenny county

Byng, George, Middlesex

Calcraft, John, Rochester

Calcraft, sir G. T., Wareham

Calvert, J., Huntingdon borough

Calvert, N., Hertford borough

Campbell, Alex., Dumfermlin

Campbell, Archib., Glasgow

Campbell, George, Carmarthen borough

Campbell, J. jun., Rothsay

Campbell, lord J., Argyll-shire

Canning, right hon. George, Hastings

Canning, George, Sligo borough

Carew, right hon. R. Pole, Fowey

Carew, Robert Shapland, Wexford county

Cartwright, William Ralph, Northampton county

Castlereagh, lord visct., Plympton Earle

Cavendish, lord G. A. H., Derby county

Cavendish, G. H. Compton, Aylesbury

Cavendish, Wm., Derby borough

Chaplin, C., Lincoln county

Cheesement, John, Wootton Basset

Cholmondeley, Thomas, Chester county

Chute, Wm., Hampshire

Clancarty, earl of, Rye

Clements, Henry John, Leitrim

Clinton, W. H., Boroughbridge

Clive, lord viscount, Ludlow

Clive, Henry, Ludlow

Clive, Wm., Bishop's Castle

Clonmel, earl of, New Romney

Cochrane, lord, Westminster

Cochrane, hon. G. A., Grampound

Cochrane, Johnstone, hon. Andrew, Grampound

Cockerel, Charles, Lestwithiel

Cocks, hon. Edw. C.; Ryegate

Codrington, Chris. Tewkesbury

Coke, Daniel Parker, Nottingham town

Coke, Edward, Norfolk

Coke, Thos. William, Norfolk

Colclough, J., Wexford county

Cole, hon. Galb. L., Fermanagh

Colquhoun, Archibald, Cullen

Combe, Harvey Chris., London

Cooper, Edw. S., Sligo county

Cornwallis, hon. William, Eye

Cotes, John, Shropshire

Cotterell, sir John Geers, bart.; Hereford county

Cotton, Stapleton, Newark

Cowper, hon. E. Spencer, Hertford borough

Creevey, Thomas, Thetford

Crickett, R. Alex., Ipswich

Cripps, Joseph, Cirencester

Croker, J. W., Downpatrick

Curtis, sir Wm., bart.; London

Curwen, John Chris., Carlisle

Curzon, hon. Robert, Clitherow

Cust, hon. John, Clitherow

Cuthbert, J. R., Appleby

Daly, right honourable Denis Bowes, Galway county

Daly, James, Galway town
Daniell, Ralph Allen, West Looe
Dashwood, Sir Henry Watkin, bart.; Woodstock
Davenport, Davies, Chester county
Davies, R. H., Colchester
Dawkins, James, Chippenham
Dawson, Richard, Monaghan
Deede, William, Hythe
Dennison, John, Minehead
Dent, John, Lancaster borough
Dick, Quinton, Carricfergus
Dickinson, Wm., Somersetshire
Dillon, hon. Henry Aug., Mayo
Disbrowe, Edward, Windsor
Drake, T. D. Tyrwhitt, Agmondesham
Dugdale, Dug. Stratford, Warwick county
Duigenan, P., Armagh borough
Dundas, Charles, Berks.
Dundas, honourable Charles Lau., Richmond
Dundas, hon. Laurence, Malton
Dundas, hon. R., Edinburgh-shire
Dundas, right hon. William, Sutherland-shire
Dupré, James, Chichester
Eden, hon. W. F. E., Woodstock
Egerton, John, Chester
Eliot, hon. William, Liskeard
Ellice, Wm., Great Grimsby
Elliott, right honourable William, Peterborough
Ellis, C. R., East Grinstead
Ellison, Richard, Lincoln city
Elphinstone-Fleming, hon. C., Stirlingshire
Estcourt, T. Grimston, Devizes
Everett, Thomas, Ludgershall
Euston, earl of, Cambridge University
Eyre, Anthony Hardolph, Nottingham county
Fane, Henry, Lyme Regis
Fane, John, Oxford county
Farmer, Wm. M., Huntingdon
Fellowes, hon. Newton, Andover
Fellowes, William Henry, Huntingdon borough
Ferguson, James, Aberdeenshire
Ferguson, R. C., Kirkaldy
Fetherstone, sir T. bart.; Longford
Finch, hon. Edward, Cambridge town
Fitzgerald, right hon. Jas., Ennis
Fitzgerald, right hon. M., Kerry
Fitzgerald, lord H., Kildareshire
Fitzharris, viscount, Heytesbury
Fitzhugh, William, Tiverton
Fitzpatrick, right honourable Richard, Pedfordshire
Fitzroy, lord Charles, Bury St. Edmunds
Fitzroy, lord William, Thetford
Foley, hon. Andrew, Droitwich
Foley, Thomas, Herefordshire
Folkes, sir Martin Browne, bart.; King's Lynn
Folkestone, lord viscount, New Sarum
Forbes, lord visct., Longford
Forester, Cecil, Wenlock
Foster, right hon. John, Louth
Foster, hon. T. H., Drogheda
Foster, J. L., Dublin University
Frankland, Wm., Thirsk
Fremantle, T. F., Saltash
Fremantle, Wm. Hen., Saltash
French, Arthur, Roscommon
Fuller, John, Sussex
Fydell, Thomas, Boston
Fynes, Henry; Aldborough, Yorkshire
Gamon, sir R., bart.; Winchester
Garland, George, Poole
Garrow, William, Callington
Gascoyne, Isaac, Liverpool
Gell, Philip, Malmesbury
Gibbs, sir Vicary, knt.; Camb. University
Giddy, Davies, Bodmyn
Gipps, George, Ripon
Glassford, Henry, Dumbartonshire
Goddard, Thomas, Cricklade
Godfrey, Thomas, Hythe
Gooch, Thos. Sherlock, Suffolk
Gordon, Williams, Worcester
Gore, hon. W. J., Leitrimshire
Gower, lord Gran. Leveson, Stafford county
Graham, James, Cockermouth
Grant, Charles, Inverness-shire
Grant, Francis Wm., Elginshire
Grant, right honourable sir William, knt.; Bamff-shire
Grattan, rt. hon. H., Dublin city
Greenhill, Robert, Thirsk
Greenough, G. B., Gatton
Grenfell, Pascoe, Great Marlow
Grenville, right hon. Thomas, Buckingham borough
Grey, hon. Booth, Petersfield
Grimston, hon. J. W., St. Albans
Grosvenor, Thomas, Chester city
Guernsey, Lord, Weobly
Hall, Benjamin, Totness
Halsey, Joseph, St. Albans
Hamilton, viscount, Dungannon
Hamilton, lord A., Lanerkshire
Hamilton, sir C. bart.; Honiton
Hamilton, Hans, Dublin county
Hammet, John, Taunton
Harbord, honourable Edward; Yarmouth, Norfolk
Harboard, hon. W. A., Plympton
Harvey, Eliab, Essex
Hawkins, Hen.; Boroughbridge
Headley, lord, Malton
Heathcote, Thos., Blechingley
Henderson, Anthony, Brackley
Henniker, lord, Rutland
Herbert, hon. Charles, Wilton
Herbert, Henry Arthur, Kerry
Herbert, hon. Wm., Hants
Heron, Peter; Newton, Lanc.
Hibbert, George, Seaford
Hill, sir George Fitzgerald, bart.; Londonderry city
Hill, hon. Wm., Shrewsbury
Hinchingbrook, lord viscount, Huntingdon county
Hippisley, sir J. C. bart.; Sudbury
Hobhouse, Benjamin, Hindon
Hodson, John, Wigan
Holdsworth, A. H., Dartmouth
Holford, George, Lestwithiel
Holland, sir Nath. Dance, bart.; East Grinstead
Honywood, William, Kent
Hood, sir Samuel, K.B. K.M. & K.F., Bridport
Hope, hon. A., Linlithgowshire
Hope, hon. C., Haddingtonshire
Hope, W. J., Dumfries-shire
Horrocks, Samuel, Preston
Howard, Henry, Gloucester city
Howard, hon. Wm., Morpeth
Howick, viscount, Appleby
Hughes, Wm. L., Wallingford
Hume, sir Abr., bart.; Hastings
Hume, Wm. Hoare, Wicklow
Hunt, Joseph, Queenborough
Huntingfield, lord, Dunwich
Hurst, Robert, Steyning
Huskisson, William, Harwich
Hussey, William, New Sarum
Hutchinson, hon. C. H., Cork city
Jackson, John, Dover
Jackson, Josias, Southampton
Jeffery, John, Poole
Jekyll, Joseph, Calne
Jenkinson, Charles, Dover
Jenkinson, hon. C. C., Sandwich
Jephson, Denham, Mallow
Jervoise, J. C., Yarmouth, Hants
Ingilby, William, Retford
Jocelyn, lord viscount, Louth
Jodrell, Henry, Bramber
Johnes, Thos., Cardigan county
Johnstone, hon. A., Grampound
Johnstone, George, Heydon
Jolliffe, Hylton, Petersfield
Jones, Gilbert, Aldborough, Yorkshire
Jones, Thomas, Shrewsbury
Jones, Walter, Coleraine
Irving, John, Bramber
Keck, G. A. L., Leicester county
Keene, W., Montgomery borough
Kemp, Thomas, Lewes
Kenrick, William, Blechingly
Kensington, lord, Haverfordwest
King, sir John Dashwood, bart.; Chipping-Wycombe
Kingston, John, Lymington
Knatchbull, sir Edward, bart.; Kent
Knox, honourable George, Dublin University
Knox, hon. Thomas, Tyrone
Kynaston Powell, J., Shropshire
Laing, Malcolm, Orkneyshire
Lambton, R. J., Durham city
Lascelles, hon. E., Northallerton
Latouche, D., Catherlogh county
Latouche, J. jun., Leitrimshire
Latouche, Robert, Kildare
Laurence, F., Peterborough
Leach, John, Seaford
Lefevre, Charles Shaw, Reading
Leigh, Charles, New Ross
Leigh, Jas. Hen., Great Bedwin
Leigh, Robert Holt, Wigan
Leland, John, Stamford
Lemon, Charles, Penryn
Lemon, John, Truro
Lemon, sir Wm. bart.; Cornwall
Leslie, Ch. Powell, Monaghan
Lethbridge, T. Buckler, Somerset

Leycester, Hugh, Milborne Port
Littleton, sir Edward, bart.; Stafford county
Lloyd, James Martin, Steyning
Lockhart, sir A. M., Berwick
Lockhart, J. I., Oxford city
Lockhart, Wm. E., Selkirk-shire
Loftus, William, Tamworth
Long, right hon. C., Haslemere
Long, Richard, Wilts
Longfield, Mountifort, Cork city
Longman, George, Maidstone
Lopez, sir M. M. bart.; Evesham
Lovaine, lord, Beeralston
Loveden, Edw. L., Shaftesbury
Lowther, James, Westmorland
Lowther, John Cumberland, Cockermouth
Lubbock, sir John, bart.; Leominster
Lushington, Stephen, Yarmouth, Norfolk
Luttrell, J. Fownes, Minehead
Lygon, hon. Wm. B., Worcester county
Lyttleton, hon. William Henry, Worcester county
Macdonald, James, Newcastle-under-Lyme
Macdowall, Wm., Renfrewshire
Mackenzie, F. A., Ross-shire
Mackenzie, J. R., Dornoc
Macleod, R. B. Æ., Cromartyshire
M'Mahon, John, Aldeburgh
Macnaghten, Edm. A., Antrim
Madocks, Wm. Alex., Boston
Magens, Mag. D., Ludgershall
Mahon, hon. S., Roscommon
Mahon, lord visct., Wendover
Maitland, Eben., Lestwithiel
Maitland, John, Chippenham
Manners, lord Charles Som., Cambridge county
Manners, lord Robert, Leicester county
Manners, Robert, Cambridge town
Manning, William, Evesham
Markham, John, Portsmouth
Martin, Henry, Kinsale
Martin, Rich., Galway county
Mathew, honourable Montagu, Tipperary
Maule, hon. Wm., Forfarshire
Maxwell, sir J. S. H., Annan
Maxwell, William, Selkirk
Maxwell, W. jun., Wigtownshire
May, Edward, Belfast
Meade, hon. John, Downshire
Mellish, William, Middlesex
Milbanke, sir Ralph, bart.; Durham county
Mildmay, sir H. P. S., bart.; Hampshire
Mildmay, H. C. St. John, Winchester
Milford, lord, Pembroke county
Miller, sir Thomas, bart.; Portsmouth
Mills, Chas., Warwick borough
Mills, William, Coventry
Milner, Sir William Mordaunt, bart.; York city
Milnes, Robert Pemberton, Pontefract
Milton, lord visct.; Yorkshire
Monckton, honourable Edward, Stafford borough
Monson, honourable William, Lincoln city
Montagu, Matt., St. Germans
Montgomery, hon. Conyngham, St. Michael
Montgomery, right hon. sir James, bart.; Peebles-shire
Moore, Charles, Heytesbury
Moore, lord Henry, Orford
Moore, Peter, Coventry
Mordaunt, C., Warwick county
Morgan, C., Monmouth county
Morpeth, lord viscount, Cumberland
Morris, Edw, Newport, Cornwall
Morris, Robert, Gloucester city
Mozley, sir Oswell, bart.; Portarlington
Mostyn, sir Thomas, bart.; Flint county
Muncaster, lord, Westmorland
Mundy, E. M., Derby county
Murray, lord James, Perthshire
Murray, John, Wootton-Basset
Murray, sir Patrick, bart.; Edinburgh city
Needham, hon. Fran., Newry
Nepean, right honourable sir Evan, bart.; Bridport
Neville, hon. Richard, Buckingham
Newark, lord viscount, Nottingham county
Newborough, lord, Beaumaris
Newport, right hon. sir J., bart.; St. Mawes, Waterford city
Nicholl, sir John, knt., Bedwin
Noel, Gerard Noel, Rutland
North, Dudley, Banbury
Northey, W.; Newport, Cornwall
Norton, hon. J. C., Guildford
Nugent, sir Geo., Aylesbury
O'Brien, sir Edw., bart.; Clare
O'Callaghan, James, Tregony
Odell, Wm., Limerick county
Oglander, sir W. bart.; Bodmyn
O'Hara, Charles, Sligo county
O'Neill, hon. John, Antrim
Onslow, hon. T. Cranley, Guildford
Ord, William, Morpeth
Ossulston, lord, Knaresborough
Paget, hon. B., Angleseyshire
Paget, lord, Milborne Port
Paget, hon. Charles, Carnarvon borough
Palk, sir Laurence, bart.; Devon
Palk, Walter, Ashburton
Palmer, John, Bath
Palmerston, lord visct.; Newport, Isle of Wight
Parnell, Henry, Queen's County
Parry, Love, Horsham
Patten, Peter, Lancaster
Patteson, John, Norwich
Peele, sir R., bart.; Tamworth
Peirse, Henry, Northallerton
Pelham, hon. C. A., Lincolnshire
Perceval, honourable Spencer, Northampton borough
Percy, earl, Northumberland
Percy, hon. J., Beeralston
Petty, lord Henry, Camelford
Philipps, R. M., Stafford borough
Phipps, hon. Edm., Scarborough
Piggott, sir Arthur, Arundel
Pitt, Wm. Morton, Dorsetshire
Plomer, sir T., knt., Downton
Plunkett, Wm. C., Midhurst
Pochin, Charles, Enniskillen
Pocock, George, Bridgewater
Pole, sir Charles Morice, bart.; Plymouth
Pole, hon. W. W., Queen's County
Pollington, visct., Pontefract
Ponsonby, hon. Frederick, Kilkenny county
Ponsonby, honourable George, Corke county
Popham, sir H. K. M., Ipswich
Porcher, J. D., Old Sarum
Porchester, lord, Cricklade
Porter, George, Stockbridge
Portman, Edw. Berk., Dorset
Poulett, hon. W. P., Yarmouth
Power, R., Waterford county
Praed, William, Banbury
Price, sir Charles, bart.; London
Price, Richard, New Radnor
Primrose, lord visct., Cashell
Prittie, hon. F. A., Tipperary
Pulteney, sir J., bart.; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis
Pym, Francis, Bedford county
Quin, hon. W. H., Limerickshire
Raine, Jonathan, Wareham
Rainier, Peter, Sandwich
Ramsbottom, Rich., Windsor
Rancliffe, lord, Minehead
Rendlesham, lord, Bossiney
Richards, Richard, Hellestone
Richardson, Wm., Armaghshire
Ridley, sir Matthew White, bart.; Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Robarts, Abr., Worcester city
Robinson, John, Bishops Castle
Robinson, hon. Fred., Ripon
Rochfort, Gustavus, Westmeath
Romilly, sir S., knt., Horsham
Rose, right hon. G., Christchurch
Rose, Geo. Hen., Southampton
Royston, lord visct.; Reigate
Russell, lord Wm., Tavistock
Rutherford, J., Roxburgh-shire
Ryder, hon. Richard, Tiverton
St. Aubyn, Sir John, Helston
Salusbury, sir Robert, bart.; Brecon borough
Savage, Francis, Downshire
Saville, Albany, Okehampton
Scott, right hon. sir William, Oxford University
Scudamore, R. P., Hereford city
Sebright, sir J. S., Hertfordshire
Seymour, lord R., Carmarthen
Shakespeare, Arthur, Richmond
Sharp, Richard, Castle Rising
Shaw, James, London
Shaw, Robert, Dublin city
Sheldon, Ralph, Wilton
Shelley, Henry, Lewes
Shelley, Tim., New Shoreham

Sheridan, right hon. Richard Brinsley, Ilchester
Shipley, William, Flint
Simeon, John, Reading
Simpson, hon. John, Wenlock
Simson, George, Maidstone
Sinclair, sir J., bart.; Buteshire
Singleton, Mark, Eye
Smith, George, Wendover
Smith, Henry, Calne
Smith, John, Nottingham town
Smith, Joshua, Devizes
Smith, Sam., Leicester borough
Smith, Thos. Aston, Andover
Smith, William, Norwich
Smyth, William, Westmeath
Sneyd, Nathanael, Cavan
Somerset, lord A. J. H., Monmouth county
Somerset, lord Charles Henry, Monmouth borough
Somerset, lord R. E. H., Gloucester county
Somerville, sir M., bart ; Meath
Spencer, lord Francis Almarick, Oxford county
Stanhope, Walter S., Carlisle
Staniforth, John, Kingston-upon-Hull
Stanley, Lord, Preston
Stanley, Thos. Lancaster county
Stephens, Samuel, St. Ives
Steward, Gab. Tuck., Weymouth and Melcombe Regis
Steward, Richard Tucker, Weymouth, and Melcombe Regis
Stewart, hon. Charles William, Londonderry county
Stewart, hon. Edward Richard, Stanraer
Stewart, sir J., bart.; Donegal
Stewart, James, Tyroneshire
Stewart, hon. Mo. Gr. J., Stewartry of Kircudbright
Stopford, visct., Marlborough
Stirling, sir W., bart.; St. Ives
Strahan, Andrew, Catherlogh
Strutt, Joseph Holden, Malden
Stuart, lord William, Cardiff
Stuart-Wortley, J. A., Bossiney
Sturges-Bourne, Wm., Christchurch
Sumner, G. H., Surrey
Sutton, C. M., Scarborough

Swann, Henry, Penryn
Sykes, sir M. M., bart.; York
Symonds, T. P., Hereford city
Talbot, R. W., Dublinshire
Tarleton, Banastre, Liverpool
Taylor, Charles William, Wells
Taylor, Edward, Canterbury
Taylor, M. A., Ivelchester
Taylor, William, Barnstaple
Tempest, sir H. V., bart.; Durham city
Temple, earl, Bucks
Templetown, lord, visct.; Bury St. Edmunds
Thellusson, George Woodford, Barnstaple
Thomas, George, Chichester
Thompson, sir T. B. bart.; Rochester
Thornton, Henry, Southwark .
Thornton, Robert, Colchester
Thornton, Samuel, Surry
Thoroton, Thomas, Grantham
Thornton, Wm., Bridgewater
Thynne, lord George, Weobly
Thynne, lord John, Bath
Tighe, William, Wicklow
Titchfield, marquis of, Bucks.
Townshend, lord John, Knaresborough
Townshend, hon. W. Aug., Whitchurch
Tracy, H., Tewkesbury
Tremayne, Jno. H., Cornwall
Trevanion, John, Penryn
Tudway, Clement, Wells
Turton, sir Thomas, bart.; Southwark
Tyrwhit-Drake, Thomas Drake, Agmondesham
Tyrwhitt, Thomas, Plymouth
Vane, sir Frederick Fletcher, bart.; Winchelsea
Vansittart, George, Berks.
Vansittart, right hon. Nicholas, Old Sarum
Vaughan, hon. John, Cardigan borough
Vaughan, sir R. W., Merioneth
Vereker, Chas., Limerick city
Vernon, G. G. V., Litchfield
Villiers, right honourable J. C., Queenborough
Vyse, Richard, Beverley

Wallace, right hon. Thomas, Shaftesbury
Walpole, hon. G., Dungarvan
Walpole, lord, King's Lynn
Ward, hon. J. W., Wareham
Ward, Robert, Haslemere
Wardell, Lloyd, Okehampton
Warrander, sir George, bart.; Jedburgh
Wedderburn, sir David, bart.; St. Andrew's
Welby, Wm. earl, Grantham
Wellesley, right hon. sir A., K. B., St. Michael
Wellesley, hon. Henry, Eye
Wemyss, William, Fifeshire
Wentworth, Godfrey, Tregony
Western, Cha. Callis, Malden
Wharton, John, Beverley
Wharton, Rich., Durham city
Whitbread, S., Bedford borough
Whitmore, Thos., Bridgnorth
Wickham, right hon. William, Callington
Wigram, sir Robert, bart.; Wexford town
Wigram, Robert, Fowey
Wilberforce, Wm., York county
Wilder, Francis John, Arundel
Wilkins, Walter, Radnor county
Williams, Owen, Great Marlow
Williams, sir Robert, bart.; Carnarvon county
Williams, Robert, Dorchester
Willoughby, Henry, Newark
Windham, right hon. William, Romney
Winnington, sir T. E. Droitwich
Wood, Mark, Gatton
Wood, Thomas, Brecon county
Wyndham, hon. C. W., Sussex
Wyndham, Hen. Penrud., Wilts
Wyndham, Thos., Glamorgan
Wynn, Charles W. Williams, Montgomery county
Wynn, Glynn, Westbury
Wynn, Hen. W. W., Midhurst
Wynn, sir Watkin William, bart.; Denbighshire
Yarmouth, earl of, Lisburne
Yorke, right honourable Charles, Cambridge county
Yorke, sir J. S., St. Germans

THE

Parliamentary Debates

During the First Session of the Third Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Great Britain the Twentieth, appointed to meet at Westminster, the Fifteenth Day of December, 1806, in the Forty-seventh Year of the Reign of His Majesty King GEORGE the Third. [*Sess.* 1806/7.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, March 5, 1807.

[Minutes.] A considerable crowd assembled this evening, in the avenues leading to the gallery, in expectation of hearing the discussion and further examination of witnesses on the Westminster election petition; but owing to a ballot and a call of the house taking place, the doors were not opened till half past six. On the admission of strangers into the gallery, we found the house engaged in a conversation relative to some irregularities that had been committed, or accident occasioned by persons forcibly entering through the body of the house, by which some members were likely to be injured. Mr. Yorke declared that in case of any repetition of such a proceeding, he should think it his duty to enforce the standing order for the exclusion of strangers. Mr. Fellowes complained in strong terms of the crowd in the lobby, through which he had passed with much difficulty, and at the risk of having his arm broken. Mr. Barham observed, that he had seen a number of strangers force their way in spite of the resistance made by the officers of the house. The Speaker declared it to be the duty of the serjeant, when he found that the avenues to the house were crowded with strangers, to provide proper persons to clear them, and to maintain order.—Mr. White appeared at the bar, with the reduced list of the committee, ballotted to take into consideration the petition complaining of an undue return for the borough of Guilford. The following are the names of the said committee: sir J. Callander, H. Everett, esq. H. Brownlow, esq., R. Dawson, esq., H. Peirse, esq., T. Thistlethwaite, esq., W. Mellish, esq., lord Lovaine, W. Loftus, esq., A. Henderson, esq., lord Paget, W. J. Denison, esq., C. Vereker, esq., Nominees, hon. A. Wellesley, H. C. Combe, esq.—On the motion of lord Howick, there were ordered to be laid before the house, accounts shewing the time of service in his majesty's navy, of Thomas Weatherhead and William Drake; also, accounts shewing the pensions paid to W. Drake from the chest at Greenwich; the occasions on which the said pensions were granted, &c.—On the motion of lord Howick, the house was ordered to be called over on Tuesday, when the noble lord declared, that unless a sufficient excuse should be made by the defaulters, he should move, that the course of proceeding adopted in 1793, of taking them into custody, should be enforced.

[Roman Catholics' Army and Navy Service Bill.] Lord *Howick* rose in pursuance of the notice he had given some time ago, but which had been suspended in consequence of an alteration which it had been deemed advisable to make in the arrangement of the measure, to move for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his majesty's liege subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament; and for leaving to them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. He should have hoped that such a proposition was not likely to meet with much opposition. He should have imagined that to state it to be a desirable object for all governments to unite every description of persons living under them in their own defence, was to state a position which would admit of no dispute. If any additional weight could be given to the strength of this position, it would be given by considering it as applicable to the present time. Was it prudent; was it politic, when we were contending with such a powerful enemy, to prevent a large portion of the population of the country from contributing to the common defence? As, notwithstanding his hopes, the affirmative of this question seemed to be held by some hon. members, he would trouble the house with an explanation of the grounds, on which the bill which he had the honour to propose, was founded. In doing this he should avoid as much as possible entering into the question of the general expediency of such laws as those which his proposed measure went to annul. It was not to be disputed that every government had a right to impose those due restraints which were necessary for its security; but that necessity must be strong and apparent. This was a principle true and incontrovertible. Against what had the exclusions, which it was the object of his bill to remove, been in general directed? Not against religious opinions themselves, but against religious opinions as supposed to be connected with some political principles of attachment, which were inconsistent with the existing order of things. On this ground, and on this ground alone, had the principle of exclusion been supported in latter times. On this sole ground had it been supported by a writer, whose name it was impossible to mention without paying him that tribute of applause which was his due, he meant the late Dr. Paley, a man not more estimable for the excellence of his life than for the simplicity and logical precision of his works. If it were now necessary to state that the connection which formerly existed between the religion and the politics of the catholics of the United Empire had ceased, and that therefore those restrictions which were applicable only to their politics, and not to their religion, were rendered unnecessary, he should feel no difficulty in making that statement, and in maintaining it by unanswerable arguments. If this were allowed, the proposition necessarily followed, that at the present season of difficulty and danger, when it was desirable to unite every heart and hand in the cause of the country, it was most unwise to exclude from that union so large a portion of the people as the catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, amounting in number to nearly a fourth of the whole population of the kingdom, and to prevent them from sharing in the danger and glory of their countrymen. The fact was, that at that very moment a great proportion of our soldiers and sailors (particularly of the latter) were catholics, and was it fitting that parliament should not allow that by right which was already allowed by connivance? By the law which passed in the parliament of Ireland in 1793, the catholics were allowed to hold commissions in the army, and to enjoy those privileges in Ireland, which it was the object of the bill that he meant to propose to communicate generally to the catholics of this country. The bill would go to admit persons of every religious persuasion, to serve in the army and navy without any condition, but that of taking an oath particularized in the bill. Of course, if this indulgence was granted to catholics, it was unnecessary to state that there could be no objection to grant it to any other set of dissenters from the established church, unless some danger could be shewn which he did not at present see. The provisions of the bill would therefore extend to persons of all religious persuasions. What had particularly drawn the attention of his majesty's government to this subject was, the strange anomaly which existed in consequence of the act passed in Ireland in 1793, by which the roman catholics in that country were enabled to hold commissions in the army, and to attain to any rank except that of commander in chief of the forces, master general of the ordnance, or general on the staff. They might rise to be generals, but they were not permitted to be generals on the staff. The effect of this permission so granted to the catholics in Ireland, was a most striking incongruity; for if a catholic, who was by law qualified to serve in the army of Ireland, should be brought to this country by any circumstances which demanded the presence in this country of the regiment in which he served, he would be disqualified by law from remaining in the service, and would have only this alternative, either to continue in the service contrary to the law, and thus subject himself to the penalties and forfeitures consequent thereon, or to relinquish a profession in which he had risen to the rank which he might hold, either by the sacrifice of his fortune, or more probably by a succession of meritorious services, such as proved him qualified to defend the prosperity and assert the honour of the country. So absurd an inconvenience must be remedied. It was felt to be an inconvenience when Great Britain and Ireland were separate nations, and had separate parliaments; and when the act of 1793 was proposed in the Irish parliament, it was declared that a similar proposition should be made in two months in the parliament of Great Britain This was distinctly promised; lord Clare in the house of peers, and lord Buckinghamshire in the house of commons, distinctly stated, that it was the intention of his majesty's government, with all convenient dispatch, to propose a similar bill in the British parliament. The measure which he was about to submit to the judgemnt of the house was calculated to remove the inconvenience, and to reconcile the incongruity complained of, and at the same time to maintain the faith of the British government, by redeeming the pledge to which he had alluded. The beneficial effects of the Irish act were immediately felt, and had since been still more apparent, while not the slightest inconvenience had resulted from it. The shores of Egypt and the plains of Calabria were decisive proofs of the advantages which we had derived from that act, as they were also decisive proofs of the valour and patriotism of those distinguished heroes, who, by their gallant exertions, had deserved and obtained the eternal gratitude of their country. After such a lapse of time since the passing of the Irish act (the causes of which delay he would not then stay to examine, as he feared they could not be satisfactorily explained,) it was his intention to propose to grant to the catholics, and other dissenters of Great Britain, those privileges which, while they were an indulgence to them, would be a source of benefit to the country. As far as it was possible to collect the opinions of the house or the general feelings of the public on this subject, there seemed to be no objection to the measure, as a necessary consequence of the act of 1793, and as a redemption of the pledge given at that period The only objection started appeared to be by those who thought that the proposed measure, by going farther than the act of 1793, established a new principle of concession which ought not to be acceded to. It would now therefore be necessary for him to state in what the two measures differed. The first difference was, that the proposed measure went to permit persons of every religion to serve in the navy as well as in the army. When the Irish act was passed, it was distinctly stated, that in the bill to be submitted to the British parliament leave to serve, in the navy would be included, and the only reason why it was not included in the Irish act was, that Ireland had no navy. If it were right to allow catholics to serve in the army, there could be no possible objection to allow them to serve in the other branch of our warlike establishment, so immediately connected with the prosperity of the country. The difference in the extent of the privileges granted by the two measures was this: the Irish act, while it admitted catholics to hold commissions in the army, did so under certain restrictions, by which, as he had before-mentioned, they were prevented from becoming commanders in chief of the forces, masters general of the ordnance, or generals on the staff. No such restriction was intended to be proposed in the present instance, because it was not believed that such a restriction was founded on any good principles; for if any danger attended the admission of catholics into the army, it was the duty of the legislature not to restrain, but wholly to exclude them. The same principle which induced his majesty's ministers to propose the adoption of a similar law for the two countries induced them to propose the abolition of a similar law for the two countries, induced them to propose the abolition of restrictions —consistency; for there could be nothing more incongruous than the consequences of these restrictions, which might be attended with considerable inconvenience to the service. A catholic might, by the Irish act, rise through the regular gradations, and become a field officer: he might become a major, a lieutenant-colonel, a colonel; in this last capacity, he might have the command of a corps equal in number to that frequently under the orders of officers of superior rank; he might shew himself eminently qualified for a situation of greater trust; he might distinguish himself to such a degree as to be called upon by the voice of the army and the people to fill that situation; but it would be impossible to create him a major-general! This was a great discouragement to the catholic officer; it was a greater disadvantage to the country, which, by such a restriction, had lost the extended services of many a brave and skilful man. Nor did the restrictions form any security against danger, if danger could be supposed to exist. And after all, it must be considered, that the proposed measure only enabled his majesty to appoint such persons to situations of high importance. Their appointment must depend upon the executive government, who of course would avoid any dangerous or improper use of their authority. In addition to the advantage of enabling the country to avail itself of the whole extent of its population, without any of those restrictions which operated merely to keep up a spirit of discontent, and to damp that ardour which might otherwise be so successfully directed to the public service, the proposed measure, in addition to these things, provided for all who should enter his majesty's service the free and unrestrained exercise of their religion, as far as it did not interfere with their military duties. Perhaps it would be said that this might be accomplished in another way, by giving directions to that effect; but he was apprehensive that this could only be partially done; besides, the insecurity and instability of such a mode of proceeding would deter catholics entering into the army, and would furnish to those who might be desirous of preventing them, sufficient means of persuasion. Let them have full security in the shape of a clause in an act of parliament: let them have the sanction of the legislature and all doubt would be removed. If there was any possible utility in this provision, when it was considered that it could be attended with no possible inconvenience or danger, he trusted that it would meet with no objection. He had thus stated briefly the objects of the proposed bill. Briefly, because he was not aware that in this stage the measure would occasion much debate. He could, indeed, hardly persuade himself that any serious objection to it could exist in the minds of the house or of the public; with regard to the latter part of it, the whole extent of the provision was, to prevent dissenters from being interrupted in the exercise of their own religion, and compelled to adopt a religion, irreconcileable to their faith. This was the whole extent; it held out no encouragement to them; it established no institution for their support or increase. The abolition of restrictions in point of rank would place before the sons of the gentry of Ireland, those fair objects of ambition, it would open to them that career of glory, the pursuit of which was synonimous with the advancement of the best interests of the empire. On the commonalty of Ireland the measure must have a powerful effect, by affording a salutary check to the increasing superabundant population of that country, as it would induce numbers to enter into the service of his majesty, even of those who by their own discontents, and by the artifices of others, had so lately been urged into insurrection and rebellion.—The noble lord concluded with moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects in his naval and military forces, in the manner therein mentioned."

Mr. *Perceval*, although he would not at present enter into any debate on the proposed bill, yet, as the principle of it was one which he felt it his bounden duty to oppose, he thought it right, even in the first instance, to apprise the noble lord of the nature of his objections, and to call the serious attention of the house, and of the public, to one of the most important and most dangerous measures that had ever been submitted to the judgment of the legislature. It was not so much to the individual measure which he objected, but to the system of which it formed a part, which was growing day after day, and threatening to expand into the most alarming magnitude. If it was desirable to preserve any thing of our ancient and venerable establishments it could only be effected by making a stand against every fresh attempt at innovation. To what did the proposed measure tend? With any degree of consistency its supporters could not stop short of abolishing all the tests which the wisdom of our ancestors had thought it necessary to interpose in defence of our religious establishment. The proposed measure was a partial repeal of the test act, founded on arguments which went to the repeal of that act. It was his firm conviction, that if the legislature wished to preserve Ireland to this country, if they wished to keep the two islands united, they would maintain the protestant interest in Ireland, under which toleration was permitted, and not run the risk of sacrificing that interest to another, which, when in power, had not permitted toleration, and which, if it regained power, might revert to its former practice, as it declared that its principles were unchangeable. It was the more necessary to pause on this subject, as it had been thought wise and liberal to provide the means of support for a priesthood to instruct three millions of people in the catholic religion, and thus perpetually to combat the progress of protestantism. From the arguments that were advanced at the present day, a man might almost be led to suppose that one religion was considered as good as the other, and that the reformation was deemed only a convenient and political measure. He was far from ascribing indifference on this point to the noble lord, who, he was sure, gave the preference where it was justly due; but the noble lord had said, that it approached to a spirit of persecution for parliament to hesitate in appropriating the funds of the country to the support of those who preached a doctrine subversive of the religion of the country. He might be wrong; it might be policy so to dispose of the national revenue: it might be called for by the true and enlightened spirit of Christian toleration. He certainly did not think it was. He had as great a regard for true toleration as any man. He would never restrain the free exercise of religious worship in any individual; for he could not conceive that one man could commit a greater crime against another than by such an interference. But however strongly he might feel this sentiment, the application of it to any particular measure was a very different consideration. The noble lord proposed to open the army and navy to persons of all religions, and he founded this proposition on the Irish act of 1793, and on the incongruity which this act produced. To this he could not bring himself to consent, without a much stronger case than that which was made out by the noble lord. If the grievances which had been stated by the noble lord ever existed in possibility, they had at least never been experienced in practice. There was not an instance of a single individual having been injured or prosecuted in consequence of them. Besides, these grievances, if there were any, had existed not only since the union of Great Britain and Ireland, but since the union of England and Scotland; for there was no difference between the inconvenience sustained by the catholic of Ireland, on entering his majesty's service, and the inconvenience sustained by the presbyterian of Scotland on doing the same. The presbyterian of Scotland was sacrificed as much as the catholic of Ireland; but had there been any disposition evinced on the part of the presbyterian of Scotland to withhold his services? But, setting this aside, he denied the proposition of the noble lord in point of law; he denied that a catholic, who obtained a commission in Ireland, was liable to any penalties, if called over to exercise his military duties in Great Britain. If this was not so, we should have an act which compelled a man to perform a certain duty, and which yet did not protect him in the execution of that duty which it compelled him to perform; such an act was not to be found in the code of British and Irish jurisprudence. Did not the united parliament, which must be supposed to be as well acquainted with the laws of Ireland as with the laws of Great Britain, pass every year a mutiny bill, which enabled the king to require the services of every man in his army in any part of his dominions to which he might think proper to summon him: and was it to be supposed that he was insecure in doing that, the refusal to do which would subject him to be shot? And after all, if any inconveniences actually did occur, the annual indemnity act would completely cover the case. This was, therefore, not a substantive grievance, and to ground the proposed measure on it was a mere pretence. There were ulterior causes for its being brought forward. What were they? It was proposed to do away the restrictions by which catholics were prevented from holding superior commissions in the army, and this on arguments which would affect equally every situation in the country, civil as well as military. It certainly was a great discouragement in any profession that the professors could not arrive at the highest distinctions. In his own profession it must be great discouragement to a catholic lawyer, to know that he could not be made a judge or a chancellor. (hear!) He saw that some of the gentlemen opposite were prepared to go the utmost extent, and to say, that in every profession and every employment there ought to be no distinction between the catholic and the protestant. Did those gentlemen perceive that their reasoning extended even to the succession to the crown? He had thrown out these observations to provoke this expression of sentiment from the gentlemen opposite, and to shew that they thought the road to the highest honours in the state should be opened to persons of every description, without any disqualification whatever. Taking it on this ground, the question would become narrowed; it would not be, whether you would allow catholic officers superior rank, but whether you would allow those arguments to be well founded by which that proposition was maintained, whether you would tranquillize Ireland by feeding its insatiable appetite with the hope of getting all that it demanded. If this were to be the policy of this country, there was but one line of wisdom to be pursued:—to do every thing; to transfer the church of Ireland to the catholics; for unless that were done, little progress would be made in tranquillizing Ireland. Partially to redress grievances, would only have the effect of making those that remained more severely felt, or at least more loudly complained of. Why, then, the question was simply this, whether the legislature would give up the protestant ascendancy in Ireland, or whether they would make a stand, and say, "We have already done every thing that toleration requires and that the catholics have a right to demand?" Undoubtedly, such a declaration would be the dictate of sound policy and discretion. In one of his statements the noble lord had palpably contradicted himself; for, in the first place, he endeavoured to make the house believe, that the army and navy were crowded with catholics; and then he recommended that they should have a free admission. With respect to the proposition for the free exercise of religion, it was unnecessary; for if it were thought proper, his majesty might introduce such a regulation in the articles of war. But if it were to be made the subject of a legislative provision, the utmost confusion must ensue. One soldier would go to a methodist's chapel, another to a presbyterian conventicle, a third to a roman catholic church; in short to every place of worship but a protestant one; for it was curious enough, that there was to be no legislative provision for the protestants to go to the church of England. But, if all this confusion would take place in the army, what must happen in the navy? The noble lord had declared that he apprehended no inconvenience from this unprecedented toleration in the navy. No inconvenience! Suppose the captain and crew of a man of war were roman catholics, they must have a roman catholic clergyman—(A cry of no! no!)—Why, as a captain of a man of war had a right to appoint his chaplain, if he were a roman catholic, he would scarcely appoint a protestant clergyman. Perhaps it was intended that this should be determined by the admiralty board. But it would be difficult for that board accurately to ascertain the proportion in a crew between the catholics and the protestants. This too he would maintain, that, in case of any invasion of Ireland by a French force, the commander of which should issue a proclamation in support of the roman catholic religion, that invasion would not be so vigourously repelled by a roman catholic captain and crew, as by a protestant captain and crew. These were considerations which ought to excite the jealousy and apprehension of the house and of the country; but he was not so anxious to call their attention to the particular measure now proposed as to the principle of innovation which was gradually increasing; and was much more formidable, thus stealing on by degrees, than if it were fairly exposed in all the magnitude to which it seemed intended that it should arrive. In that case, the notice of parliament would be strongly attracted to the subject; it would take it up in an extensive point of view; it would determine upon it deliberately, and he trusted wisely. The consequences of a storm he should not be apprehensive about; but these gradual approaches were dangerous, because each by itself was not deemed worthy of notice. It should be considered, however, that even if they were little in themselves, their consequences were not so. For his own part, he was satisfied that if parliament allowed their accumulation, it would ultimately have that extorted from its weakness, which its wisdom would be desirous to withhold.

Lord *Temple* said, that he considered it a misfortune to have heard the speech that had been delivered by the hon. and learned gent. who had just sat down: he could not help saying, that it appeared to him to savour much of opinions long since obsolete, and to breathe a kind of spirit fitter for the darker ages, than for the liberal and enlightened times in which we at present lived. Was it necessary at this time of day to go into formal proof of the impolicy, the madness of intolerance? Was it necessary now to prove, that it ever defeated its own end, and contributed to establish what it had conspired to overthrow? He hoped that it was not, and yet the speech of the hon. and learned gent. would lead the house to suppose, that that gentleman himself entertained doubts of a truth, he might say, universally assented to, and confirmed by the successive experience of ages. He would ask the hon. and learned gent. if it were wise, just or politic, to exclude the brave fellows who made up a considerable portion of our navy and army, from the advantages and the glory of the service, when they shared in all its dangers? It was not usual in so early a stage of a bill to go into all its merits, and he should not now do so; he could not however abstain from entering his solemn protest against the revival of all those intolerant bigotries, which had in all times been productive of the most mischievous effects. The hon. and learned gent. had insinuated gloomy predictions in case of the enemy affecting a landing in Ireland. Upon what were these apprehensions founded, but the evils which the proposed bill purposed to remove; by removing the evil, the discontent so much dreaded by the learned gent. would no longer exist. It had been said too, that if so much was given to the catholics, they would require all; they would not stop here, nor be satisfied till the established church of Ireland was a roman catholic one. But to this argument he considered it a sufficient answer to say, that all that was asked in the present instance was a boon of a limited extent; and that was only in case of more being asked, or being attempted to be granted, that the hon. and learned gent's. argument would have its effect. In short, the whole question reduced itself to this, whether the exact boon now asked, was such as, if granted, could render the catholics, either in this country or Ireland, the objects of jealousy or distrust? In vain would it be to expect allegiance from those, who were, at the same time, told, that they were unfit to enjoy the benefits of that allegiance; or to look for attachment from those, who were not to receive any support from the government of the country.

Mr. *Yorke* approved of the principle of the bill proposed, as applied to the roman catholics of England; but it was a distinct question how far it should apply to Ireland. He did not think it fair that the roman catholics in Ireland should have any advantages over those in any other parts of the empire. His hon. and learned friend's speech did not appear to him to have deserved the severe animadversion to which it had been subjected by the noble lord who had spoken last. The noble lord had objected to that speech as more worthy of the darker ages. No one who knew the great talents and enlightened mind of his hon. and learned friend could suppose that any speech of his could deserve such a description. The sentiments his hon. and learned friend had uttered, were those of 1688, and he wished to know if the noble lord thought the times that placed the house of Hanover on the throne of these realms were the darker ages. He agreed entirely with his hon. and learned friend as to the necessity of putting at length some limits to those daily innovations on the church of England establishment. He did not wish to revive unpleasant remembrances, but, at the same time, as it was impossible to forget the spirit of insurrection which prevailed amongst the Irish catholics in the year 1798, so it must not be wondered at, if feelings of considerable jealousy were excited on the present occasion. As to the roman catholics of this country, they had undergone the purgation of centuries, and must be considered as good and loyal subjects. He saw no necessity for introducing the present bill, and particularly that clause which went to authorise to all persons in the army and navy, not of the communion of the church of England, the free exercise of their religious worship; for he had never heard any practical difficulty stated, or any real ground of complaint respecting catholic officers and men being prohibited from attending divine worship in their own way; and he had personally known some catholic officers in the army, who had made no difficulty of going with their division to church. When the Reformation first took place the catholics made no objection to attend the worship, but only the sacraments of the church of England; for although the protestant church expunged and rejected what it considered as erroneous, still it retained a part of the formularies made use of in the church of Rome; he therefore saw no serious grievance existing which required to be remedied by an act of parliament; and he really thought it was much better policy not to attempt to remedy the grievance in this way, which ought not to be resorted to without a cause of strong necessity.

Mr. *Montague* declared, that he considered whatever related to the protestant religion, as distinguished from the roman catholic, to be of serious importance to this country, and that the preservation of the protestant establishment was essentially requisite to maintain the peace both of this country and Ireland. Upon the subject of religion, the house had two principles to look to; the first was that of toleration, without which nothing could go on well in a country; and next to this was the security of the establishment. He was afraid, from the arguments which had been adduced by the noble lord who had introduced this measure, that similar innovations would be pressed upon the house, and would at last proceed so far as to render it impossible for parliament to maintain the tests which experience had proved to be so useful. The same sort of arguments would go to admit all dissenters into all offices and places of public appointment, even those which a large majority of that house, formerly, and which the nation at large had considered as dangerous to the religious establishment of the country. The constitution of this country and a church establishment were so interwoven with each other, that the one could not be affected without endangering the other. He, therefore, for one, would consent to toleration so far only as it did not tend to endanger the establishment, and he was entirely of opinion with his hon. and learned friend near him, that they had already gone far enough, and that any further innovation would be unnecessary; for what was the argument of the noble lord? It was an argument founded upon the anomaly between the two religions. This argument proved too much, for if this bill was proposed to remedy this anomaly, then would the innovation grow greater and greater every day, until the anomaly was destroyed by putting the two religions precisely on the same footing; by repealing the bill of rights, and the test act. As to the terms 'darker ages,' he, for his part, did not think that the persons who prefered the protestant religion had darker understandings than those who thought all religions equal. As to the operation of the bill proposed, his learned friend was about to put the case of a ship commanded by a roman catholic captain, but as he was diverted from it, he should beg leave to put it for him:—The captain is a catholic; his crew partly roman catholics. Well; the captain brings a catholic priest on board, nay, not one priest (for he is not to be limited), but a dozen of them, perhaps; and what is the consequence? The priests disseminate their popish doctrines through the ship: some are converted, some not; disunion is thus bred among the seamen; and, instead of preparing to beat the common enemy, they turn against one another, and fall to controversial preaching—(loud laughter). It was not a thing to laugh at: he would assure the gentlemen that it required more serious consideration. He could not help alluding to the levity of certain gentlemen opposite. He was the more surprised to see his noble friend among them (lord Howick), but he was sure the noble lord would be far from intending him any personal incivility. But, as to the popularity of the measure itself, he could not help warning ministers of urging upon the people an innovation of such popular odium. He reminded ministers of the riots of 1780, and cautioned them to beware of similar consequences. The noble lord, little as he seemed to feel this warning, would not be quite so indifferent if his house were burned to the ground (a laugh). Why! was he to be told that the rage of controversy was to be confined to doctors of divinity (a laugh)? Were there not to be found as furious polemics in the mob, as among those who had graduated? As to any obstruction given to the roman catholics in the exercise of their religion, he did not believe it. He asked of gentlemen on the other side, if they knew a single instance of such obstruction? [Here Sir John Newport distinctly answered in the affirmative]. It might be so; but he confessed he had his doubts. He must again advert to the attempts which he perceived were made to put him down. But gentlemen little knew him if they expected to succeed in such attempts. He would raise his voice and speak the sentiments of an honest and independent member of parliament. He had now said what he had to say upon this question, and gentlemen had defeated their own purpose; for if they had not so interrupted him, he should have sat down much sooner.

Mr. *Fremantle* declared, that in his view of the subject, the measure now proposed did not bear upon the constitution of the country. There was no clause in this bill that went to provide for the establishment of the catholic clergy, either in the army or navy. It did not militate either against the bill of rights or the act of settlement, and he should feel sorry if such an impression as this were made upon the public mind.

Mr. *T. W. Plummer* said, this measure appeared to him to be one which called for the serious attention of the house. The country had been deprived for a long time of the services of a large body of people, and now that a fair opportunity offered for granting the present boon, he trusted the time was come, when no honest catholic would be deprived of the opportunity of serving his country.

Mr. *Corry* lamented, that upon the introduction of this measure, an alarm should have been raised, as if it would draw the protestant establishments of England and Ireland into danger. He hoped gentlemen would come to the consideration of this question without prejudice. It was a question of importance, and its tendency was to prevent the natives of Ireland from being banished from the ranks of military fame and glory at home, and being drawn into the service of foreign countries. This measure went to secure their services at home, and ought therefore to be examined upon its own merits. The principles of the revolution ought always to be held in the greatest veneration; but when the house looked to the objects of that revolution, there would be found to be two principal objects in view, namely, the religious and civil liberties of the country. With respect to the latter, he trusted they would never be attended to by a British parliament, and that that house would look with incessant jealousy to any measure that tended to overthrow the liberties of the country; but, with respect to the other object, the protestant religion, it should be remembered, that the question was then, whether a popish house should sit upon the throne? But would any man pretend, that there was a similar danger now? or that the popish religion was ever likely to gain such an establishment in parliament, as to endanger the protestant religion? He was sure that such danger was remote indeed; and that in the present measure, no scintilla of danger of this sort was likely to arise; and he also trusted, that the house would not partake of that alarm, which the hon. and learned gent. had endeavoured to create.

Mr. *I. H. Browne* thought certainly that gentlemen should not be too hasty to take an alarm, till they saw the bill. But with regard to the catholic religion, he considered its spirit to be as hostile to the liberties of this country, as any arbitrary power could be. He trusted that there was no dread of any foreign conqueror; but should a successful and formidable usurper, who has cemented tyranny wherever he has gone, penetrate to Ireland, and avail himself of the Pope's bull, for the re-establishment of the catholic religion in that country, he could not think, that additional indulgences would ensure the loyalty of that body. He was far from thinking that concession after concession would conciliate the affections, or ensure the obedience of the Irish catholics. He foresaw considerable danger from these concessions, as they tended to prepossess the minds of the catholics with expectations of still farther concessions. He was averse to innovations, unless an existing evil could be proved, which could not be remedied but by law; but in the present instance, he was not aware that any such practical inconvenience existed. Unless the house was prepared to go the length of saying, that every office in the united kingdom was to be open to persons of all religions, he could see no good argument for advancing catholics to the highest appointments in the army. He should, however, have no objection to put all the roman catholics in the united kingdom upon the same footing as the Irish catholics now were. The Irish roman catholics had at present every thing which they could reasonably wish for: their property was secure; provision was made for the education of their priests; the military and legal professions were opened to them; in short, they had every thing they could wish for, excepting political power. Ought they, then, to be insensible of the blessings they enjoyed, or ungrateful for the benefits they possess under the best of sovereigns, merely because they did not possess political power? It had been the wisdom of our ancestors to restrain the executive power from conferring the highest offices upon roman catholics, and we ought to revere their memories, and also to do justice to posterity, by maintaining the fences which our ancestors had erected.

Lord *Howick* in reply, said, he had hoped that his motion for introducing the bill would have passed without any discussion. He wished this question to be treated on its own merits. He did not consider it as standing upon the ground of toleration; but that it rested on the footing, that, in consequence of what had formerly passed in the Irish parliament, it was necessary to make the laws in the two countries consistent with themselves, and not to suffer the catholics to be in that anomalous situation in which no people were ever placed before. He saw no reason for that alarm which some hon. gentlemen had endeavoured to create; for, as to this measure, it could be attended with no danger to the religion or establishment of the country. He could not concur in opinion with the hon. and learned gent., that if a person in the army was called out in obedience to the order of his superior, and at the peril of his life, that therefore he could not incur any penalty under possible circumstances; he could not subscribe to the hon. and learned gent's exposition of the law, particularly on the subject of compulsory service, and more especially when he recollected the opinion which that hon. and learned gent. had formerly given on the subject of the volunteers. The Irish act of parliament could only regulate the army of Ireland; and if an Irish regiment removed to England, it was then upon the English establishment, to which the acts of the Irish parliament could not extend, and consequently its officers were subject to all the penalties which a British legislature had enacted. But, from the moment of the union taking place between the two countries, and when there was no longer an Irish army, but the army of the united kingdom, and to which the acts of the united parliament can alone extend, he doubted whether the Irish catholic could receive any commission in the army. He acknowledged, that, *de facto*, the catholics did hold commissions, but it was contrary to existing laws; and although no advantage had been taken of this breach of the law, he would ask, whether it was fair to place the catholics in such a situation, and to pass that over by connivance, which the law forbad, instead of giving it a legal sanction? The hon. and learned gent. had professed himself a friend to the principle of toleration; but toleration, to be complete, must be free from any exclusion whatever, and the only true principle of exclusion, on account of religious opinions, was, when these opinions were connected with political principles hostile to the state; but when this ceased to exist, he would contend that then all disqualifications ought to cease. The hon. gent. who spoke last had contended, that the catholics were only excluded from political power, but was not that an important object? For, how could civil rights be secured to any considerable degree, without the possession of political power? And must not such persons as were disqualified from the acquisition of political power, feel discontented? And ought such exclusions to be considered as necessary, unless when danger would arise from conferring them? But in granting the present boon, no such danger would arise. The Irish parliament had already sanctioned the measure, and formed the precedent. It was true, that Irish catholics might at present enter as soldiers and sailors; but a clause in this bill was provided to grant them security for the free exercise of their religion, and it would afford the catholic officers a greater facility of recruiting for the army and navy. When his hon. friend (Mr. Montague) had carried his alarm so far as to doubt whether this bill would not change the navy into a religious disputing club, and that when all hands where piped, the ship would become a scene of religious controversy; he must say that he could not treat such an argument with his accustomed gravity; but it was reserved for this night's debate to assert that the way to excite religious debate was to soften down differences. His hon. friend had reminded the house of the year 1780, and the fires which were then lighted up. He well remembered that disgraceful scene: but what was the cause? Was it in consequence of the catholics having had new privileges granted them, that they stirred up division? Was it not rather, on the contrary, that a certain person (somewhat in the spirit which had discovered itself that night) had made use of inflammatory language, which had produced the fatal effect? When his hon. friend spoke of the danger to which this house might be exposed, he had only to request of his hon. friend not to promote that danger, by unnecessary alarms: for himself he entertained no such apprehensions. After the extinction of the riots in 1780, when liberty was granted to the catholics, and when the question of similar concessions with the present was agitated in that house, no such consequences ensued; nor would they, at the present, unless the spirit of bigotry should again excite false alarms of dangers, without reality, so as to excite an attack upon men's lives and properties. He declared no man was a more sincere friend to the protestant church of England than himself; but he did not think that the best way of supporting it was by pains, penalties, and exclusions; but on the contrary, by moderation and candour. The present he considered to be a beneficial measure, and that not only to the catholics but to the country at large, and on the principle of general advantage; nor did he consider that there was any thing diigraceful in making concessions, when occasion required. He only wished this measure might undergo a fair examination, being convinced that the result of free discussion always was, that the cause of truth would flourish and prevail. —The noble Lord then moved for leave to bring in the bill as stated in the motion; which was agreed to without a division. The bill was read a first time and ordered to be read a second time this day se'nnight.

[COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY — PRUSSIAN SUBSIDY.]—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the Report of the Committee of Supply. On the resolution for granting 80,000l. to make good a like sum granted to the King of Prussia,

Mr. *Bankes*, regarding this grant as the first instalment of a subsidy to Prussia, and regarding subsidies, though they might be wise in some circumstances, as very generally unwise, felt himself bound to state his sentiments at some length. He would recal the attention of the house to the subsidies granted since the commencement of the late war, every one of which it was thought hard to refuse at the time, but every one of which had altogether failed of producing the benefits expected from it. He first instanced the subsidy to the King of Sardinia, agreed upon in 1793, the amount of which was to be 200,000l. a year during the war. But the King of Sardinia was obliged to make a separate peace in less than 3 years. In the same year a treaty of subsidy was entered into with Hesse Cassel, and that power was obliged to make a separate peace in 2 years. In 1796, another treaty was made with no better result. The electoral troops of Hanover, the margrave of Baden, and the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, subsidised at the same time, all made peace in the same year. In 1793, a subsidy was granted to Russia, guaranteed by the United States. The sum was 50,000l. a month during the war, and 300,000l. in advance, but Russia made a separate peace in 1795. A larger subsidy was granted to Austria in 1795. There was a loan to that power of 4,600,000l. in 1796, and a further loan of 1,603,000l. in 1797. But Austria also was compelled, by distress, to make a precipate peace shortly after. A new loan of 2,000,000l. was advanced in 1800, and, shortly after, the battle of Marengo extinguished all hopes of benefit from the co-operation of Austria. In 1798, a treaty of subsidy was concluded with Russia. The sum to be supplied monthly was 50,000l. with an advance of 300,000l. But the policies of the court of Russia changed suddenly, and that power became our active enemy. In 1800, the electors of Bavaria and Mentz, and other powers, were also subsidised with as little effect. Since the renewal of the war on the continent in 1805, another treaty had existed, and it was only last night that sums had been voted to pay some arrears accrued under that treaty. But that treaty had had no better effect than the former. The fatal battle of Austerlitz compelled that power to make what terms she could, and now we had to make good to Sweden and to Russia the arrears of that unfortunate subsidiary alliance. The present grant seemed to be the commencement of a new system of subsidy. He should not be disposed to cavil at this sum, if it were not to lead to many larger grants. (lord Howick said across the table, no; there is no treaty of subsidy.) The hon. gent. in continuation, said, if there was no provision for subsidy in the treaty with Prussia, he had trespassed too long upon the house. He had addressed the house only on the idea that a larger subsidy was in contemplation.

Lord *H. Petty* stated, that this advance was made by lord Hutchinson for the particular exigencies of the army and the fortresses in Silesia. He conceived the cause of the misunderstanding, that this advance was the commencement of a subsidy, arose from its having been mentioned in the message from his majesty communicating the intelligence of the treaty of peace with the king of Prussia. But there was nothing of subsidy in the treaty, the advance had been made in consequence of a discretionary power given to lord Hutchinson, whose discretion could not be doubted in case any particular emergency required such a grant, or any particular services could be effected by it. This advance had had great effect in preventing the progress of the enemy in the quarter in which it had been applied. He agreed with the hon. gent. that in making future treaties of subsidy, we ought to be regulated by past experience, and that our advantages ought to be regulated by the benefits, which, according to past experience, we might reasonably hope to receive.

Mr. *Bankes*, under the explanation that had been given, had no objection to make good the advance that had been made by lord Hutchinson. He was pleased with the assurance given by the noble lord, that in future treaties of subsidy past experience would be made the guide, and that vast sums would not be advanced without any certain benefit.

Lord *Howick* said, that lord Hutchinson had a discretionary power to make advances in case of any pressing emergency, and he was sure every person would agree that such a discretion could not be placed in better hands. There was no treaty of subsidy. But he would not have the house go away with the idea that government was precluded from granting a subsidy, if circumstances should render it desirable. He agreed that many of the former subsidies were most unwise in principle, and most unproductive in event. But every case depended upon its own circumstances. A principle of caution ought always to be applied, to prevent the advances from being made unnecessarily, or incautiously, so as to hazard a risk, that no benefit would be derived. He dissapproved of all subsidies which would hold out English money to induce foreign powers to enter into war without any objects of their own. But when they were engaged, or ready to engage, for common interests, he thought it would be very wrong not to hold ourselves at liberty to second and support them. He allowed that past experience ought to be made the rule of our conduct with regard to future treaties; but not so far as to prevent us from entering into such treaties.—The resolution was then agreed to.

[MR. PAULL'S PETITION RESPECTING THE WESTMINSTER ELECTION.] Lord *Folkestone* moved the order of the day for taking into further consideration the Petition of James Paull, Esq., complaining of undue tampering with the witnesses summoned to give evidence before the committee, about to be appointed to try the merits of the late Election for Westminster. [See in vol. 8, the proceedings of the 26th of February and the 2d of March.]

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that by the forms of the house, a witness could not stay in the house during the examination of the witnesses. He had summoned Mr. Paull as a witness, but he begged to state that he had no objection to his remaining at the bar the whole time of the proceedings.—Thecounsel for the petitioner were then called in, and

Mr. Plumer addressed the house as follows:—" Mr. Speaker; I now proceed to discharge the duty which, under the indulgence of the house, I have been permitted to reserve for this day, in stating the petition of Mr. Paull and the evidence in support of it, and, sir, with very grateful acknowledgments to the house for the indulgence I have experienced, I must, at the same time, state to the house the inability I am under to profit entirely by it. The very voluminons body of evidence and the inability of access to it till a very late period, have prevented my adverting to many of the circumstances which have been stated. I shall, therefore, content myself with addressing only general observations, except on particular parts of the testimony which we are able to collect as most important on the subject: and, in discharging this duty, I shall, on every consideration, most rigidly abstain from every topic which does not directly belong to the duty imposed upon me. I shall endeavour to discharge that duty as briefly as I am able, from every consideration of duty and of respect to the house, as well as other considerations with which it is unnecessary for me to trouble you.—Sir, I shall in the first place, state what are the allegations contained in the petition, and then briefly remind you of the evidence you have heard in support of it; and, on this subject, I am persuaded, whatever judgment the house may finally think proper to pronounce with respect to this petition, I hope I am not too sanguine in expecting, that whatever difference of opinion may prevail on other parts of the subject, yet on one there will be no difference of opinion; namely, the sincerity of the individual who has presented this petition to the house—the sincere and honest belief of the truth of its contents. I do not expect any credit to be given from any personal consideration either to any thing I state, or any thing stated by the individual for whom I have the honor to appear, but I am persuaded every gentleman will see, that a petition of this nature could not have been addressed to the house in common prudence, if there had not been a sincere and honest belief of the truth of its contents; because, it could not possibly answer any purpose of benefit to the individual who has exhibited it, prematurely to bring under the consideration of this house the merits of that case by which he will be able to support a petition hereafter, to disclose all that he had, or a part of what he had to bring forward upon another occasion, with the probability, not of having it more advantageously discussed, but he must be fully aware that the wisdom and judgment of this house would infallibly discover it to be so, and that the consequences could be only ruin and disgrace to him and to his cause; that the contest must be pursued here with every disadvantage to himself, where his opponent, being of necessity a member of the house, has every opportunity given him to discuss and to question throughout the whole of the proceedings, while he, the other litigant party, is not permitted to stand in the same situation; that every possible advantage, therefore, would be derived from these circumstances on the one side, and every disadvantage on the other, by prematurely bringing this under consideration was quite obvious. Why, then, was this done? For what purpose was the petition presented? For what purpose was this inquiry brought under the consideration of the house in this novel shape? Why was it done? Surely, no one will be at a loss to recollect why it was done, when they recollect what was the situation of the petitioner—under what circumstances he stood. This petition was presented after an application had been made with success, to postpone the hearing of the petition which he had previously presented, and for which he was making preparation, by having served various witnesses with the highest authority to compel their attendance and to ensure their attendance. After he was thus engaged in preparations to bring forward his cause, expecting it to have been heard on the 24th of Feb., he had intelligence given him, upon which he thought he might securely rely, that practices had been made use of by various persons whose names I will presently state—that practices prevailed to a very considerable extent, which threatened the loss of several of his witnesses, and which were addressed, from day to day, with the hope of endeavouring to persuade others to deprive him of that testimony, at least of a part of it, which was afterwards to support his cause.—Now, sir, laying aside all personal considerations and considering this petitioner as merely in the character of a party having presented a petition to the house, which was in progress to being heard—which stood for hearing—which he had a right to prosecute, complaining of his having been deprived of the right to a seat in this house, on behalf of himself and a number of electors, who, to the number of 4 or 5000, had given him their votes upon the occasion, what was it his duty to himself, to them, and to the house to do, if he thought this charge was well founded; if he had reason to believe that these practices did actually prevail; what was the duty he owed to the house, to himself, to his constituents, I might even say to the individual who is accused, but to bring it forward where it was sure to be fairly, impartially and thoroughly discussed, in order that it might at least be seen, whether the suspicions that prevailed abroad upon this subject were well or ill founded?—What was it incumbent upon him to do more than, if he brought it forward, to bring it fairly forward, and, in the first place, for that purpose to put his cause into the hands of the most respectable solicitors there are in the profession, and I am persuaded that I shall be fortified by the knowledge of every member of this house who knows those gentlemen, that in all the profession there cannot be found gentlemen who stand higher, of purer honour, of greater respectability, and more unblemished character than Messrs. Williams and Brooks, and their clerk, Mr. Powell, who are engaged in the business. More honourable and more respectable persons do not exist in the profession. I hope the house will forgive me, if I presume thus to testify in their behalf; because, if, on a subject of this nature, from any accidental causes witnesses appear on any account to be less deserving of credit, a degree of blame and disgrace may appear to attach to those who are concerned. I do not know whether that may not comprehend all that are concerned on this side, and I therefore have been particularly desirous to present myself upon the occasion and to bear my share of blame upon the subject, at any inconvenience to myself, rather than shrink from the discharge of my professional duty on behalf of any person for whom I may be employed.—Sir, I take the liberty of saying it is of infinite importance, not only to the individual, but to the public, that the persons who deserve the character of honest men, should receive it; because it is of the highest importance, that causes and petitions should be in such hands, rather than that, by their falling into the hands of others, practices should take place which it is not easy to detect. This was the comfort of the person for whom I appear, and whatever representations there may be to the disadvantage of it; whatever judgment gentlemen may be disposed to pass on the evidence they have heard, there is not a single tittle of evidence, much as the witnesses have been pressed, and properly pressed, by questions addressed to them from every quarter; there is not one single tittle which shews that the conduct of the petitioner, from the first moment he was made acquainted with the suspicions respecting the subjects of this charge, was any otherwise than would have been observed by the most honorable man living; having first cautioned the witness who disclosed these facts to him; guarding him not to speak any thing but the truth, and by no means to overstate the truth; having on no occasion offered him any money, or any inducement whatever, not distinctly to disclose the fact, and every subject relating to it. I hope, therefore, I stand fair thus far with the house, that the conduct of the petitioner was from the peril either of losing his testimony or preferring his complaint to the only competent authority to receive it; for it would not have been respectful for the petitioner to have carried his complaint any where else. If there were just grounds to carry a complaint any where, it could be no where but to this house, and it could be conducted only in the way it has been, up to the point I am now stating.—Sir, permit me to observe in the next place, what are the charges contained in this petition, and what is the evidence in support of it. The petitioner states, that he was a candidate at the last election for the city of Westminster; an unsuccessful candidate; in consequence of which he had presented a petition to this house, complaining of an undue election, and praying that that subject might be taken into consideration; that that stood for trial on the 24th of Feb.; that that was afterwards postponed till a more distant date, and that intelligence was given to him that persons were actually at work to deprive him of his testimony, to induce persons to go out of the way, and particularly to dispossess him of important documents by which he hoped to support his cause. The petition has fairly and distinctly stated, not in general terms only, who were the persons that had been guilty of this practice; but the names of the witnesses that were sent, or attempted to be sent, out of the way, and the particular circumstances attendant upon the transaction. —— Sir, it is particularly stated in the petition, that one William Drake was, and still is, a material witness summoned on behalf of your petitioner; that the said Drake having, on or about the 10th of this instant Feb., &c. [Mr. Plumer here read an extract from the petition ending, "and added, that when they had succeeded in putting it off, such persons should have money to go out of the way to prevent their being summoned."]—Now, sir, these are the allegations contained in the petition, which I hope the house will excuse me for having thus specifically read, for the purpose of shewing how specific notice is given to these persons of the charges against them, and the nature of the evidence to be brought.—Sir, in support of this petition, you have heard 8 witnesses examined, the witnesses named in the petition, and if they are deserving of credit, upon which subject undoubtedly the house are to decide, but respecting whom it was quite impossible for those who produced them to know, otherwise than that their testimony on paper, or all the account which could be discovered of them was favorable to the testimony they were to give, and such as induced all those who heard them, truly and honestly to believe the truth of their statement—if their account is deserving of credit, the charge is fully, distinctly, and pointedly proved. It is proved in terms, in the very terms of the petition; you have heard those 8 persons actually substantiate the charge against all the individuals who are the subjects of it; they have distinctly told you, that in the early part of the month of Jan., and particularly in the beginning of Feb., after these witnesses and different persons had been served with a speaker's warrant to give their attendance on the 24th of Feb., Mr. Burgess, who was the solicitor of the sitting member, his agent and manager, proved to be such, and employed by him throughout the whole business—Mr. Burgess, who had actually employed a gentleman of the name of Wallis under him, and another person of the name of Gallant, three persons, one employed by the sitting member, and the two others employed by Mr. Burgess in the election business, and paid by him for what they did upon the subject of it, they are all three of them proved by these witnesses, six in number, to have been actually employed.—Mr. Burgess in his own person, and also Wallis and Gallant in aid of each other in applying to these witnesses, whom they knew to be at that time served with a speaker's warrant to attend upon the committee, they having express notice of that, and therefore, being bound in all fairness, and according to all practice, to abstain from any personal conference or examination of any of them, have proceeded actually to take down their testimony, to get an account of the evidence they were hereafter to give, and knowing perfectly well the nature of that testimony, and how fatal it would be to the cause in which they were engaged, have addressed to these several witnesses topics of argument and propositions, for the purpose of inducing them to withhold that testimony, that they did distinctly inform them of the intention to postpone the hearing of the petition; that it was the intention to apply for that purpose, and that when that application should have been made with success, the consequence would be to leave no longer in force the several warrants with which they had been served—that one of them in particular, Mr. Wallis, possessed himself actually, of the speaker's warrant, got it into his own possession, and represented to several of the witnesses, how truly, how justly, and how properly those whom I have the honour to address, know, without my particularly dwelling on that part of the case, but represented to them, that they were no longer under obligation to attend the future trial of the petition, but might in future absent themselves and keep out of the way, offering money for that purpose, inducements to them severally to keep out of the way, to prevent their being forthcoming at the time of the trial of the petition.—Questions were put to the witnesses, "for what purpose were you to keep out of the way? Were you conscious of any crime you had committed; of any wrong you had done, that should induce you to absent yourself?" No! Was that the cause of their being desired to keep out of the way, to protect themselves, or to guard against the detection of any crime committed by themselves?—Read the evidence:—the testimony they have given is, that their evidence has been taken down; that it was discovered that they could detect what had been done during the election; the fictitious votes which had been given; the bribery and corruption which had been committed; the instances in which persons had been induced to give repeated votes at the election. These persons being found capable of giving testimony upon such a subject as that, that was the motive, and not any crime committed individually by themselves; and, therefore, they might with perfect safety, and with perfect truth, answer the questions put, and yet that makes no difference as to the probability of the inducements which were addressed to them, not for their own security, but for the security of those who might be hurt by the testimony they were hereafter to give.——Upon this part of the case, as well as upon other parts, undoubtedly the cause which I have to support labours under considerable disadvantage; because I am under the necessity of considering it in this stage of the business, abridged as it must of necessity be, and excluding from the consideration much of the testimony which would be confirmatory of the account thus given; because, with great propriety, the house have confined the enquiry to the endeavouring to remove out of the way written or parole testimony, without entering into the merits of any thing which passed in the election. You have, therefore, very properly stopped us from going into evidence of the actual practices and the transactions during the election, or of the knowledge of these persons of the contents of that important document on which I shall presently observe. You have necessarily excluded, therefore, all that collateral testimony and account which might be given on that part of the case, and which would confirm or refute all the account thus given of the attempts to keep these witnesses out of the way.——The materiality of their testimony; the importance of it; the nature of it; you are all unable particularly and distinctly to know; because, of necessity, the case must be deprived of any consideration of that part of the subject; and I forbear to state any part of that on which you cannot receive evidence. But, it is enough for me to state, if their testimony might be material; if their testimony was proper to be received, and the credit to be given to it fit to be considered by a proper tribunal, it is nothing to say they are not witnesses who would be believed; the object of this petition is to prevent the deprivation of testimony. The opportunity of presenting to a proper tribunal that testimony, and surely, at the same moment you exclude the materiality of that testimony, and prevent its being properly examined, it will not be said it is very incredible, that such an attempt should be made, and much less that it is impossible, because the witnesses would not have been credited or cannot prove that which is material. We had a right to have their testimony heard; we had a right to have these witnesses forthcoming; we had a right to keep them untainted, and not visited by the opponent party at the time they knew they were under orders to attend on the future tribunal to hear the merits of the case. Therefore, undoubtedly, the conduct of these persons, the solicitor of the sitting member and of Mr. Wallis and Mr. Gallant all employed under him, beginning in the month of Feb. holding out the expectation of the postponement and laying hold of them—to address this argument (whether well or ill founded) was undoubtedly, I should submit, a species of conduct which would receive no sanction or authority from this house.—Sir, in addition to that, you hear that in the early part of the month of Feb., namely, on the 10th of that month, soon after the solicitor and the persons employed under him had been thus at work with the several witnesses—you find, what I am sorry to be under the painful necessity of stating and of bringing directly home to the principal gentleman who is the subject of the charge, by direct positive proof; that on the 10th of Feb., 14 days only before the hearing of the cause, the witness was sent for by a message to attend at the house of Mr. Homan in Frith Street, Soho: Whom does he meet there? Mr. Homan, Mr. Johnston, a person concerned with Drury Lane Theatre, and a Mr. Edwards, a former servant of the sitting member, and now a box-keeper at Drury Lane theatre. These 3 persons there assembled ply him with liquor, address conversations to him upon the subject, and then remove him upon that day in a hackney coach to the house of Mr. Edwards, and at Mr. Edwards's house he there positively states that he met Mr. Sheridan himself; that he had a conference with Mr. Sheridan on the subject; that he there distinctly disclosed to Mr. Sheridan that he had an order from the speaker to attend as a witness against him, and notwithstanding, that at the house of Mr. Edwards, to which he was accompanied by Mr. Johnston, at that house he had a conference with Mr. Sheridan, who there entered into conversation with him upon the subject of his future testimony. That witness, who says that he had been in habits of friendship and near alliance with Mr. Sheridan before, and that he had been acquainted with him for 5 years together, and had been honoured with the greatest marks of his confidence that one gentleman could give to another—has told you, that he was held in close conference for a considerable time at the house of Mr. Edwards.—Now, Sir, it is said this witness has by his demeanour created that general impression to his disadvantage, that no credit is due to what he states; that his appearance has betrayed him, and shewn the strongest marks of his resentment and vengeance and of indignant feelings towards the individual against whom he is giving testimony. Sir, I should only beg leave to observe that this gentleman is no friend of Mr. Paul—is no acquaintance of his—he is a perfect stranger to him, and if there be any thing exceptionable or improper in his conduct, all he knew of him was, that he was nearly allied to the sitting member; that he had long been honoured with his acquaintance; that he had been in the strictest intimacy with him and visiting in his house; that was all he knew of this gentleman, except that he appeared to be an officer, in a gallant profession, in which he had lost a limb—at least it was so represented to him, that he knew nothing of him, but what was apparently honourable and right, except that he came with strong feelings of resentment respecting which very resentment I shall be glad to ask, whence does it arise? Does it not of itself import prior intimacy, and that degree of injury that has stung the individual to manifest all that resentment? How can you account for it otherwise? What has actuated the individual to that resentment? Let it operate as it ought to do to induce you to receive his evidence with considerable suspicion, with great jealousy, to watch the testimony he gives; but how can any body account for the indignation of this young man? For his feelings of warmth? If the individual was a perfect stranger to him? If he had never been in habits of intimacy with him, or conducted himself in a way to provoke that resentment? How are those feelings to be accounted for? To what cause are you to refer all that gentleman's other feeling, if it is not to be ascribed to the cause I have stated?—He has positively stated the circumstance of his alliance to that individual and his acquaintance with him for 5 years together. He has stated his constant employment during the late election at Westminster, in which he is confirmed by the circumstance of the frequent letters that passed: nay, Sir, I think that receives confirmation even from the question put by that right hon. gent. himself; for I do remember the question being put, not indeed to him, but to the second witness, Weatherhead, in these terms, "Were you not introduced to me by Mr. Drake as a clergyman?" The answer to that is immaterial on the present occasion. He says he told him it was a mistake, and that it was his brother; but the use I make of it is this, and the house will then see, whether it is worthy of their grave and serious consideration. With all humility, it appears to me to contain pregnant proof of prior intimacy and acquaintance—how could Mr. Drake introduce any body to that right hon. gent. if he was a stranger to him? How could he have access to him? How could he be accompanied to his house to introduce any body if he was not in habits of intimacy and acquaintance with him? This is a question put to him by the highest authority—and it carries the highest proof that some degree of intimacy at least subsisted between them.—A particular account is given by the witness on the subject of this meeting, and that I may not in the least misrepresent him, I will read it. You will find that he gives this account, that he had been long in habits of acquaintance and connection with him; that he had hopes and prospects held out to him of promotion and promises of money, in which he had been disappointed; that he had still been an active and zealous friend to the right hon. gent. during the late election, but that at the close of the election he felt himself neglected—personally insulted by the domestics of the right hon. gent., and stung, undoubtedly, with resentment, and feeling a resentment to that right hon. gent. he was induced to do what I do not mean to state as a proof of the honour or propriety of this gentleman, to betray his friend, and communicate intelligence to his opponent of the knowledge that he had of what practices had been going on during the election.——Now, sir, I do not in the least mean to conceal that the testimony of a witness standing in that predicament, a person who betrays his former patron and friend, nearly allied to him, and who gives intelligence of practices in which he has been personally concerned ought not, on that account, to be received with considerable suspicion—he is an accomplice, and his testimony ought to be received with suspicion, but I beg leave to state, that the testimony of accomplices under more unfavourable circumstances is continually received, and many have lost their lives upon testimony open to every possible observation that can be bestowed upon this; he states fairly the account of it upon his own testimony; he gives the narrative how he was originally connected with the right hon. gent. for 5 years together, and then he says "I supported Mr. Sheridan during the whole of the time of the election, and brought up many votes for Mr. Sheridan, and was in the habit of seeing him 4 or 5 times a day." He then relates the circumstance of his going to Homan's house, having wine there, and afterwards going to Edwards's, &c.—He is then interrogated with respect to the letter he represents Mr. Sheridan as having been desirous of obtaining, and he gives a narrative, and the short account, respecting the letter is this: It is proved by this witness, and by the next who was examined, that prior to the election, a letter had been signed by Mr. Sheridan in favour of a person of the name of Emanuel Harris, recommending him to supply the fleet with different articles in which he dealt, upon the occasion of his obtaining votes and his voting himself during the election; that that first letter was in the hand-writing of the witness, Drake himself, was delivered by himself a few days prior to the election into the hands of Mr. Sheridan, that he did himself annex the letters, M. P., leaving a blank for the signature, and that upon his delivering it to Mr. Sheridan, he received it back from Mr. Sheridan with his own signature to it.—The evidence that was given by Mr. Drake respecting the two letters, one that preceded and the other that followed a few days the commencement of the election, will be found in different parts of the testimony of that witness: he was examined upon that subject in chief and afterwards pointedly by the house, and particularly in a pointed and rapid manner by an hon. member of the house on the subject of these letters, and the prompt and immediate answers given to those questions pushed one after another rapidly on him on the subject of those letters had, I own, to my view, greatly an appearance, excluding all probability, of a manufactured or a made story; for that any person of any ability much less an individual like him, unaccustomed to courts of justice and to being examined, should be able so rapidly to give distinct answers as to time, place, and person, and every circumstance connected with it, does appear to me to have a very great degree of probability connected with it.—I fear I shall not be able to extract from this volume I have in my hand every part of the testimony respecting the letter, but I hope the house will excuse me if I should not be able to do it immediately; they will excuse me if I should occupy any great portion of their time after what has passed in reading it. "When I went to "Mr. Sheridan with this letter, I said here "is a man, &c. which Mr. Sheridan who is "present cannot deny."—He then states applications by the other persons who are mentioned in the petition, Homan, Edwards, and Johnston; and then he goes on to say, "I then told Mr. Sheridan I had "been summoned, &c."—He is then asked by the house, "did Mr. Sheridan say any "thing? &c."—A question is put to him by the house respecting the letter; he is asked particularly, "are you sure that you "either read the letter? &c."—He is then interrogated about his acquaintance with Mr. Harris, and he states how he became acquainted with him?—He is then asked, "who advised you to destroy the first? &c."—He is then asked whether he had ever declared that he would have money from one side or the other, which he denies—he says, "I never did in my life."—There are other passages respecting the signature of this letter, but I hope I have shewn you that the account I originally gave respecting this letter, having been thus delivered to Mr. Sheridan, and received back from him, with what the witness took to be his signature was correct; and surely it will never be argued, that if a letter is delivered to Mr. Sheridan in blank, if the witness was not actually present to see him put his name to it, but if he received it back with a signature purporting to be Mr. Sheridan's, and received it back from Mr. Sheridan himself, that is not sufficient to fix the right hon. gent. with the act itself, more especially when it is also fixed by the witness, which it is in both instances, to be the signature of Mr. Sheridan himself.—Mr. Weatherhead was interrogated about the letters; he saw, I believe, both the letters: he spoke of the signature of one having seen it wet, and he judged it to be the signature of Mr. Sheridan. He was particularly interrogated whether he had ever said any thing as to its being a forgery; he said no: and that the reason that one was substituted for another was, that the first had received a blot from being folded, and that it had M. P.; the putting M. P. being improper when the parliament was not assembled, and that the man was desirous of having a letter with a fairer signature, and also having the words "Treasurer of the Navy," which were actually put to the second letter to give more authenticity to it.—This is the account of these two witnesses, on the subject of this letter; in addition to which, Mr. Weatherhead has proved, what it did seem to me if Mr. Weatherhead is entitled to credit.—I state this with all the humility which belongs to me; leaving it entirely to the judgment of the house to pronounce on the credit of the witnesses. I can only judge of the testimony before me, and it is my duty to state that testimony to the house. I say again, if Mr. Weatherhead is entitled to credit his testimony alone goes a considerable way towards substantiating the charge before you; for it is positively proved, that he actually saw on the 19th of Feb. at the house of Mr. Sheridan, Drake the witness, and Mr. Sheridan sitting close together, and as he describes it "elbowing each other close together in the act of private conversation in a low tone of voice not to be overheard by any body else." He says that that continued for some period of time in the room. Did that conversation pass, or did it not?—Weatherhead declares it did—if it did, how could that conversation be passing, circumstanced as Drake then was, when he had in the early part of the month, or even perhaps in the latter end of Jan., but certainly in the early part of Feb., not only been actually served with a speaker's warrant to attend as a witness, but on the 10th of that month of Feb., actually communicated to Mr. Sheridan himself, that he was under summons to attend at the hearing of the petition on the part of Mr. Paull, when Mr. Sheridan had said to him, "leave that to me." Nine days afterwards, within 5 days of the hearing of the petition, which was to be heard on the 24th, Mr. Sheridan is seen at his own house in close conversation with Mr. Drake, sitting close together, and in some conversation which was not to be heard by any body else. If that fact be true, does it not confirm the testimony of the other witness; and is it consistent with any possible account of the denial of all intimacy or acquaintance with that witness, circumstanced as that witness was, which excluded, as it seemed to me, every possibility of conversation which could not be distinctly heard which had not reference to the subject?—But, sir, it does not rest there. This witness positively states the actually seeing the letters delivered into the hands of Mr. Sheridan—he saw them when they came back with the signature of Mr. Sheridan wet; he proves also, that Mr. Sheridan at this meeting on the 19th of Feb. addressed a conversation to him, personally, on the subject of these letters, and that at the close of that conversation he made to Mr. Weatherhead a request, which I own I feel an extreme difficulty in referring to, in any other way than as a direct confirmation of the whole account thus given on the subject.—That Mr. Sheridan said to him, do you and Mr. Drake come to me tomorrow at two o'clock.—This was after the private conversation with Mr. Drake; after interrogating him on the subject of the letters and enquiry of Mr. Weatherhead, another witness under summons to attend, he asks him, are you actually employed on the other side?—he says no; then, says he, do you and Mr. Drake come to me to-morrow at two o'clock. For what purpose were they to come the next day to Mr. Sheridan?—Why were they to be invited to come? In what way can that possibly be explained consistent with the representation of no connection subsisting between these parties.—Sir, this, together with the other evidence I have stated of the other persons employed; the solicitor, Mr. Burgess, Mr. Wallis employed by the solicitor, Mr. Gallant, who was employed under them during the election, the proof of the conduct of Mr. Homan in Frith-street, the proof of Mr. Edwards and Mr. Johnston's applications on the subject of these letters and of the witnesses, constitutes the testimony lying before you in proof of this petition, *in verbis*, in terms, by the 8 witnesses who have been examined at your bar.—I have now, sir, discharged my duty to the house by stating the petition and stating the import, I hope fairly stating, the nature of the testimony adduced in support of it. I have cautiously abstained from entering upon any one topic that is not directly connected with the subject before you. I will not detain the house one moment with any recapitulation or any observations on the subject. I leave it entirely with the house to pronounce their judgment upon it. I am persuaded that it will be a wise, a just, and a proper judgment, that they will attentively read the evidence for themselves, with opportunities of seeing it and of examining it better than it has been in my power to obtain; they will weigh it, and finally give that judgment which is best calculated to vindicate their own honour and dignity, and which will be satisfactory to every person by whom that testimony shall be hereafter read. I beg pardon for detaining the house so long, and return my humble thanks to the house for their patience."

Mr. *Sheridan* protested, that he was never more surprised at any thing than at the speech which he had just heard from the learned counsel. He had heard rumours that he intended to have thrown up his brief. But, if he was surprised, he was not alarmed. The learned counsel had said that he (Mr. S.) had an advantage over the petitioner. He denied this, as he had not availed himself of the assistance of counsel. If he had been capable of stating, as proved matter, that which had been only asserted, and that too by witnesses who had been nearly commited by the house for scandalous prevarication—if he had stated every thing in the evidence that made for him, and none that made against him, and had the stupidity to think that the house would believe him, then he might be said to have the advantage. He expressed his high respect for the profession, but thought there were limits within which counsel ought to confine themselves; and certainly it would have been much more proper if the counsel, instead of pressing the matter as he did, had stood at the bar in shame and confusion at his being engaged in such a cause. He perfectly admitted the great respectability of the solicitors, Messrs. Williams and Brooks, and had heard that Mr. Williams had even thrown up the cause. He wished that Mr. Powell might stand as clear. He wished that Mr. Paull and Mr. Powell might have been only dupes in the business. He should be glad if it should appear so. But when he examined his witnesses, there would appear, he believed, such a system of baseness, corruption, and subornation of perjury as had never before been heard of. He wished the counsel for the petitioner to hear the evidence. The learned counsel, though he remarked on the part of the evidence where Drake had stated, that he had been employed by him (Mr. S) to get the letter from Harris, had forgot to mention that the witness had afterwards stated, that he had offered £30 of his own money to get the letter from Mr. Paull. His own money! He wished it might not turn out to have been the money of other people. He really pitied the poor wretches who had been called to the bar, but wished that the charge might not be carried to a higher quarter. The counsel too had observed upon the statements of the witness, that he saw him sign the letter, but had forgot to mention his having retracted that assertion. He had adverted to his having desired the attendance of Drake and Weatherhead the next day—he had done so certainly, with a view to carry them to Bow-street. But finding, as Weatherhead had said, that they had got into suspicious company, when they saw a Bow-street officer they made off, and he had heard no more of them till they were observed on the 24th of Feb. in a hackney-coach with Mr. Paull. He was ashamed of his own credulity in having given any credit to what these persons said, but he had called at the Admiralty, and found that Weatherhead had been dismissed for scandalous conduct by captain Trollope, and that his name was marked R. M. having presented forged certificates for a lieutenancy. There was a gross falsehood in the petition, where it alledged that the consideration of the election petition stood for the 24th of Feb., whereas it had been originally appointed for the 13th of Jan.

Mr. *Perceval* observed, that the right hon. gent. had certainly taken the advantage over the counsel when he had spoken of him in the manner he had done. There might have been rumours of his intention to throw up his brief; but when so much was at stake with respect to the client who employed him, it was not for the counsel to prejudge the case, and if he had heard that he had thrown up his brief, he certainly would not have believed it. It was impossible to misunderstand the counsel when he said that these charges were proved, for he had distinctly qualified it by referring this to the credit due to the witnesses. There was, therefore, no more grounds for his imputations against the counsel, than for his assertion that there was a gross falsehood in the petition. It stated, that the consideration of the election petition had been postponed from the 24th of Feb. to the 14th of April. This was true, and no intention appeared of denying that it had been in the first instance fixed for the 13th of January.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that he had a great respect for the counsel; but still thought that he ought to have been somewhat more liberal. If the allegation in the petition was not a gross falsehood, it was at least a pitiful prevarication. He moved that Frerick Homan be called in.

A long conversation then took place with respect to the propriety of examining Mr. Homan, he being implicated by the allegations of the petition. However, on the motion of Mr. Perceval, it was carried, that the allegations against Mr Homan were not well grounded; and he was, therefore, admitted as a competent witness.

Mr. Frederick Homan examined by the House.

"Were you present at a meeting between Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Drake, on the 9th or 10th of Feb.? The 19th I was present.—At a meeting at Somerset Place? Yes.—Did Mr. Drake come upon any request of Mr. S., or did Mr. Drake apply to you? Mr. Drake called upon me on the 19th of Feb. in the evening. He told me, he had returned from the country that evening with Mr. Weatherhead; that he had been in a chaise to Hampshire; that he was going to set off at 4 the next morning, to take possession of a cottage he had purchased in Hampshire, and wished to see Mr. S. that night; I told him, I was to dine with Mr. S., and should engage he should see Mr. S. at 7 or 8 o'clock. I went to Mr. S's. to see him; after I had been there some time, he came in with Mr. Weatherhead, whom he introduced as a clergyman. Mr. Weatherhead and I, and Mr. Ward, sat in the parlour at Mr. S's. for some time; we had general conversation: at length Mr. S. came in from, I believe, the house of commons, about 8 o'clock. When Mr S. came into the room to be seated, Mr. Drake and Mr. Weatherhead were sitting at some distance from him, and Mr. S. took a chair, and sat at a considerable distance from Mr. Drake; there was room for more than 2 or 3 chairs between the chair on which Mr. S. sat and Mr. Drake. There was a general conversation after Mr. S. came in, on some motion he had made in the house that night, or that he had given notice of a motion. Mr. Drake told Mr. S., he had been in the country, in Hampshire, and had been hunting there with Mr. Cobbett. I staid there the whole time; there was no conversation could have taken place without my hearing it, and Mr. Ward, who was present. Some time after Mr. Drake came in or Mr. S. came in, he asked who that gentleman was in the corner: Mr. Drake said he was a particular friend of his, a schoolmate of his, Mr. Weatherhead; I replied, he is a clergyman; Oh! says Mr. S., you served as chaplain, I suppose, along with Mr. Drake; no, sir, says he, not as chaplain! Oh! Oh! says Drake, immediately correcting himself, it is his brother is a clergyman, this is not a clergyman. Mr. S. certainly made no offer; there could have been no offer made to Mr. Drake that evening, as stated in the petition. On the 19th of Feb., I remained in the room with Mr. S. till Mr. Drake and Mr. Weatherhead left the house. On going up stairs to Mr. S's dining-room, he said he believed that Drake was a very great liar; that he did not suppose that he had been hunting with Mr. Cobbett, for that he believed that Mr. Cobbett would not take notice of such a fellow, and that he would not be concerned in such a business with such a rascal; and, says he, that story is like the story of the Thisbe brig which he has got: he is a damned liar.—Had the conversation, as to Mr. Drake's having been with Mr. Cobbett in Hampshire, begun previous to Mr. S's. coming into the room, and in what way did Mr. Drake state himself to have been in Mr. Cobbett's house? The conversation began with Mr Drake stating himself to have been hunting in Hampshire with Mr. Cobbett, before Mr. S. came into the room, but it continued after Mr S. came into the room: Mr. Drake said, that the only way to get to Mr. Cobbett's house was through his stables and a very dirty yard; that he lived in a mere pig-stye.—Did you ever hear Mr Drake say that he must leave town in order to take the command of the Thisbe sloop, or the Sisbe sloop, and that he was under orders from the Admiralty? On Tuesday the 10th of Feb., I remember being in company with Mr. Drake. Mr. Drake told me that he was appointed to the command of the Thisbe sloop; sometime afterwards he said that it was a brig, and that if Mr. S. would apply to the Admiralty, he had no doubt they would permit him to stay in town a few days, if it was to serve his cause.—When Mr. Drake said he must go out of town the next day, did Mr. S. tell Mr. Drake he must stay in town, and desire him to call at Somerset House the next day; and did not Mr. S. state that he, Mr. Drake, must on no account be absent when the speaker's warrant required his attendance? Mr. S. certainly did.—Did Mr. S. ever utter one word like holding out any reward or inducement to Mr. Drake, or Mr. Weatherhead, whatever? Never in my presence.—Were you present at the examination of Mr. Harris by Mr. Justice Graham? I was present.—Was Mr. Weatherhead present? No.—Did you know that when Mr. S. sent Harris to be examined by Mr. Graham, he sent a special message, by Mr. Johnston and yourself, that Mr. Graham should get possession of the letter pretended to be signed by Mr. S , have it sealed up and marked, and give notice to the speaker and Mr. Paull's solicitor that it should be forthcoming to the house.—What was the message Mr. S. sent by you and Mr. Johnson to Mr. Graham? Mr. S. desired Mr. Johnson to request Mr. Graham would keep the letter, seal it, and let Mr. Paull's solicitor know that the letter was in his possession, in Mr. Graham's possession; after his examinations had been taken, to keep the letter, and not to let it go into the jew's hands any more.—Did Mr. Harris shew any reluctance to accompany you and Mr. Johnson to be examined? No, Mr. Harris went with great seeming pleasure: he wished that his character should be cleared up; as some people said he had obtained the letter in an improper manner: he wished that every investigation should take place; and he gave his testimony very fairly and candidly as it appeared to me, without any reserve."

Cross-examined by Mr. Warren, on behalf of the Petitioner.

"What is your situation in life? I am of no profession at present,—Are you a gentleman, living on your means? I have been concerned in the flour business in Ireland, I have property in Ireland; I do not say that I am concerned in the flour business at present, but that is the only occupation I have been concerned in.—How long have you left off that business? I left it off when I found it unprofitable, about 12 months ago.—Do you know Drake's father? I know a person whom I believe to be Drake's father; I cannot say whether he is Drake's father or not, I have no reason to doubt it.—Did you ever write to a person whom you suppose to be Drake's father? I did.—Did you believe him to be Drake's father when you wrote to him? I did.—Do you state now that you only suppose him to be Drake's father? As to supposition I do not know, I have no reason to doubt his being Drake's father.—Where do you live? At 29, Knightsbridge. Did you ever live in Frith-street? I did.—Did you ever see Drake in Frith Street? Yes.—Did any conversation take place on the subject of a letter to Emanuel Harris? Yes.—State what that was. On the 10th of Feb. Shrove Tuesday, Drake came to my house. The day before that, the investigation had taken place before Mr. Graham, the magistrate. That evening he called on me, I asked him if he had written a letter, and got it signed by Mr. S., as was stated by Harris in his examinations; he said that he had given Harris a letter, but that Harris was a very great rascal, and a fellow not to be depended on, and made use of some very improper language; at the same time he told me he had got the letter, and that Mr. S. gave it Harris: I told him that Harris had stated in his examinations, which were taken by Mr. Graham, that Drake obtained a sum of money for a letter for Harris, that Harris gave him a sum of money for the letter which he obtained for him, signed by Mr. S., and he said it is not material about Harris, he is a very great rascal, but he dare not appear, he is afraid of me; I have written two letters to him this week, desiring him to keep out of the way, and not to appear. I told him certainly, that in writing those two letters it appeared to me he had injured his character very much; in desiring a witness, who had been served with an order to attend this house, to keep out of the way; and as to the other letter, I said, I suppose it is of no consequence, but your letters will injure your own character. I told him that. He then said that he did not care, that he would get the letter; that Mr. S. had used him very ill; he had been dancing after him many years, and made him many promises; and that he was offered money by the other party, and that he was determined to give Mr. S. up.—Did you say to Drake, it would be a good thing if he could get that letter from Harris? No.—Did you say any thing about getting the letter from Harris? No.—When did the acquaintance between you and Drake begin? That evening.—Was there any wine drank that evening? Yes.—Much? No, not much. Mr. Drake told me that evening that he could drink 6 bottles of claret without affecting him; and I told him, as an Irishman, I had no objection to take a bottle of wine with him. He told me he was an Irishman, but a few days afterwards his father told me he was not an Irishman.—At this first meeting between you and Drake, you sat down and took wine together? Yes.—Did any further conversation take place between you and Drake? Nothing material took place, that I recollect.—How came you to write a letter to Drake's father? On going to Mr. S's. house another gentleman who was there, and I, advised Mr. S. to have Drake and Weatherhead both brought before Mr. Graham, the magistrate; and to try if we could not make out a conspiracy between the 3; and I wrote two notes to Mr. Drake's father, to induce him to come to that meeting, in which we intended to bring him to the magistrate.—Had you any communication with Mr. S. on the subject of those letters; did he know that they were written ? No, Mr. S. never knew that I wrote to him, or any other person, I believe, except those concerned.—Did he know of it ? I never mentioned it to him.—Did Mr. Graham know of it ? No, he did not.—At the meeting at Somerset House on the 19th of Feb., who was present ? Mr. Drake, Mr. Weatherhead, Mr. Ward, Mr. Sheridan, and your humble servant.—Do you mean to state that you heard no conversation upon the subject of money, between Mr. S. and Mr. Drake, at that meeting? Certainly not, and no such conversation could have taken place.—Did not Mr. S. say, I believe Mr. Drake, you are poor, and I have it now in my power to place you in such a situation as will make you comfortable ? No, nor nothing like it.—Were any other letters written to Drake's father besides that you have mentioned ? Not by me.—Do you know of any other being written to Drake's father ? No, I do not.—Did not you appoint a meeting between Mr. S. and Drake at his own house ? I wrote to him for that purpose.—Whom did you write to? I wrote to Drake's father; I dare say you have the notes there.——I just asked whether you knew of any other letter besides the one you have mentioned ? I wrote two notes.—Besides the letter ? I wrote no letter to him.—I understood you to state, that you had written a letter to Drake's father ? I wrote two notes to Drake's father.—Did not Drake go from your house to Edwards's, to meet Johnson ? I do not know where he went to from my house; I did not accompany him.—Did not Drake go from your house with Johnson, in a hackney coach, to meet Mr. Sheridan ? I do not know.—What was the date of the last note to Drake's father ? I cannot say what the date was, but I know it was for the purpose of getting him to appoint a meeting, for the purpose of bringing them to Mr. Graham's; I believe there was nothing more than "Thursday" or "Monday."—Was it not written on Saturday, the 22d of Feb. ? I do not know; it might be.—Was it to meet Mr. Sheridan on Sunday ? I believe it was.—Where was it to meet Mr. S. ? I really do not know whether it was at my house, or Mr. S.'s; but I advised Mr. S. not to bring them to his house, and I am not certain whether it was not my house. Mr. Drake wished me to go to his house, but I did not choose to go there, and also to bring Mr. S. there, to his lodgings.—Do you know whether Mr. S. has a son of the name of Charles Sheridan ? No.—A brother ? No.—A nephew, or any other relation ? There is a person of that name who lives with me; we live together; he is unwell, or he would have been here.—Did not Alex. Johnson and Drake go together from your house ? A. Johnson, Mr. Ward, and Mr. Drake, and I believe 2 or 3 more went away together; I cannot say where they went to."

Examined by the House.

"From what part of Ireland do you come, and what are your family ? My family are from the county of Westmeath, in Ireland.—Are you any relation to the bishop of Killala ? I am a nephew to the bishop of Killala.—Were you present in the room at Somerset House during all the time, during which Mr. S. and Drake were there ? I was.—Did you hear all that passed between Mr. S. and Drake ? I did.—Were you so situate as to be able to hear every thing that passed between Mr. S. and Drake ? I was, I was nearer to Mr. S. than Drake was; there was no low tone of voice made use of by the company, and it was impossible for Mr. S. to have made any offer to Mr. Drake or Mr. Weatherhead, that evening.—You are certain nothing then passed which you did not hear ? Positively.—And you are certain nothing passed between them on the subject of money ? Certainly not.—What were the circumstances that induced you to think it desirable that Mr. Drake should be carried before Mr. Graham ? From the substance of the examinations that were taken before Mr. Graham.—How came you acquainted with those examinations ? I was present when the examinations were taken before Mr. Graham.—What induced you to be present ? Mr. S. requested that I would go down with Mr. Johnson and Mr. Harris, who was a Jew (we had a letter to Mr. Graham), and see that his examination was taken.—You not having been employed during the election, what led you particularly to be employed on this occasion ? Nothing, but as a particular friend of Mr. S.—Did Mr. Harris produce the letter ? Yes, I marked it.—What is become of that letter ? It is in the possession of Harris, I believe.—Was not one of the objects of the examination, that the letter should be delivered to Mr. Graham, sealed up ? Mr. Graham gave the letter back to the Jew; he said he had been served with an order to produce it, and he would produce it.—Did Mr. S. make any promise to Drake, of giving him a place of profit, at that meeting at Somerset House? No.—Did you state to Mr. Graham, the magistrate, Mr. S.'s request, that the letter should be sealed up, and preserved? I am not certain whether I did or not; I think Mr. Johnson did; and Mr. Graham said, he did not think himself authorized to keep the letter, as there had been an order served on Harris to produce the letter.——Mr. S. has stated, that he gave express directions to you to convey it to the magistrate, that he might seal up the letter? He expressed the wish equally to Mr. Johnson and me.—Did you deliver that message to the magistrate? I am not certain that I did; Mr. Johnson was the principal person; he attended the next day, and I did not; I know Mr. S. requested it, but I will not say that I delivered it.——If you did not deliver the message yourself, did you hear it delivered to Mr. Graham in your presence? I do not remember that I did; but Mr. Graham kept the letter that day, and I understand it was returned the next day.—Do you recollect the day when Harris gave the letter to Mr. Graham? Yes; Monday, the 9th of Feb.—What was the evening on which Drake came to your house, and when there is said to have been the conversation about this letter? The next evening.—Did Harris make any difficulty in giving the letter into the hands of Mr. Graham? Harris parted with the letter rather reluctantly, until Mr. Graham assured him it should be safe, and it should be returned the next day; he said he only wished to have the letter to bring before the house.—How happened it that Drake came to your house on the 10th? He was sent for, and brought to my house.—By whom was he sent for? By a person of the name of Edwards.—For what purpose? To investigate the business respecting the letter, and to learn what I have already stated to the house.—Why did you wish to examine him about this letter? I wished, and Mr. S. also, from the extraordinary statement which had been made, by Mr. Harris, of the business, wished to have it investigated fully; and there was no other way of investigating it than by getting this man to my house, and having witnesses present.—You desired Edwards to bring him to your house? Yes.—Did Mr. S. know of his being at your house? Yes, Mr. S. wished he should be examined in respect to the letter, in what manner he got the letter."

Mr. Charles Wm. Ward examined by the House.

" Were you present at a conversation in Somerset Place with Mr. Weatherhead and Mr. Drake, when Mr. S. came in, about 7 o' clock? I was.—Where did Drake state himself to have been, and what did he state as to the necessity of his returning again to the country? That he had been in Hampshire, hunting in the company of Mr. Cobbett; that he had a cottage, which he had lately purchased, in Hampshire; that he had just come to town.—Did Mr. S. ever whisper with Mr. Drake, or have any conversation in a way which could not be heard by any person in the room? It was impossible without my having heard it.—Did Mr. S. offer any money, or any thing whatever, to Mr. Drake? There was nothing offered in my presence.—When Mr. Drake stated that he was about to leave town the next morning, what did Mr. S. say? That he must not leave town, that he must be in the way.—In what character was Mr. Weatherhead introduced? In the character of a clergyman; and, on my observing that he must be chaplain of the ship, and Mr. Drake hesitating, Mr. S. asked what ship he was chaplain of; Mr. Drake said, it was his brother was a clergyman; that he was frequently making that mistake.—What did Mr. S. declare was his intention and motive for desiring them to call the next morning? I understood it was, that they should be in the way.—Did you ever hear Drake say, that he had received considerable sums of money by a legacy, or by prize-money? By a legacy.—Did you ever hear him state, that he had got the command of a brig, or sloop, and must go down to take the command? That he had got the command of the Thisbe brig; this was on the 10th; and that he must go on the following morning, which was the 11th."

Cross-examined by Mr. Clifford, on behalf of the Petitioner.

" How long have you been acquainted with lieut. Drake? I saw him for the first time upon the 10th of Feb.—Where? At Mr. Homan's in Frith street.—At what time of the day? About 8 or 9 in the evening.—Did you go away in company with him? I did.—Who else were of the party that went away in company with him? Mr. Johnston and Mr. Edwards.—Where did you go to? To Mr. Edwards's house in South-street.—Whom did you meet at Mr. Edwards's? I did not go into the house.—Where did you go afterwards that evening? To the next door, Mr. Thomas Sheridan's.—Did you meet Mr. T. Sheridan there? Yes.—Had you previously gone to Mr. Homan's, by appointment of Mr. Sheridan, the father, or Mr. T. Sheridan? I was at Mr. T. Sheridan's at dinner, and Mr. S. desired me to go to Mr. Homan's to see this Drake.—Do you mean, that Mr. S. the father, or Mr. T. S., desired you? Mr. S., the father.—What was the conversation that took place between you and Mr. S., as to what had passed at Mr. Homan's, or in the coach? I stated the intentions of Drake, and that he wanted very much to see him; that it was necessary for him to go out of town the next morning to his ship, and that he must go that evening to his agents for money.—What answer did he make? That he would see him.—Was he brought in, and did Mr. S. see him? No; Mr. S. went into the adjoining house.—How many persons were in the room where Mr. S. and Mr. T. S. were, when you went in and stated this? Only Mr. T. S., who sent for Mr. S.—Did Mr. S., before you went from dinner to the house of Mr. Homan, tell you the reason he wished you to go there to see Mr. Drake? Yes.—What was the reason? That he understood Drake had something of importance to communicate to him, and that he wished me to go and ascertain what it was before he saw him, being reluctant to see him.—Did Mr. S. say any thing against the character of Mr. Drake? He stated generally, that he believed he was a bad character.—Did Mr. S. state any reason for believing him to be a bad character, within his knowledge? That he had been living an idle life on the town, a dissolute life.—Do you mean to say, that Mr. S. stated, that leading an idle and dissolute life was proof of a bad character? I made that inference.—Did Mr. S., at the time he desired you to go to Mr. Homan's, say any thing to you as to any acquaintance with him during the Westminster election? No, he did not.—You have stated that Wetherhead was introduced at Mr. S.'s house by Drake as a clergyman? Yes.—How came you to be there; were you desired to meet Drake? I was invited to dine with Mr. S., and was waiting for his return from the house.—Did you, before you went, know that Drake was to be there? I did not.—Was any surprize expressed by Mr. S. at Drake introducing an acquaintance of this description? He was surprized at seeing two gentlemen in the room.—When you say that he was surprized at seeing two gentlemen in the room, do you mean that he expressed any surprize at seeing strangers, or that he acknowledged them as acquaintance? He acknowledged Drake as an acquaintance undoubtedly, and Drake introduced Mr. Wetherhead as a perfect stranger.—What was the surprize Mr. S. expressed at Drake introducing a stranger? I do not know how to answer that question, I cannot distinguish the kind of surprize.—You have stated that you were nearer to Drake at this meeting on the 19th of Feb., than Mr. S. was? No, I was not nearer to him, but I was standing before the fire.—You certainly stated that there was no whispering? Certainly I did.—And that nothing could have been stated, or said there, which you should not have heard? Certainly.—How came you to pay such particular attention to the conduct of Mr. S. that day? Because I suspected that there was some improper motive in bringing Mr. Wetherhead there.—Did you know Mr. Wetherhead before? No, but I had heard Drake's character, and when he brought an acquaintance there, I thought they were similar.—Had you not heard Mr. Drake's character from Mr. S.? I had, on the 10th.—Were you not desired to come there by Mr. S. on purpose to be a witness of what was going on? No, I was asked to dine there.—Did you ever hear Mr. S. say any thing about the bad character of Drake, till a charge was made against Mr. S. himself? I heard it upon the 10th of Feb.—Did you ever hear any thing against the character of Drake from Mr. S. before the 10th of Feb.? I never heard his name mentioned.—Did not Mr. S. on the 10th of Feb., when he mentioned the bad character of Drake, inform you that Drake was to be a witness against him? He did not."

Examined by the House.

"Did the gentlemen who were present at Mr. Homan's on the evening of the 10th, leave Mr. Homan's for South-street together? We did, in the same coach.—Did you go away together in consequence of any proposition or arrangement that took place on the evening of the 10th? Mr. Drake expressed great anxiety to see Mr. S. that evening, the only evening he had; Mr. Edwards got a coach, and I of course went with that.—Do you know that Mr. S. was brought from sir Gilbert Heathcote's to South-street? I mentioned what I knew to Mr. T. S. and he wrote a note to his father Mr. S.—What conversation passed between Drake and Mr. S. when Mr. S. came to Somerset-place? It was entirely confined to Mr. Drake's new purchase, and his hunting with Mr. Cobbett.

Aaron Graham, Esq. examined by the House.

"Do you recollect receiving a letter from Mr. Sheridan, desiring you to do Mr. S. the favour of coming to Somerset-place, to examine a person? It was the 9th of Feb.—Have you the letter with you? I have. [Mr. Graham delivered it in, and it was read.]—What answer or communication did Mr. S. receive from you upon the subject? The person who brought me the letter was a Mr. Johnston, belonging to the theatre. I returned for answer, that I did not think it at all proper to go down to Somerset House to take the examination; that if the party had done any thing improper, which required an examination, if the party was sent to me, I would take the examination.—In consequence of that, did Mr. Harris, accompanied by Mr. Johnston and Mr. Homan, attend you? In about half an hour afterwards Mr. Johnston returned with a man by the name of Harris, and said he was the person whom Mr. S. wished to be examined.—Did Harris swear to the examination? I took his examination in writing, and he signed it, and swore to it.—Have you the examination with you? I have; it was taken in two days, because, before I had finished with him, I was obliged to leave for a business which required my attention, and I finished with him the next morning.—Had not you a communication from Mr. S., that it was his wish that you should keep the paper with a notice to the Speaker, or to Mr. Paull's solicitor, that it should be forthcoming? Such a request was made to me by Mr. Johnston. I did keep it one night, not on account of that, but because I had not finished the examination; when the examination was closed I should have thought it highly improper to keep a thing which was to be produced.—Did you mark the letter? I made him mark the letter, to see that it was the same letter that I returned again next day.—Was Mr. S. present at either of the examinations either day? Certainly not.—Did Mr. S. see you to converse with you respecting the examinations, or did he see the examination till last Sunday? The only communication which passed on the subject was, that I sent a message by Mr. Johnston. I think that I had gone through the examination, that I was perfectly satisfied in my own mind that Harris had got the letter from Drake, and that I wished he would send Drake to me, that I might learn whom he got from. Mr. Johnston afterwards called to tell me that he had seen Drake, and endeavoured to prevail on him to come to me, but could not do it.—Did Mr. J. know the particulars of that examination? Mr. J. was present at the examination.

Emanuel Harris examined by the House.

How came you first to see Mr. Sheridan, or to go to Somerset-place? I was served with a Speaker's warrant from the house of commons by Mr. Boswell of Gosport; he applied to me several times for the letter I received from Mr. Drake.—Was any money or temptation held out to you by Mr. Boswell, or any other person, to give up that letter? When Mr. Boswell served me with the warrant, a day or two after he met me, and says, Mr. Harris, do you want any money? I said, no, Mr. Boswell. There was a gentleman by the name of Mr. Joseph, who keeps a shop at Gosport; he said, Harris, do you hear what Mr. Boswell said? I said, I do, sir; he then said, will you go up to-night with me in a post-chaise? I said, no, sir; I am going up, but I shall go up in the stage: I did not go up that night, but a night or two after. When I arrived in town on the 5th of Feb. I was not scarce half an hour in my house when Mr. Boswell and Mr. Jukes, the banker from Gosport, arrived at my house; they came and applied to me for the letter I had from Mr. Drake, signed R. B. Sheridan, Treasurer of the Navy. I immediately went away; I told them to wait a little, I would let them know in a minute whether I would let them have it or not. I made my way out of the house, and went over to Mr. Sheridan's house; I live in Holywell-street. When I went into Mr. Sheridan's, I saw Mr. Burgess, he was there, and I told him the case, that there were two gentlemen at my house; I have a letter so and so, which I have by me; there are two gentlemen want it: I do not know whether I do right to deliver that letter out of my hands, as I have a Speaker's warrant which I shall obey. I went away. Mr. Burgess told Mr. Jukes and Mr. Boswell that he would send them to Bow-street, if they came to inquire for the letter, which they had no right to do; however they went away that day. At that time Mr. Burgess said, Mr. Harris, I shall come to you presently again; I said very well, sir. He came to me about an hour after; I said, how do you do, Mr. Burgess? he said, how do you do Mr. Harris? He said, I shall be very happy to see you this evening, about 5 o'clock; I said, I will attend you; I shall be at home. He came and asked, will you have the goodness to walk over to Mr. Sheridan's? I did, and I took the letter with me, and shewed it to Mr. Sheridan. After a few words I went home, and they applied for the letter again, and I told Mr. Burgess of it, and Mr. Burgess and Mr. Sheridan advised me to let them have the letter, which I told them I could not by any means; as I had a warrant from the house of commons to produce it, I should certainly obey it. They said, they thought it could not be any harm for me to give it up; I said, I could not do any thing of the kind.—Did not Mr. Burgess advise you to deliver the letter to a messenger of this house? I do say so.—Had not you another letter, some considerable time before you had this letter, purporting to be signed by Mr. Sheridan? Yes, pretty near a month I dare say; being blotted, I shewed it to my friends, and asked them what they thought of the letter? they said, if you can get one with the signature of it more plain, it will be better. I went back to Mr. Drake and said, I should thank you, Mr. Drake, if you could get a letter signed more plain by Mr. Sheridan, the Treasurer of the Navy; but that letter had M. P. to it, which I thought not proper, as there was no parliament.—What was the distance of time between your receiving the first and the second letter? About 3 months, when Mr. Drake was so long about giving me the other letter. I will tell you the particulars: I paid him for the letter, I gave him money for his trouble. I says, Mr. Drake, if you will get me a letter which will be of great service to me in my business, you shall not do it for nothing: he said, well, Harris, what will you give me? I said, will a 10l. note satisfy you? he said, yes, as you are a neighbour, I do not wish so much as that; I will be satisfied with 5; however, Mr. Drake has had to the amount of 5l. 8s. of me for the letter.—When Mr. S. expressed his surprise at your believing it possible for him to have signed that letter, did you not state that admiral Colpoys and admiral Parker, and others had signed such letters? Yes, and I can name the parties; it is an usual thing for gentlemen to give such letters. There is the duke of Clarence; Mr. Zachariah has one.—Did you not go of yourself, voluntarily, and give your evidence to Mr. Graham? I certainly did. When I applied to Mr. S. I said I would advertise Mr. Drake, when I heard the letter was a forgery. Mr. S. said, "it is a pity to do that; he will "receive his punishment." I wished several times to advertise him, because I could not find him.—Was any means taken by Mr. Drake to offer you money, or reward, to get that letter out of your possession? There is a gentleman of the name of Mr. Dawes, who can prove that he offered me money; and he said he would take me to a place, and I should not come to any harm. He offered me 30 or 40l., and I said, I would not for any sum give the letter out of my hands to any person.—To whom is the letter addressed? I have the letter; it is to captains and commanders of his majesty's ships of war. I have the letter here. He stated that the signature only was Mr. S's. writing.—[The letter was read, and is as follows:] "London, Nov. 3, 1806.—Sir, "The bearer is a respectable tradesman; "and if you will permit him to serve the "ship under your command, I am certain "justice will be done to every man on "board that employs him to fit him out "with clothes, &c.; and in so doing you "will greatly oblige your obedient, &c. "R. B. Sheridan. Somerset Place, Trea-"surer of the Navy. To Captains and "Commanders of His Majesty's Ships of "War."—Had you yourself ever any personal knowledge of Mr. S's. hand-writing? No.—Had you ever the slightest intercourse with Mr. S. before this time? Never before the 5th of Feb. last.—Was the first or the second letter connected with any condition, that you should procure for Mr. S. any number of votes for the Westminster election? No, not one; I am sorry to say that I did not get one vote.—To the best of your knowledge, what became of the first letter? I asked Mr. Drake what became of the first letter; and he said he destroyed it, because he did not think two should be in circulation.—You gave it back to Mr. Drake? Yes; I asked him how it became so blotted, and he said Mr. S. dried it with the cuff of his coat.—That was 3 or 4 months before the second letter was obtained? About a month, or 5 weeks.

Cross-examined by Mr. Clifford, on behalf of the Petitioner.

Look at that signature (R. B. Sheridan); it appears to be blotted, does not it? Yes.—Were you present when that blotting took place? I do not know.—When first that letter was delivered to you, was there any blotting on the name of R. B. Sheridan? I cannot say whether there was or not.—Was there any blotting upon the name there, after you came to town? That I cannot answer. When I was served with a warrant I took and locked it in a trunk of mine in the same piece of paper it is in now, and I took it and kept it at home, and never had it out of doors since.—Do you mean to say you cannot tell whether that blot on the name of R. B. Sheridan took place before or after you came to town? I do mean to say so, I do not know.—Do you mean to say that blot did not arise from ink thrown upon it by Mr. S. in your presence? I cannot say that, because I know nothing at all about it.—Did not you deliver that letter after you came to town into the hands of Mr. S.? Not out of my sight.—Did you deliver it into his hands? I let him have it into his hand, and take out a copy of it.—Was there an ink-stand near, when he had it? It was in my sight, and if any person had touched it I should have seen it; I saw no person touch it.—Will you venture to swear, that at the time you delivered it to Mr. S. the blot was on his name? I cannot say any thing about that, for I took no notice of it.—Had not you been in the habit of using that letter day by day at Portsmouth, for above 2 months before you came to town? No.—Where were you when you were served with the Speaker's summons to attend before the committee? In Mr. Boswell's house at Gosport.—You have stated that Mr. Boswell asked you if you wanted money? Yes.—What did he ask you if you wanted money for? I do not know; he asked me if I would let him have the letter for 24 hours, that he would give me bank-security if I would, 10 or 20*l*. That I can bring proof of by respectable persons, Mr. Joseph of Gosport.—Was the bank-security for the return of the letter, or for his not keeping it beyond the 24 hours? I would not let him have it on any conditions.—What did he offer you bank-security for? For returning the letter.—You have stated the names of different persons whose letters you have seen used? I have not seen them; I have heard of their being used.—You have stated that you went to the magistrate voluntarily to give your evidence; at whose desire did you go? My own, because I wanted to have it advertised in the paper; I was not satisfied with having a forgery in my possession.——When was that? I have marked the date upon the letter, it is the 9th of Feb.—The letter, I think, you stated to be dated the 3d of Nov.? Yes.—When did you first discover it was a forgery, and think it necessary to go and make your complaint to the magistrate? When I was told of it.—When was that? When I applied to Mr. S.—When did you first apply to Mr. S.? When I first came to town, the 5th Feb. that night.—Had you not been using that letter for the purpose of selling your slops, till you saw Mr. S. on the 5th Feb. at night? I had not, because I locked it up, and would not make any use of it, after I was served with the Speaker's warrant. I had been in the habit of delivering letters into men of war, where they have taken them, and torn them, and thrown them overboard, and I was afraid of their serving this letter the same.—When were you served with the Speaker's warrant? The 12th Jan. is the date here; I cannot exactly state whether that was the day.—I believe it was the 20th? It might be.—Did you ever suggest to Mr. S. any doubt of the signature till you had been served with the Speaker's warrant? I never applied to Mr. S. till the 5th of Feb. and then he told me so; and I said it was better to advertise Mr. Drake if I could not find him.—How came you not to apply to Mr. S. if you thought this a forgery, till you were served with the Speaker's warrant? I did not think it was a forgery till the 5th of Feb.—Who told you so then? Mr. S.—How came you to go to Mr. S. to ask him about it? Because I was served with the Speaker's warrant; and these people applying to me for the letter, I went and asked him whether I might give it up or not.—When Mr. Boswell served you with the Speaker's warrant, did he not tell you that you were to be called to support the petition of Mr. Paull? He told me I was to apply to the house of commons on the 24th of Feb.; and he asked me if I had not a letter in my possession, signed by R. B. Sheridan, Treasurer of the Navy, I said, yes; and he said, would I let him look at it? I said, I had no objection. He asked whether I would let him take a copy, and I did.—Did not you know, from Mr. Boswell, that it was on the behalf of Mr. Paull that you were summoned? Yes.—How came you to go to Mr. S.? Because, several times they applied to me for the letter, and that was the only reason I went to Mr. S. I live at Portsea, and Mr. Boswell at Gosport; and every now and then they sent over to me, and asked me for the letter. I did not think it proper to give it them; I told them I should go up to town, and have advice upon it: I would not act upon my own opinion.—When were those applications first made to you by those persons? Several times after I was served with the precept.

Examined by the House.

Did you vote at the election for Westminster? Yes.—For whom? For Mr. S.—Did you vote before you received that letter? I believe it was 9 or 10 days afterwards.—Did you apply to Drake in the first instance to get the first letter? I asked him for it at a place where I was. I took him with me to a meeting one night.—You stated that you knew several persons in your trade who have letters of that description: did you apply to him for a letter from Mr. S.? I said, if he could get me a letter from an admiral; I did not know any thing of Mr. S.—You have stated that you were present when Mr. S. took a copy of this letter; who was present besides you? Mr. Johnston was in the room.—Did you not think the name of the person who fills the office of treasurer of the navy, would have a better effect signed to his letter, than even the name of an admiral? I do not know.—What use did you intend to make of that letter? For an introduction.—How was the introduction to be procured? When I have got a letter of this sort in my possession, and I go alongside a ship, I hand it up the side, saying, I have a letter for the commanding officer and they look at it if they please to take it into the ship; then if they please or not to admit the person who has the letter.—Would you not prefer a letter from sir Isaac Coffin, to a letter from the treasurer of the navy? Yes.

Mrs. Butler examined by the House.

Have you sufficient means of knowing the character of Mr. Weatherhead? Yes, I have. His brother, whenever he came to town, lodged at my house; and whenever he came he asked for his brother, and he has often sent for him; he is a poor unfortunate person; he was born in the year 1760; here is his age.—What is your opinion of Mr. Weatherhead, and would you believe his testimony on oath? I could not believe his testimony at all; he is a man of very bad character; he used to go out and be torn all to pieces, and his brother was quite ashamed of him.— Is he of that reputation you would not believe him upon his oath? I would not believe him for a farthing, upon his oath.—With what company has he associated? The last time he was in my house, he was in company with Robertson, who was hung lately; that was a few days before Robertson was taken up; I never saw him till this evening again, and then he went away the moment he saw me.—Was he acquainted with a person of the name of Bazeley? Yes, he lived with the same woman; Bazeley lived with a girl of the name of Lucy Wallis.—Robertson was hung? Yes, and Bazeley too.

Cross-examined by Mr. Warren on behalf of the Petitioner.

What is this house of your's? My house is the Queen's Head.—What do you deal in? Spirits, and porter, and wines, and all sorts of liquor.—Is it a house open in the night-time? It is open for the market in the morning.—Is it open all night? No, it is not.—The greatest part of the night? From between 3 and 4 in the morning; I open it then.—Did you know Robertson yourself? Yes I did.—And Bazeley too? Yes.—And Lucy Wallis? Yes.—Were they all your acquantance? They were none of my acquaintance but curiosity led me to know them.

Mr. Paull was examined respecting some letters said to have passed between him and B. Hart. He acknowledged the hand-writing, and was proceeding to offer some observations upon the question to the house, when he was reminded by the Speaker of the capacity in which he then stood at the bar of the house.

Mr. B. Hart was next examined. He had been employed by Mr. Paull during the election; he did not, however, consider himself as Mr. Paull's agent. Mr. Paull called at his house and left his card: he called a second time, and requested him to come to his house, Charles-street, St. James's-square, which he did, when Mr. Paull entreated him to exert his influence to procure him votes. About a week after the election he had some conversation with Mr. Paull and Mr. Powell respecting some suspicions that had gone abroad about bad votes said to have been given to Mr. Sheridan, and they recommended to him to endeavour to procure information respecting that matter; he however soon after fell ill, in which state he continued some weeks, and had not seen Mr. Paull since.

Mr. *Sheridan* was proceeding to ask the witness several more questions, respecting his employment during the election, whether he did accompany Mr. Paull in his carriage to and from the hustings, &c. &c., when

Lord *Howick* observed, that his hon. friend, according to his own principle laid down on a former occasion, thought it best not to touch upon the general conduct of the election, but merely upon the allegations contained in the petition.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that such was the object he had in view; but he thought it necessary, at the same time, to ascertain the characters of the persons who were made the instruments to attempt to prove these allegations, and carry on one of the foulest conspiracies that the malignity of man had ever conceived.—The examination and testimony of the last witness was then ordered to be expunged from the minutes taken at the bar, on the ground that it entered too much into the merits of the petition to be entertained by the house.

Mr. *Sheridan* observed, that, if the house should deem it necessary to adopt any further proceedings relative to what was disclosed at their bar, there were several other witnesses in readiness, whom, perhaps, it might be thought necessary to call in, as they might possibly corroborate many of the particulars which had fallen from the other witnesses, or fill up some trifling chasms in the evidence; for his own part, however, he did not mean to trouble the house with any further evidence, but was perfectly satisfied to let his case rest where it was. The papers which had been moved for that night, by a noble lord (Howick), would be sufficient to shew that there was not a word of truth in what had been said by Drake and another, who was thought to be a principal witness on the part of the petitioner.

Lord *Howick* declared his firm conviction, that a foul and scandalous conspiracy had been entered into against the sitting member; and in order that the house might have an opportunity of judging more precisely as to the quality of the evidence which had been adduced at their bar, he moved that the evidence be printed, which was ordered accordingly.

Mr. *Whitbread* observed, that it might be neceesary to take some measure to secure the future attendance of the witnesses at the bar, in case the house should think fit to take any further steps relative to the nature of the evidence which they had heard.—The house then ordered, that the further proceeding on the Westminster petition and evidence should be resumed on Friday the 15th instant, and that the witnesses should attend on that day.

Mr. *Sheridan* thought it but justice to Mr. Cobbett to state, before the rising of the house, that notwithstanding what Drake had asserted, he was fully satisfied that he was entirely unconnected with the scandalous proceedings which had been taken against him.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, March 6.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Hobhouse, chairman of the committee appointed to try the merits of the Wick election, reported, that the sitting member, Mr. Mackenzie, was duly elected, and that the petition of Sir John Sinclair against him was not frivolous nor vexatious.

[CONDUCT OF MR. CAWTHORNE.] Colonel *Wilder*, seeing an hon. general in his place, wished to know from him whether it was his intention to bring forward the motion, of which he had given notice, for the expulsion of a member not now present (Mr. Cawthorne). It was painful to the hon. member, who was the object of that motion, that the matter should remain longer in suspense. It was also desirable to the house that the question should be brought to a decision as soon as possible.

General *Porter* said, that no man was more anxious than he that this matter should be brought to a speedy decision, which must be equally desirable to the house and the gentleman who was the object of the motion. But the house having thought fit to appoint a committee to inquire into precedents relating to expulsion, he could not possibly proceed till that committee should have made its report. That report being now before the house, it was his intention this day, if the chairman of the committee alluded to had been present, to fix a day as early as consistent with the convenience of that hon. gent., and that of the house, He would now merely state, that he intended on Monday to fix as early a day as possible, consistent with these objects.

[CALL OF THE HOUSE.] The names of the defaulters at the ballot for the Guilford election committee, on Thursday, were called over, and those who had no excuse to offer, were ordered to attend in their places on Tuesday, and in the event of there being absent without excuse on that day, to be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms.

Mr. *Perceval* took occasion here to say, that he did not look upon what was stated from any particular side of the house on cases of this kind to be the law. He should take the liberty of exercising his own judgment on every individual case till the house should have pronounced upon it. On the occasion on which he had been a defaulter, he had been in attendance at the bar of the house of lords, in the discharge of his professional duty. It was not for him to say whether that would be, in the sense of the house, an excuse; but he wished to know from the sense of the house whether his absence was criminal in such cases. He was unwilling to depend on what might be the sense of one side of the house or of any individual.

The *Speaker* stated, that it was the law of the house, that defaulters should be taken into custody. The order now made was but a notice that this law would be enforced.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that this proceeding of taking defaulters into custody was, as had been stated from the chair, the law of the house. But it was open to the house to exercise its judgment on every individual case, and either to enforce the law, or dispense with its enforcement, upon sufficient excuse, or at its pleasure. But it was to be understood that, generally, it would be enforced, and that was the reason for making it a particular order on every particular occasion.

[SLAVE TRADE ABOLITION BILL]. The house, on the motion of lord Howick, resolved itself into a committee on the Slave Trade Abolition bill.

Sir *Charles Pole* opposed the measure, not, he observed, with a view to the consideration of any individual interests, but as an object of the utmost national importance. About the year 1780, there were 15,000 persons destroyed by a hurricane in Jamaica; in case of such an event taking place again, it would be found impossible to uphold the state of property in the islands, without importation. On the other hand, if the trade was not permitted by parliament to be continued, it would be found almost impossible to prevent smuggling; or even if we did compleatly abandon the trade, it would be immediately taken up by the enemy, who would increase and strengthen his navy by those means, and we might soon expect to see the downfall of the British empire. At least he thought it might be expedient to give the planters time to add to their number of female slaves, as a probable means of laying the foundation for a better supply in future. He therefore moved, that instead of May, 1807, the words May, 1812, should be inserted, as the time for the commencement of the operation of the bill.

Mr. *Ward* contended that our colonies would neither be injured nor ruined by the operation of the immediate abolition, but that on the contrary they would be benefited thereby. The disproportion between births and deaths had been for several years declining in Jamaica. And the beneficial operation of this measure would leave the effect of reducing that disproportion still more. Besides, the population would be kept up by the kind treatment, which it would then be the interest of the planters to extend to their negroes. He should prefer the rejection of the whole measure to voting for the extension of its commencement for five years, which would be only a compromise of their consciences, and a disappointment of the wishes of the people.

Sir *Philip Francis* argued in favour of the bill. He maintained, that the abolition, so far from being injurous to the navy of this country, would be advantageous to our maritime strength, by preserving our seamen from the mortality which took place in the prosecution of that trade. If it were to be only a question respecting the navy of this country and the navy of France, he should not have any objection that the whole of the French navy should be employed in that trade; and he was convinced that our navy would maintain its superiority, while that of the enemy would be reduced still lower than it was at present. Nothing tended so much to the calamities that had ruined St. Domingo, as the unlimited power that individuals had of increasing the disproportion between the black and the white population. This bill would extinguish that power, and, therefore, secure the tranquillity of the British colonies.

Mr. *Fuller* would be extremely glad to hear by what regulations the hon. member's father (Mr. Ward) kept up the population on his estate in Jamaica, and there could not be the smallest doubt of all the other planters being extremely obliged to him, and most cheerfully following his example; He had heard something of its local situation, preventing the negroes from mixing with those on the estates adjoining; their habits were different, and that might in some measure account for the difference in the maintenance of the population on that particular estate. He cautioned gentlemen, however, against being led away by false notions of popularity and humanity. Those who were planters themselves might easily raise a clamour against the cruelty of the planters, &c., but he would have gentlemen to recollect that the West Indies had been the support of the country for many years, both as to seamen and revenue. We might as well say, Oh, we will not have our chimney swept, because it is a little troublesome to the boy, as that we should give up the benefit of the West Indies on account of the supposed hardships of the negro.

General *Vyse* vindicated the character of the planters for humanity; but supported the bill most strenuously, on the ground that there was a most shameful abuse of the authority delegated by them.

Sir *T. Turton* observed, that if the measure of French iniquity was not yet full, we should surrender up to them this guilty trade, that we might acquit ourselves of any further charge as to this heinous offence; whilst it might complete the catalogue of our enemies' crimes, we, at the same time, might hope to have taken one great step towards averting the wrath of Heaven from us.

Mr. *H. Addington* supported the amendment; but at the same time recommended that a parliamentary commission should be sent out to every island in the West Indies, and that parliament might afterwards lay very high duties on the importation of slaves into every island where the traffic was found to be still carried on.

Mr. *Whitbread* thought it would be a most tedious and impotent measure to wait until we had the report of as many of the commissioners as might chance to reach home with the report, and then leave the measure in a great degree to the discretion of the governors of the different islands. But there was one point which he thought to be particularly worthy of notice; the council for the planters had acknowledged at the bar of the house of lords, that it was intended to have several new pieces of land cultivated, for which a fresh supply of slaves was wanted; and there was another point to which he thought it necessary to advert; did the gallant admiral opposite suppose that we, as christians, could hope, when visited by the wrath of Heaven, as he had stated, with a hurricane, could we then hope for a blessing from the Almighty by setting off to Africa to rob and murder in order to recruit our stock?

Mr. *Rose* entered into a detail of the various proceedings of parliament, and the opinion of the most eminent public men for a century past as to this trade. He concluded by observing, that his late right hon. friend (Mr Pitt) was in his heart a most sincere abolitionist, as well as himself, though there was some difference of opinion between them as to the best means of carrying that principle into execution.

Lord *H. Petty* opposed any further delay; he contended that the authorities cited by the right hon. gent. were not conclusive; on speculative truths the most clear and incontrovertible, there had been in all ages men of probity and wisdom who had their own peculiar and exclusive sentiments. In the parliaments of France how long was it a subject of discussion, whether torture should be sanctioned or not? And yet could there be at this day found a man in civilized Europe who would profess himself an advocate of torture?—so would it be with the slave trade. As to the necessity of delaying its abolition, what had been said? They set out, said the noble lord, with the proposition that the slave trade is inhuman and unjust, and then they propose to prolong that system of injustice, and continue five years more the practice of that inhumanity.

Mr. *Canning* took a view of the subject in three different relations, with respect to Africa, the slave merchants, and the slaves themselves; the arguments advanced by the hon. baronet (sir C. Pole) appeared to him to have been completely overturned by the statement of facts advanced by the gallant general in support of them; he was decidedly for the most speedy abolition of so disgraceful a traffic.

Mr. *Bathurst* thought the immediate abolition of the trade imposible.

Mr. *Barham* was of a contrary opinion, and thought that the measure, to be effectual, must be speedy.

Mr. *Perceval* warmly contended for the necessity of immediate abolition.—The question being loudly called for, the committee divided.

For the immediate abolition - -	175
Against it - - - - - - - -	17
Majority - - - - - -	158

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, March 9.

[Scotch Judicature Bill.] The *Lord Chancellor* stated that he had received a letter from the lord president of the Court of Session in Scotland, addressed to him as lord high chancellor, purporting to be a Memorial from the College of Justice, which was signed by the lord president and ten other judges, with a note of dissent from the four remaining judges. It adverted to the bill before the house for the better regulation of the courts of justice in Scotland, and stated, that it was of great importance that they should be permitted to lay before the house certain considerations relative to that subject. As he could not, from the form of the memorial, move that it should be now laid upon the table, he wished to receive their lordship's instruction as to the course of proceeding which he should adopt. He therefore moved that the lords should be summoned for the next day.—Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, March 9.

[MUTINY BILL.] The house, on the motion of the Secretary at War, having gone into a committee on the Mutiny bill,

The *Secretary at War* made a few observations on the momentous object of the bill, which went to preserve the civil power from all possibility of military encroachment; he then read some of the clauses which he wished to have made part of the bill. Officers or soldiers charged with capital offences, to be turned over to the civil magistrate; but no officer to be ipso facto cashiered for not aiding the civil power, until convicted of such charge before a court of justice. Another clause was introduced and agreed to, enacting that a mark shall be fixed on the bodies of deserters who have been twice guilty of desertion. Another clause compelled deserters to serve for life, and made such forfeit additional pay and pension. A further clause required that no person should be sentenced to the loss of life or limb, or to transportation, by a general court martial, consisting of less than thirteen officers. The clause relative to the enlisting money, as also that providing compensation for masters whose servants or labourers may have enlisted before the time contracted for had expired, gave rise to a short conversation between Mr. R. Dundas, sir T. Turton, colonel Barry, Mr. Rose and Mr. Secretary Windham, when, after a slight amendment of the latter, both were agreed to. The remaining clauses, including one declaring all negroes in his majesty's service free to all intents and purposes, were then severally read and agreed to, and, on the house resuming, the report was ordered to be received the next day.

[SLAVE TRADE ABOLITION BILL.] Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the Slave Trade Abolition bill. On the motion that the amendments be read a second time,

Lord *Howick* rose and said, that before the amendments were read, he was anxious to advert to what had passed on a former occasion, and propose, what he flattered himself would be sufficient to obviate certain objections; in doing this, however, he begged to be understood as not in the slightest degree swerving from the opinions he had advanced, and still entertained, of the principles of the bill itself. He wished to give gentlemen, who had started their objections, every possible accommodation; and though he could not see how the preamble of the bill in its present form could be productive of the ill consequences that had been so strongly apprehended, yet he would consent, by omitting the two first lines, to put that preamble in a form less objectionable. At the same time, when he recollected that all the former proceedings of the two houses of parliament, relative to the slave trade, had been published in all parts of the West Indies, and there circulated, and especially the very resolution declaring the trade to be inconsistent with justice, humanity and sound policy, and that those publications were not productive of any disturbance or disaffection among the negroes; he could not think that if the preamble stood in its original state, it could be productive of the least evil; this opinion, however, should yield to his anxiety for general accommodation on a great question like the present. The amended form of the preamble then proposed by the noble lord, excluded the terms "founded in humanity, &c." and substituted, for certain special reasons, "it is expedient that the slave trade be abolished."

Mr. *Hibbert* said he should reserve what he had to say for a future stage of the bill.

General *Vyse* contended that the terms used in the first preamble, were but characteristic of so infamous a trade, and represented the miseries of the wretched victims in a three fold point of view, the circumstances of their capture and sale in Africa, those of their passage to the colonies, and the manner of their reception on their arrival there.

Mr. *Rose* thought, that the wording of the preamble as it originally stood, would have been productive of dangerous consequences among the slaves.

Mr. *Wilberforce* could not see it in so alarming a point of view, but had no objection to the amendment.

Mr. *Fuller* felt himself much obliged to the noble lord for the willingness he had evinced towards general accommodation on this subject; he could not however help adverting to the unfair and unhandsome construction that had been put upon his own conduct in this business; he did not much like to see upon a former night an hon. member going about the house asking questions about his estate in the colonies, the name of it, and other circumstances, as if it were to detect him (Mr. Fuller) in any assertion that might not

: be strictly consonant to the fact; he ould scorn to assert any thing which he not think he could substantiate. He knew at was due from every member to that use, and he knew also what was due from nan of honour to himself. He was no iful canter;—confident in the integrity of intentions, no superstitious folly hurried n to interpret every little casualty into a e visitation of Providence. But had he internal principle to guide him, he had support that character, a long line of antry bequeathed him. The family were ll known and respected in 1607, and this s 1807, and they were now, as they were en—not one of them indebted to any facn or to any ministry for sixpence of the blic money; they were then in prosperity, l now in the fairest way of prospering, if ntlemen would let them prosper. As for nself, he had always voted in that house a juror upon his oath. He was not enavouring to get in with the government,— felt and acted as an independent man, and s never an admirer of affected piety.

Mr. *Barham* approved of the amendment the preamble proposed by the noble lord Iowick) on principles of policy. The imessing upon the minds of the negroes that was by a violation of the laws of justice d humanity that they came there, would only filling their minds with unavailing gret. He acknowledged that the circulan of the papers respecting the abolition in e West Indies, was rather a singular sort proceeding. But, at the same time, the groes must have learnt from these that the ntiments concerning the inhumanity, instice, &c. of the measure were only those the minority in this country. He reommended conciliatory measures, and obrved, that whatever bad effects might relt from the mode of proceeding in this isiness, he had nothing to do with them. e disapproved of the trade itself, but had jections to the manner of abolishing it.

Mr. *Dickenson* observed, that the opinions hich he formerly maintained on this subct were much weakened; he still, hower, doubted the policy of the measure, but the same time could not help paying his ibute of approbation to the moderation of e noble lord.

General *Gascoyne* also approved of the nendment; but still contended that the easure would in the first instance occasion separation of interests and opinions between is country and the colonies, and ultimate- occasion an entire separation, unless the law passed in 1807 should be repealed in 1808.

Lord *Howick* proposed a clause to prevent the late regulations for limited service extending to the negroes. The negroes, therefore, are still to be inlisted in the first instance, his Majesty having the power to make such regulations respecting them as he may hereafter judge proper. The object of this was to prevent any apprehensions of their becoming chargeable to the islands. This clause was received and added to the bill.——The amendment in the preamble, and the amendments in the committee were then agreed to, and the bill was ordered to be read a third time on Wednesday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, March 10.

[SCOTCH JUDICATURE BILL.]—Lord *Grenville* rose to move for certain accounts, previous to the introduction of the subject, for the consideration of which their lordships were then particularly summoned. He had, on a former occasion, when he proposed to the house his intention of bringing in a bill for the regulation of the Courts of Justice in Scotland, adverted to the great inconvenience which the house had already suffered, and which it was likely yet to suffer, in consequence of the great number of appeal causes submitted to its judicial consideration. He should therefore at present trouble their lordships with two motions; first, that an account be presented to the house of the number of Scotch Appeals, from the year 1794 to 1801; and next, an Account of the number of Scotch and Irish Appeals, from 1801 to the present year 1807.—Ordered accordingly.

The *Lord Chancellor* having quitted the woolsack, observed, that he was induced to call the attention of their lordships to a communication made to him from the president and senators of the College of Justice in Scotland, for the purpose of being guided by the wisdom and decision of the house, on a subject in which he was unwilling to trust to his own private judgment and opinion. He had received from that body a memorial, adverting to the bill at present before the house, for the better regulation of the Courts of Justice in Scotland; but, as it contained no distinct prayer, nor complained of any specific grievance, he did not feel himself justified by any precedent in the Parliamentary History of the country, to present it to their lordships. He found, from a reference to a marginal note in the memorial, that the Court of Session grounded the present communication on two precedents; the first, when, in the year 1659, the Court of Session made an application in a similar manner to the parliament of Scotland; and the other, that, in the year 1717, by the Act of Sederunt, the Court of Session did apply to certain lords, part of their own body, but who were also lords of parliament, communicating to them their opinion on certain legislative measures then in the consideration of the house. It was for the house to determine whether such precedents had any reference to the present case. Anxious as he was to obtain the instructions and opinion of so learned and venerable a body as the Court of Session, and naturally alive to the feelings and wishes of his native country, he still could not forget that he had to preserve the rights and privileges, the dignity and character, of the house. With such an impression, and in so delicate and important a matter, he felt it the most advisable method to govern himself by the wisdom and judgment of their lordships.

Lord *Grenville* declared himself particularly satisfied with the motives and reasons which had induced his noble and learned friend to apply to their lordships for advice and instruction in the present case. But, though willing to give every credit for the caution which was observed, he still must assert, that the usages and forms of parliament, the practice and precedents of the house, were conclusive against the receiving of this memorial from the Court of Session. Parliament had uniformly, for the best and most salutary reasons, denied to any person or body, the right or opportunity of giving advice upon subjects submitted to its legislative consideration. This was of itself mandatory on their lordships, not to receive the communication alluded to by his noble and learned friend. But there was a further objection, arising from the uniform custom of the house, not to allow even petitions to be laid upon its table, coming from any alleged body, unless that body were legally and justifiably entitled to approach the legislature in a corporate capacity. He was convinced his noble and learned friend felt upon this subject, as he did; although he was conscious of the strong and powerful inducements which urged him to apply to their lordships. There was considerable attention to be paid to the venerable and learned body from whom this communication was received. This his noble and learned friend felt, together with an unwillingness to decide a question of such weighty importance on his own private opinion and conviction. With respect to the precedents referred to in the memorial, they would be found, on examination, by no means to apply to the present case. Whatever might be the nature of the connexion of the Court of Session, with the parliament of Scotland, one fact was clear, that no inference could be drawn from that circumstance, in any manner affecting the practice or decision of the house. It was unnecessary to enter into the minute differences: he should satisfy himself by saying, that the parliament of this country was so essentially different in its construction from the parliament of Scotland, that no act of the latter could be supposed as a justified precedent, by which the house should regulate itself. But the reference to the act of Sederunt, in the year 1717, when an application was made by the Court of Session, to lords of parliament, was, in his opinion, equally inapplicable to the present case; because it appeared, from an examination of that precedent, that the lords of the Court of Session applied only in the manner of remonstrance, to some lords who constituted a part of their court, and also fulfilled the duties of lords of parliament. He felt it impossible for the house to receive the memorial; at the same time that he was free to admit, that the house might receive much desirable information from having the opinion of that learned body laid before it. It was in their power to avail themselves of the right of petitioning according to the sanctioned and acknowledged principles of parliament. For his own part, he was extremely anxious to have the house put in possession of the opinion of that venerable court. From some of the suggestions of the memorial (for he had also been honoured with a copy of it from the lord president) he had received important information; on other points, he was still obliged to dissent. As far, therefore, as he was personally concerned, he wished their lordships to be enabled, from learning the objections of the Court of Session, to appreciate the value of those arguments, which he should think it his duty to state, in answer to such objections. He recommended his noble and learned friend to state, in his wonted respectful manner, to the learned person from whom he received the memorial, the insuperable objections which prevented him from presenting it to the house.

Lord *Eldon* was of opinion, that although the house could not receive a communication from the Court of Session, in the manner in which the present memorial was made, yet it was of the highest importance, that the opinion and advice of so learned and venerable a body, on a subject which so peculiarly involved their interests and duties, should be fully in possession of their lordships, before they were called upon to decide on perhaps one of the greatest changes which ever took place in the administration of justice in any country. There were other modes, whereby that instruction and information could be obtained. For instance, it was in the power of the house to resolve, that the measure should be submitted to the opinion of the Court of Session, for the purpose of enabling it to gain beneficial information from the report which should be made. There were precedents for such a line of procedure, and it was for their lordships to adopt that which tended to promote the means of acquiring the most correct knowledge of the merits of the measure.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* expressed himself as anxious as any other noble lord, to have the opinion of the Court of Session laid before the house: but, at the same time, he wished to be fully understood, that in order to prevent any farther delay in receiving such opinion, the lords of the Court of Session should petition the house in their individual capacity, for only in that capacity could their petition be received. With respect to one of the precedents referred to, it would be found by the preamble of the Bill on the Forfeited Estates, that the lords of the Court of Session were only heard as petitioners, or, as the bill more appropriately recited, as supplicants. He deprecated the proposal of consulting the lords of Session on the enactment of a legislative measure; such conduct would be inconsistent with the character and forms of parliament; it was a principle which the house never did nor could recognise. By the 10th of George I. parliament deprived the Court of Session of the right of interfering in the appointment of the judges, yet the house did not conceive it necessary to apply for information to the lords of the Court of Session. Indeed, in all cases where the history of parliament afforded an opportunity of inquiry, whether applicable to England or Scotland, he contended, that, however parliament might have deemed it necessary to apply to the judges for their opinions on points of law, it never did commit to their investigation a legislative measure, in the agitation of which it then happened to be engaged.—After some further observations,

The *Lord Chancellor* said, that he would take upon himself to make the necessary communication to the learned lord from whom he received the memorial, without in any manner committing the house, or compromising its privileges or character.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, March 10.

[MINUTES.]—The following are the names of the members remaining on the reduced list of the members chosen by ballot to try and determine the merits of the Petition complaining of an undue election for Taunton; T. S. Gooch, esq. sir John Aubrey, G. Baillie, esq. John Pattison, esq. sir T. Mostyn, R. Morris, esq. W. H. Fellowes, esq. Cecil Forrester, esq. R. Manners, esq. E. M. Mundy, esq. hon. J. W. Grimston, John T. P. B. Trevanion, esq. R. Holt Leigh, esq. Nominees; sir J. Dashwood King, bt. right hon. N. Bond.

[PETITION OF MR. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.] Mr. *Whitbread* stated, that he held in his hand a Petition from the hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnston, late colonel of the 8th West India Regiment, and governor of the Island of Dominica. Before he opened the subject of it, he thought it proper to explain to the house, that he had not the honour of the petitioner's acquaintance. He never saw him until yesterday, when he had a few minutes conversation with him. The petition, he understood, had been offered to several members who had declined presenting it. In conformity with a principle which he had laid down for himself, he thought it his duty to present it, at the same time he begged to be understood as not being in the smallest degree pledged to the truth of the allegations contained in it.

The Petition was then presented and read. It stated, "That the petitioner, previous to the month of October, 1803, had served as an officer in the army, upwards of twenty years; that he had risen in regular gradation, from the rank of ensign to that of colonel; that of his time of service, thirteen years had been spent upon foreign stations, frequently under circumstances of great fatigue and danger; and, that, during the whole of the said service, he had never, upon any occasion, incurred the censure or displeasure of any one of his superiors, but had generally the satisfaction to meet with their marked approbation. That brevet promotions in the army are made according to seniority of rank, and that for an officer to be passed over in such promotion is a deep disgrace to him. That, in the aforesaid month of October, 1803, a brevet promotion of major-generals took place, in which promotion the name of your petitioner was purposely omitted. That, sensible of the disgrace thus inflicted on him, and conscious that the infliction was unjust, he immediately applied to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, then and now commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces, to know the cause of punishment so severe and unexpected. That it was upwards of two months before he received any answer at all to this application, and that he was then informed of the cause of his punishment, by a letter from the Duke of York, dated on the 10th of December, 1803, containing the following words:—"It is an invariable rule of the service, not to include in any general brevet promotion, an officer (whatever may be his rank) against whom their exist charges, the merit of which has not been decided; but, whenever an investigation shall have taken place, and, should the result prove favourable to you, there will not be any difficulty in your recovering the rank, to which your seniority, as colonel, entitles you." That it was with great surprise, that your petitioner thus, for the first time, learnt, that there were charges *existing* against him; and, it was not without some degree of indignation, that he perceived, that he had been punished upon the ground of mere charges preferred in the dark; that these charges had never been communicated to him, and, moreover, that, even of the *existence* of which charges he was not informed, until upwards of two months after he had been *punished*, and had complained of his punishment. That your petitioner, upon receiving the letter aforesaid from the Duke of York, lost no time in most earnestly soliciting his Royal Highness to afford him information as to the nature and purport of the charges *existing* against him; but, that, unto his repeated entreaties for this purpose, no answer whatever was he able to obtain, until the 28th day of the ensuing month of May, when, after having been thus kept in a state of suspense and disgrace for six months, he was informed, by order of the Duke of York, that he, the Duke of York, had now called upon Major Gordon (the accuser) to state whether he meant to bring forward any charges at all against your petitioner; so that, as your honourable house will perceive, your petitioner was now informed, not of the nature of the charges against him, but that the Duke of York had not yet ascertained whether there were in existence the grounds whereon to form any such charges, though, as it will be perceived by your honourable house, your petitioner had actually been *punished*, upon the ground, as stated by the Duke of York himself, that charges existed against your petitioner in the preceding month of October. That your petitioner, conscious that no criminal charge could, with truth, be preferred against him, impatiently waited for the day of trial, which, however, to the great vexation and injury of your petitioner, was delayed until the month of March, 1805, though, according to the Duke of York's letter of the 10th of December, 1803, the charges actually existed against your petitioner in the month of October preceding, —a year and a half before it was thought proper to proceed upon them. That previous, however, to the assembling of the court martial, before whom your petitioner was sent, stigmatized with having now been passed over in two general brevet promotions, some circumstances occurred, to which your petitioner humbly presumes to solicit the particular attention of your honourable house. That your petitioner having stated to Sir Charles Morgan, the then judge advocate general, his objection to Mr. Oldham as a person to officiate as judge advocate at the approaching trial, and which objection was founded upon the partial conduct of Mr. Oldham upon a recent occasion, Sir Charles Morgan informed your petitioner, that, in consequence of such objection, he had had an intention of appointing some other person to officiate at the court martial; but that he had recently received an application from His Royal Highness the Duke of York, specially requesting, that Mr. Oldham might officiate; and that this had determined him (Sir Charles Morgan) to employ Mr. Oldham upon the occasion. That your petitioner, at no loss as to the motive of this interference, adhered the more resolutely to his aforesaid objection; but that, though he, finally, and with much difficulty, succeeded in this point, he, to his great mortification, found, that, immediately afterwards, the seat of the court martial, which was, by the order of the Duke of York, actually assembling at Canterbury, whither, towards the end of February, your petitioner and several of his witnesses had repaired, was, all of a sudden, removed to Chelsea, notwithstanding the remonstrance of your petitioner, who, in a letter to the judge advocate general, dated on the 21st of February, 1805, stated, that "great inconvenience and expence would "be occasioned by this change, as well as "the impossibility of transmitting timely "notice of it to the witnesses, particularly "those resident in distant parts of the king-"dom." That, in spite of all the disadvantages, by these and other means created, your petitioner was honourably acquitted upon all the charges preferred against him, notwithstanding so much study and preparation had been used in the producing of those charges; that, not only was he so acquitted, but there was not brought out in evidence, one single fact tending in the slightest degree to shew, that the accuser himself could possibly ever have believed any one of the charges to be true; and that it was glaringly evident, that the whole of the accusation consisted of falsehoods invented for the sole purpose of injuring the fame and the fortune of your petitioner, and of giving the colour of justice to the punishment which had already been inflicted upon him. That your petitioner, upon the result of the trial being made known unto him, did, on the 18th of April, 1805, endeavour to obtain an audience of his royal highness the duke of York, in order to obtain, in the list of major-generals, that place to which his seniority entitled him, and in the obtaining of which he had, by his royal highness, been informed, there would be "*no difficulty, provided the result* "*of the court martial was favourable to* "*him.*" That your petitioner, having been refused access to the duke of York in the first instance, having been unable by other means to obtain any satisfactory answer to his repeated applications, tendered the resignation of his commission as colonel, resolved no longer to remain in a service, in which he was so unjustly held in a state of degradation. That, as to the grounds, upon which the application of your petitioner was rejected, your honourable house will have observed, that the decisions of all general courts martial are communicated to the king by the judge advocate general, who, when he has thereupon received the commands of the king, communicates them to the commander-in-chief, together with the king's remarks thereon. That, in pursuance of this practice, Sir Charles Morgan, having first laid the decision of the court martial aforesaid before the king, next communicated it to the duke of York, subjoining thereunto, as coming from the king himself, a remark, that, as to the principal charge, the court had been inhibited by law from proceeding upon it, owing to the crime alledged having taken place more than three years previous to the date of the warrant for the trial, and that "his Majesty considered this "lapse of time to have been owing to an "improper conduct of the prosecutor." That as your honourable house will not fail to perceive, this remark was calculated to cause it to be believed, that, if no lapse of time had so taken place, and if the court martial had not thereby been inhibited from proceeding on the said charge, the said charge might have been established against your petitioner: whereas, the facts were; 1st, That the act charged, was alledged to have taken place previous to September 1801; 2d, That an investigation into the conduct of your petitioner was contemplated by the duke of York in October 1803, and upon that contemplation he withheld the name of your petitioner from the brevet promotion; 3d, That, between September 1801 and October 1803, only two years and one month had elapsed; 4th, That between October 1803 and August 1804, when the warrant for the trial was, at last, issued, your petitioner did make urgent and repeated requests to the duke of York, that the trial might take place without delay; and 5th, That your petitioner, apprehensive that a plea of lapse of time might be made use of, for the purpose of leaving a blemish upon his reputation, expressly requested, in a letter to the adjutant general, dated on the 22d of June 1804, that "no part of the "grounds, on which major Gordon had "proposed to found his charges, should "be kept back from examination;" from which facts your petitioner is satisfied, that it will clearly appear to your honourable house, that if the court martial was inhibited from taking cognizance of the charge aforesaid, the inhibition was to be ascribed solely to those concerned in framing and bringing forward the prosecution. That, however, to the most important fact, connected with the aforesaid remark of the king, it remains for your petitioner to pray the attention of your honourable house; namely, that notwithstanding the lapse of time, the court martial actually did, before they perceived such lapse, fully investigate the merits of the said charge; that the charge was, by evidence the most complete, clearly proved to be utterly false, and destitute of the semblance of foundation; and that it was not until *after such proof had been given,* that the court martial discovered that they were, by law, inhibited from taking cognizance of it. That it was nevertheless, upon the ground of the remark made by the judge advocate general, in the king's name, that the duke of York, in a letter to your petitioner, dated on the 16th of May, 1805, refused to place your petitioner in that situation, as to rank, to which he was, by his seniority, entitled. That your petitioner, full of indignation at the injustice with which he had been treated, addressed a remonstrance to the judge advocate general, complaining of the aspersion cast upon his character by the putting of the remark aforesaid upon the records of the army, while, at the same time, the facts above stated by your petitioner were carefully concealed. That in answer to this remonstrance, the judge advocate general informed your petitioner, in a letter dated on the 26th April, 1805, that "*since he had communicated to "the duke of York the letter in which the "aforesaid remark was contained, he had "seen occasion to recall that letter, and to "substitute another in lieu thereof, leaving "out the said remark, and that he had taken upon himself to explain to the king, "the reason why this remark*" (made, as your honourable house will perceive, in the king's name, and as coming from the king himself) "*was now omitted.*" That, thus, as it must be manifest to your honourable house, the judge advocate general has the power to communicate to the commander-in-chief remarks, in the king's name, upon the decision of every general court martial, from which remarks alone the commander-in-chief must according to his letter above mentioned addressed to your petitioner, "*form his opinion upon the whole matter "of each case;*" that the judge advocate general has the further power of altering such remarks at his pleausure, not only without the orders, but even without the knowledge of the king, in whose name they are made; that this judge advocate general not only holds his office during pleasure, but is at the same time so much under the influence of the commander-in-chief, as to be induced, at his bare suggestion, to change his intention as to the person whom he shall employ to officiate in his stead at a court martial; and that, thus, the fame and fortune of all the officers of the army, (an establishment, the annual expence of which is now more than eighteen millions sterling) amounting, in number, to several thousands of gentlemen, connected by ties of blood, or otherwise, with no small portion of the rank and consequence and influence, in the whole of the community, are subject to the absolute will of *one irresponsible individual.* That, from this cause, your petitioner has suffered most grievous injustice, indignity, and injury; that, after a life of faithful, zealous, and arduous services, he has been driven, as above shewn, to the alternative of abandoning his profession and his means of subsistence, or of retaining them accompanied with unmerited disgrace; and, that he, therefore, prays your honourable house, the constitutional protectors of the people's liberties and properties against arbitrary power and oppression, to afford him redress, and to prevent, by such means as in the wisdom of your honourable house it shall seem meet, the future recurrence of similar grievances. And your petitioner shall ever pray. ANDREW COCHRANE JOHNSTONE. *London, March* 2*d*, 1807."—The petition having been read, Mr. Whitbread moved, that it do lie on the table.

The *Secretary at War* observed, that as there was no pledge to bring forward any motion on this petition, he would now take the opportunity of saying a few words, because it had been spread abroad that he had pledged himself to bring this matter before the house. He was glad of this opportunity of giving a public contradiction to that charge. Some gentlemen who had been in the late parliament, might recollect the notice which he had given: but, as many of the present parliament might not be acquainted with the proceeding, he would state the case exactly as it stood. He had observed, in the case of Mr. Johnstone, and in many others, what appeared to him to be an abusive practice in military justice. This arose from the nature of the powers of the judge advocate. It seemed to him a strange impropriety that the judge advocate, in these cases, should be the only person consulted when a decision was given by the king, and that there should be no consultation with the commander in chief, the person intrusted by his Majesty with the management of the forces, and who ought properly to be responsible. He therefore gave notice of a proposition to put an end to that practice. Subsequent to that notice, a change took place in his Majesty's councils, and this afforded him the means of applying the remedy without having recourse to parliament; and he was happy to state, that having ade representations to his Majesty upon is point, his Majesty had been graciously leased to direct, that the proceedings should e conducted in future so as to answer the bject which he had in view from the beinning. The present practice, therefore, was, that the judge advocate did not receive is final decision on giving in his report, but hat his Majesty afterwards signified his deision to the commander in chief, who was herefore responsible for the advice given to is Majesty on these occasions. Thus the njustice which was supposed to arise from he interference of the judge advocate was prevented. He would not object to receiving he petition, though he saw no advantage which could result to the petitioner from it. One of the objects of the petition was to obtain the restoration of his rank. This was a case in which the house could not in the least degree interfere. It was one on which t was impossible to frame any question which could procure the petitioner success. It would be an interference with the prerogative, which the house could not possibly sanction without extreme danger and inconvenience. Another object of the petition was, that the house should take such measures as might prevent the recurrence of such proceedings in future. It was unnecessary to petition the house on that particular point, as it had been already done. The judge advocate general was deprived of that power of which he had complained, and which he certainly would have made the subject of a motion, had not the situation to which he was appointed afforded him an opportunity of putting an end to the practice. He begged pardon for trespassing on the house, but he thought it necessary to refute the idle and mischievous reports, the calumnies, he might say, which had been circulated respecting his conduct in this business.

Mr. *William Dundas* could not subscribe to the doctrine of the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) that every petition was to be presented if couched in respectful terms. The petition had been put into his hands, and he had certainly declined presenting it, because he could not conceive how this house could interfere so as to give the redress solicited.

Mr. *Whitbread* declared, that he did not constitute himself a judge to determine what petitions ought to be presented and what not. All that he had to do was to take care that they were couched in proper and respectful terms. Whether they were to be received or not was matter for the consideration of the house.

Mr. *Plumer* stated, that he had also had the petition offered to him, but had declined presenting it for the same reason that had been stated by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Dundas), as he united with him in thinking that it was the duty of every member to exercise his own judgment as to whether a petition ought to be presented or not?

Sir *E. Knatchbull* stated, that he was in the same predicament with the hon. members who had spoken; but he united in the opinion of the hon. gent. who had presented the petition, as to its being the duty of every member to present any petition to the house, when couched in proper terms. He therefore rose merely for the purpose of seconding the motion which had been made.—The motion was then put and carried.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, March 11.

[Minutes.] Mr. Frankland, chairman of the Yarmouth election committee, reported that the sitting members, Messrs. Harbord and Lushington, were duly elected, and that the petition against them was not frivolous or vexatious.—On the motion of Mr. Tierney, it was ordered, that there be laid before the house a monthly return of desertions from the army, from the 1st of January to the latest period; also a return of the effective strength of the army, from which the said desertions had taken place at the same periods; also a weekly account of the number of recruits raised in the same period, distinguishing Ireland from Great Britain.—On the motion of Mr. Kenrick, it was ordered, that there be laid before the house, an account of the number of causes tried by the court of exchequer in Scotland during the last 15 years.—Mr. Herbert, after commenting briefly on the important question now before the house, touching the expulsion of one of its members, and observing that it was desirable, in addition to the report of the committee of precedents, to have every other information calculated to give a full and fair view of all parts of the case, moved, that the Proceedings of the Court Martial for the Trial of John Fenton Cawthorne, esq. colonel of the Westminster militia, laid before the house, April 8, 1796, and ordered to be printed, be now reprinted. Mr. Tierney objected to the motion on the ground of the expence, trouble, and delay of printing a voluminous mass of papers, when the question before the house was not whether the expulsion had justly taken place, but whether the member expelled could legally sit again. Mr. Bankes thought the papers ought to be printed, in order to afford a full view of the case. Mr. Sturges Bourne, Mr. Hurst, Mr. Simeon, Mr. Osborne, and Mr. Fuller, argued to the same effect. Mr. C. Wynne wished this question to be reserved for future discussion. The Speaker thought it right to observe, that when this business had been first before the house, it had been thought right to print not only the sentence of the court martial, but the whole of the proceedings relating to the case. Upon which, it was ordered that the whole of the proceedings be reprinted.—On the motion of lord Folkestone, it was ordered, that there be laid before the house copies of papers tending to shew in what capacity William Drake, the witness on Mr. Paull's petition, had served in the navy.—Ordered, that the orders for reporting the names of members who do not appear on the appointment of select committees for trial of petitions complaining of undue elections and returns, do not extend to members who are petitioners, or petitioned against, during the trial of the respective petitions in which they are concerned, or to members serving on committees actually sitting.

[Committee of Supply.—Miscellaneous Services.]—The house went into a Committee of Supply, in which the following sums were voted, on the motion of Mr. Vansittart: "Resolved, 1. That a sum, not exceeding £196,949. 19s. 10d. be granted to his majesty, for paying off and discharging certain Annuities, after the rate of 5 per cent. per ann. being part of the annuities granted by two acts of the 37th and 42d years of his present Majesty; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or other deduction whatsoever.—2. That £11,750. 14s. 6d. be granted towards completing the purchase of buildings and ground in and near Palace Yard, Westminster, in pursuance of several acts of the 44th, 45th, and 46th of his present majesty, and for carrying the said acts into execution, for the year 1807.—3. That £29,500 be granted to defray the charge of printing and stationary for the two houses of parliament, for 1807.—4. That £20,000 be granted, for defraying the expence of printing and delivering the votes of the house of commons, and for printing bills, reports, and other papers, by order of the said house, during the present session.—5. That £10,000 be granted, for defraying the expence that may be incurred for re-printing, in the proportion of 8 volumes a year, of the Journals, Indexes, and Reports, of the house of commons, agreeable to the resolutions of the house in the session 1802-3, for 1807.—6. That a sum, not exceeding £4000 be granted, for defraying the expence which may be incurred for printing 1750 copies of the 59th volume of Journals of the house of commons for the year 1807.—7. That £9,789. 11s. 8d. be granted, to make good the deficiency of the grant of the last session of parliament, to defray the charge of printing and stationary for the two houses of parliament.—8. That £14,881. 16s. 2d. be granted to make good the deficiency of the vote of the last session of parliament, to defray the expence of printing and delivering the votes of the house of commons, and for printing bills, reports, and other papers, by order of the said house during that session.—9. That £459. 2s. 4d. be granted, for making good the deficiency of the sum voted in the last session of parliament for printing 1750 copies of the 58th volume of Journals of the house of commons.—10. That £70,977. 17s. be granted, for defraying the expence of carrying on the building of a New Mint on Tower Hill, for the service of 1807.—11. That £2046. 6s. be granted, for defraying the expences of printing Articles of Impeachment, Minutes of Evidence, and copies of the Trial of lord viscount Melville.—12. That £10,250. 14s. be granted, to be applied in further execution of an act of the 43d of his majesty, towards making roads and building bridges in the highlands of Scotland, for 1807.—13. That £51,250. 14s. be granted, towards defraying the expence of making an Inland Navigation from the Eastern to the Western Sea, by Inverness and Fort William, for 1807.—14. That £5000 be granted, for paying Fees on passing the Public Accounts, for 1807.—15. That £25,000 be granted, to discharge bills drawn and to be drawn from New South Wales, which may become due in 1807.—16. That £8,280 be granted, for defraying the charge of the Civil Establishment of the Province of Upper Canada in America, from the 1st Jan. to the 31st Dec. 1807.—17. That £7,165 be granted, for defraying the charge of the Civil Establishment of the Province of Nova Scotia, from the 1st of Jan. to the 31st of Dec. 1807.—18. That £4,650 be granted, for defraying the charge of the Civil Establishment of the Province of New Brunswick in America, from the 1st of Jan. to the 31st of Dec. 1807.—19. That £3,100 be granted, for defray-ng the charge of the Civil Establishment of e Island of Saint John in America, now alled Prince Edward's Island, from the 1st f Jan. to the 31st of Dec. 1807.—20. That £2,040 be granted, for defraying the charge f the Civil Establishment of the Island of ape Breton in America, from the 1st of an. to 31st of Dec. 1807.——21. That £2,565 be granted, for defraying the charge f the Civil Establishment of the Island of ewfoundland in America, from the 1st of an. to the 31st of Dec. 1807.——22. That £4,400 be granted, for defraying the charge f the Civil Establishment of the Bahama slands in America, in addition to the salaies now paid to the Public Officers out of he Duty Fund, and other incidental charges ttending the same, from the 1st of Jan. to he 31st of Dec. 1807.—23. That £1,030 e granted, for defraying the charge of the ivil Establishment of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, from the 1st of Jan. to the 1st of Dec. 1807.—24. That £600 be ranted, for defraying the charge of the Civil stablishment of the Island of Dominica, rom the 1st of Jan. to the 31st of Dec. 1807. —25. That £12,704. 19s. 6d. be granted, or defraying the charge of the Civil Estalishment of New South Wales, from the st of Jan. to the 31st of Dec. 1807."

[FREEHOLD ESTATES BILL.]—On the motion of the Solicitor General, the report of the Freehold Estates bill was brought up.

Col. *Eyre* warmly opposed the principle of the bill. He thought that it shewed much of the modern spirit of innovation; and that t would decrease the credit of the landed proprietor, to a very mischievous extent. The commercial man carried on speculations which tended to his own advantage, and the advantage of the public, and was not so likely, therefore, to be injured by this bill, while t would tend to the ruin of the man of landed property. It had been said, that the honest and considerate man would make all his debts burdens upon his estates; but in his opinion, the honest and considerate man would act in such a manner as to render this bill totally unnecessary.

Mr. *Roscoe* strenuously defended the principle of the bill; and thought the house was much indebted to the learned gent. who had introduced it. As to its being an innovation, he begged to observe, that the effects of the measure proposed had been experienced every day, as it would do nothing more than make every real estate subject to a debt which every honest man would wish to see paid; and whether it was done by the act of the testator, or by the act of the law, would make no great difference in regard to the alledged innovation. It was a crime of the highest magnitude to bequeath an estate to an heir, when a testator knew it to be greatly burdened. This, he thought, ought undoubtedly to be prevented by law from occurring. It might happen that a person of integrity and honesty, intending to make his estate liable for his debt, might, through negligence or other circumstances, be prevented from doing so. This bill would, therefore, tend to remedy these evils. Entailed estates were not to be affected, nor were copyhold estates. He hoped, however, to see this bill followed by another, to make landed property liable for specialty debts. As to this bill making an inroad upon the customs of our ancestors, that was no argument at all; as it was the very purpose for which the house met, to rectify the laws in every particular, however long they may have existed.

Mr. *Simeon* declared himself in favour of the bill, and did not apprehend those evil consequences would result from this measure, which the hon. gent. was of opinion would be the case.

Mr. *N. Calvert* declared, he saw no sufficient ground for this innovation in the law; nor did he know, nor had he ever heard of any instances of landed proprietors availing themselves of the law as it now stood, in order to cheat their creditors. He was unwilling, without a clear case of necessity being made out, to remove the old legal land marks of the constitution.

Mr. *H. Martin* assured the hon. gent. that instances had occurred, which pointed out the necessity of remedying the law, as it now stood. He particularly instanced the case of a person, a considerable land-owner, who had a number of natural children, for whom he wished to provide, who had made over his real estates to trustees, and to divide the produce amongst the children. The surviving trustee had sold the whole of the landed estate, and purchased others, without charging them with any provision for these children; in this state he died; and the family in question were left in a state of abject poverty. There were other instances of as crying a nature. The present measure was not an attempt to get rid of any legal institution, but rather to afford a remedy for an existing defect.

The *Solicitor-General* said, he did not wish to provoke a debate, in the present stage of the bill; at the same time, he could not but feel surprised at the consequences imputed to this measure, the object of which was to compel justice to be done, by obliging the rich debtor to pay the poor creditor. He denied that this bill would have any injurious effect upon the aristocracy; for no representative of an ancient family could be supposed to die without leaving assets sufficient to pay his debts. No innovation was hereby intended. Did the friends of the aristocracy mean to insinuate, that the landed proprietors alone should not pay their debts? And was there not as powerful an aristocracy in Scotland, although the English law, on this subject, had no place? He declared, he knew various instances of landed proprietors availing themselves of the law, as it now stood, to cheat their creditors. He knew the owner of an estate worth £4000 a year, whose predecessor's funeral expences and apothecary's bill remained unpaid. Another, who left debts to the amount of £40,000, and not above 2s. 6d. in the pound had been paid, although the successor to the estate came into possession of £4000 a year. There were many small traders, who had been unable to pay their own debts, and some had been thrown into prison on that account, because they could not compel payment of debts, due to them by landed proprietors.—The report of the bill was then received without a division.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, March 12.

[SCOTCH JUDICATURE BILL.]——Lord *Grenville* adverted to the discussion which took place on Tuesday relative to the memorial of the lords of session, and to the desire which was then expressed of being informed of the opinions of the judges of the court of session respecting certain parts of the bill for the better regulation of courts of justice in Scotland. Whilst he was decidedly hostile to any proposition for receiving the opinions of the lords of session with respect to the expediency of the bill as a legislative measure, he still thought it of importance that their lordships should have the opportunity of putting questions to the judges of the court of session, or some of them, with respect to the practical effect which might be produced by any of the provisions of the bill. In making a proposition to effect this purpose, his object was to avoid all unnecessary delay, it being his earnest wish that the bill should pass through that house so as to allow a reasonable time for its discussion in the other house, and this also with a view to what, from the state of the business in parliament, there was every reason to expect, namely, a termination of the session at an earlier period than had been usual for some time past. To send therefore questions for the opinion of all the judges of the court of session, must necessarily be productive of extreme delay; the only mode which appeared to him practicable, was to order the attendance of the lord president of the court of session, and the two senior lords of that court, during the discussion of this bill, with an understanding that any of the other lords whose convenience it might suit might also attend. His lordship concluded by moving, that the lord president of the court of session, and the two senior lords of that court, do attend the service of the house with all convenient speed.

Lord *Kinnaird* doubted the propriety of hearing the lords of session at all, but if they were to be heard, whether they should not all be ordered to attend.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* observed, that if all the judges of the court of session were ordered to attend, it would greatly impede the regular course of justice in Scotland.

Lord *Eldon* concurred in the propriety of the motion, and suggested that the stage of the bill in which the attendance of the judges would be most useful would be in the committee.

Lord *Grenville* was of opinion that no delay ought to take place in the progress of the bill, and that the house might still proceed on it in the manner originally proposed.

Lord *Auckland* was anxious to have it distinctly understood, that the attendance of any of the other lords of session who might find it convenient, would be desirable.

The *Lord Chancellor* approved of the motion, which he thought the only practicable mode of having the opinions of the judges of the court of session.—The motion was then agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, March 12.

[MINUTES.]—A ballot took place for a committee to try and determine the merits of the petition, complaining of the election and return for the city of Dublin. The following gentlemen were appointed on the committee: Ed. Loveden Loveden, esq. J. R. M'Kenzie, esq. J. Robinson, esq. Earl of Yarmouth, T. Johnes, esq. F. Fane, esq. Sir C. Mordaunt, bart. G. Thomas, esq. A. Brown, esq. S. Horrocks, esq. N. Fellowes, J. Lemoin, esq. Sir J. P. Cotterell. Nominees, H. Parnell, esq. I. Gascoyne, esq.——

—Mr. Adam, pursuant to notice, moved hat the order for taking the Aberdeenshire petition into consideration on the 24th intant, be discharged, in order to have it put off to the 13th of April. After a short conversation between Mr. R. Dundas, the lord advocate of Scotland, sir J. Pulteney, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Adam, the motion was negatived without a division.—Sir J. Newport brought up a bill for the improvement of the city of Dublin, which was read a first time; and, on the motion that it be read a second time on Monday next, Mr. Shaw (of Dublin) expressed a hope that the hon. baronet would not object to the printng of the bill, nor press the second reading on so early a day as Monday next. It was a measure by which the interest of his constituents might be very materially affected, and he was therefore anxious to have sufficient time to consider the provisions it contained, of which he was then ignorant, as well as to communicate with his constituents, the parties most interested, upon the subject. The Speaker informed the hon. gent. that, as the bill was, in a great measure, of a private nature, it fell within the provisions for regulating the proceedings upon private bills, and that, in like manner, as in the case of all private bills from Ireland, the period of three weeks must intervene between the first and second reading. The second reading was then fixed for Monday three weeks.

[WEST INDIA PLANTERS' PETITION.]—Mr. *Hibbert*, pursuant to notice, rose for the purpose of moving, that the Petition of the West India Planters, presented on the 27th of Feb. be referred to a select committee.—The petition was then read, as follows:

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the undersigned Planters, Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and others, interested in the British West India Colonies,

"Humbly sheweth, that the West India Colonies of Great Britain, having been planted and settled by British subjects, have, in a long course of years, progressively advanced in cultivation, wealth, and importance, from which the mother country has derived vast and increasing advantages, in respect to her commercial and financial resources, and her naval power.—That the capital at present existing in the British West India Colonies, estimated at little less than one hundred millions, and which is for the most part an investment gradually created, in the course of nearly two centuries, out of the gains of the Colonial trade, is but a small part of the British stake in those important establishments. Your petitioners are ready to shew, by official vouchers, that nearly one-third of the whole of the British imports and exports is involved in the West India trade, directly or collaterally; and that, in more than that proportion, the effective defence and power of the empire depend thereon; as the best and most productive nursery of experienced seamen.—That the foundation of these benefits and this prosperity was laid by the act of King Charles II. chap. 7, entituled 'An Act for the Encouragement of Trade,' the preamble of which uses these remarkable words: 'And in regard his majesty's plantations beyond the seas are inhabited and peopled by his subjects of this his kingdom of England; for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between them, and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it, in the further employment and increase of English shipping and seamen, vent of English woollen and other manufactures and commodities, rendering the navigation to and from the same more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom a staple not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places, for the supplying of them, and it being the usage of other nations to keep their plantations trade to themselves.'—That, in conformity to the intimate union and relations here delineated, the colonial system of Great Britain has, in subsequent times, been systematically established; whereby, in every essential respect, the industry, trade, and navigation, of the Colonies, are strictly confined to the interests of the mother country; she, in return, granting to them and to their productions an exclusive or marked preference at her home markets, a facility of meeting in foreign markets a vent for the surplus of their produce beyond her own ample supply, and her needful support and protection against enemies, foreign and domestic.—That, however, in various instances, and more particularly since the calamity that befell the once flourishing colony of St. Domingo, (whereby a temporary and accidental encrease of value was given to the great staple productions of the Colonies), the colonial system of the British Empire has been varied or departed from, to the disadvantage of her Colonies; restrictions have been imposed upon the access of their surplus produce to the foreign market, thereby affording a powerful stimulus to the cultivation of foreign Colonies; the production of their principal staple article, sugar, has been encouraged and promoted in dependencies of the empire not subject to colonial regulations; a progressive taxation on sugar has been accumulated, which is calculated to impede the natural progress of its consumption in a prosperous and luxurious nation; and, while the progress of taxes at home, naturally attending a state of war, has, in the course of the last twenty years, doubled the cost of every article which the Colonies import from the mother country for their use and necessary cultivation, the anxious care of the British legislature appears to have been directed to every measure that might, at any time, prevent the colonial produce from obtaining the advantages of any temporary demand and addition to its value, unattended with regulations, on the other hand, competent to protect the colonists from depressed and ruinous prices.—That, more particularly in the late wars, in which the mother country has unfortunately been compelled to engage, has the pressure of the existing colonial system been felt by the British West India Colonies; the access to a foreign market of that surplus produce, which, for her advantage, and, in order to her own ample supply, the repeated public voice of the mother country has urged and stimulated the Colonies to grow, has been often impeded and sometimes denied.—In the mean time, the produce of those colonies, which have, at any time, by the fortune of war, fallen into our hands, has been admitted to form an additional glut at the home market, and placed on a footing there with the produce of our old Colonies. And, as if to render the evil irreparable, and the case desperate, the great and acknowledged superiority of the British navy has not been exerted in impeding the transit of the colonial produce of the enemy to its European market, whereby the inducement, which the enemy might have, to except colonial produce from the rigour of our general exclusion from the continental trade, is taken away, and the British colonist, under all the increased and continually increasing expences of war, is subjected to contend, now and henceforward, with rivals, exempted from those charges, and enjoying the most advantageous markets, without the impediment of British competition.—That measures have lately been recommended to parliament, professedly intended to afford relief to your petitioners, but which, so far as they respect sugar, the great staple article of the British West India colonies, can only prove beneficial in case a channel of export be opened; but, during our present almost total exclusion from the continent, can have little effect in relieving the distress now felt by the growers and holders of sugar: and, that the proposed additional duties on spirits, although very wisely and providently intended, will be comparatively of small benefit to the British plantations, unless a decided and marked preference be given to the consumption of rum in the navy and army.—That, under the progressive influence of the grievance, the effect of which has been experienced by your petitioners in the course of the last ten years, they are at last reduced to the hard necessity of continuing the cultivation of their estates at a very heavy loss, as they cannot be rendered productive in any other culture. Documents already on the table of your honorable house, supported by the most respectable evidence, shew, that the average price of sugar, at the British market, has been, for some time past, barely equal to, often beneath, its positive cost to the planter, without any the smallest return for the capital embarked on the plantations, for the support of decreasing population, or for the maintenance of that numerous class of British subjects, whose sole dependence has hitherto been the produce and income returned for British industry and skill, exerted in the cultivation of the West India colonies, whereby your petitioners are reduced to a distress which they humbly conceive calls for the immediate attention, investigation, and relief of the legislature.—That your petitioners humbly suggest, as measures calculated for their relief, provisions of the following nature, either permanent, or co-existent with the present war, as may seem best to the wisdom of this honourable house; namely, a revision of the system of taxation on sugar, and a reduction in the rate thereof, which, under a proportionate extension of the home consumption, might probably not diminish the revenue; such provisions as may admit the article of sugar into preferable consumption in the distilleries and breweries, while its depression in price, compared with that of grain, may demand such preference; the permission to barter the staple articles of sugar and coffee, as well as those of rum and molasses, with the American States, in return for lumber nd other necessaries, for a needful supply f which the colonies depend on an interourse with those states.—And your petiioners humbly pray, that these measures, r such of them as may seem most expedient o this honourable house, or other measures dequate to the relief of your petitioners, nder their present burthens and distress, nay, by the wisdom of this honourable ouse, be provided and passed into law. And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c."

Mr. *Hibbert* rose and said, that this was a petition of considerable and extensive interest. It stated the extreme hard case of a large body of his Majesty's industrious subjects, upon whose labours depended one great branch of our commerce, together with much of our maritime strength and financial prosperity, and who were reduced at length into the predicament of profiting nothing by their labours; a situation which threatened their inevitable decay and ruin. He would, in a very cursory manner, advert to the general principles of policy upon which these colonies had been established, and to that system under which they are connected with the mother country. The doctrines of the economists, and of Dr. Adam Smith in particular, had been supposed to be more adverse to that policy, and to that system, than they would, on examination, prove. Those theorists had laid down principles true and good in themselves, but not adapted to invariable practice; they had, as a sensible modern writer on colonial policy (Mr. Brougham) observed, leaned too much upon positive institutions, and excluded from their consideration the influence of passion, taste, and caprice, upon the pursuits of men. It might be true, that the most safe and profitable direction of labour was to home trade, and to quick and frequent returns of capital; but in a maritime and commercial country, no legislative provisions could restrain the occasional impulse to emigrate towards new situations, and new objects of labour. Sir J. Child had rightly said, that "had England no colonies, she would entirely lose the profit of the labour of that description of her inhabitants which settle there; they would go to foreign countries, rather than not go at all." Now, if a committee of political economists were to sit, and to endeavour to turn to the best account the connection with such emigrants, would it not say, "Do not let us lose you; wherever you go, consider this as your home; send us your produce, remit us your gains; do not go to a continent where we cannot so well protect you; go to islands, where our navy may be your guard. Do not build ships, or manufacture; those are our concerns; produce what we cannot raise at home, yet what we must buy elsewhere, if you do not send it to us, and what may also be valuable to others, if you send us more of it than we want. Do not depend on us for a large population of labourers in hot climates; you must find them elsewhere, for we have them not to spare to you." Could the strictest policy dictate otherwise? and yet this exactly describes our West India colonies: from small beginnings they rose, and now had reached a height of importance and prosperity, which gave them a distinguished rank among the remaining resources of the mother country. Thus the real value of the produce imported from these colonies was not less than 12 millions sterling, of which was annually re-exported, on the average, about the value of £5,500,000, a circumstance most important in the balance of our trade, and in the regulation of the course of exchanges, and which, in very critical situations of this country, has been found (as bank directors and monied men could prove) the best check to the baneful effects of the drains of specie caused by large foreign subsidies. On the other hand, the export to the colonies (and almost entirely in British manufacture or British produce) was in real value not far short of £6,000,000. This trade employed from 900 to 1000 ships; the tonnage 250,000 tons; and at one man to each 14 tons (which was a reasonable allowance), upwards of 17,000 seamen. There could be no question as to the beneficial influence of all these items upon our maritime, commercial, and naval prosperity.—It might not be uninteresting to compare this statement with the utmost height of the colonial strength of France, which she had attained at the moment of the revolution. She had then about the same number of ships which we now have in our colonial trade, of somewhat larger tonnage, and carrying, in proportion to that tonnage, a larger number of seamen: the official value of her exports to the colonies was upwards of £3,000,000 sterling; of her imports, upwards of £7,000,000 sterling: and the relative importance of these imports in her foreign trade, was even greater than in our case; for it appeared, that she consumed at home a much smaller proportion of her colonial produce, and that by it, and by it alone, she turned the balance of her trade with all the world to a favourable result. Of 80 millions of livres, the value of her export to the Baltic, 55 millions was in colonial produce; and of 424 millions of livres, the value of her exports to all Europe, the Levant, and continental America, 152 millions was in colonial produce." These particulars are sufficient to shew the grounds on which that axiom in French policy had been built, that her maritime and commercial prosperity were chiefly dependant on her West India colonies.—He had heard and read some general objections to our colonial establishments, which he would very briefly notice. They had been said to occasion or to promote wars. This he thought was a most unfounded objection; and he could not trace any thing in history to confirm it. The colonies had often been the victims, never the cause of wars; they became objects of cupidity to belligerent powers, but that only proved their general value and estimation. The epidemics which had of late proved fatal to Europeans in those climates, had also been alledged. He remembered when the West India climate was considered as healthy as any other in the same latitude. He believed that the existing fever was an imported malady; and there was a prevailing opinion, that another evil to which those climates were subject, a visitation of which they had not, however, lately experienced, that of a violent commotion of the elements, might, by its occasional recurrence, render the air purer and more healthful. The capital embarked in these establishments had been stated to be improvidently withdrawn from other safer and more profitable adventures; but it was very little known or considered that not only the amount of the capital now embarked in the colonies, but also a large balance of profit, had been accumulated in the different branches of that commerce, and was the gain of the mother country resulting from her long account with those establishments. Unquestionably, of the money now lent to the colonies, a considerable part might have been spared from other pursuits: but there had also been, on the other hand, large sums from time to time withdrawn from colonial commerce, and embarked in the agricultural and funded securities of the mother country: and upon the whole he was persuaded, from an attentive and long experience in the trade, that the balance resulting from the connection was very greatly in favour of the mother country. It was to be noticed, that the planting business was not the only profit of the colonists; that there were merchants and others resident in the islands concerned in foreign traffic, or in serving and supplying the plantations, who grew rich by their commerce, and who had not yet been deterred from embarking their accumulations in the agricultural adventures of that country which had enriched them. If, then, for many years past, the successive administrations of this country had appeared to regard with coolness and indifference the colonies, and to adopt measures which rather indicated a jealousy of, than a wish to promote their welfare; if, in the publications of the present day, coming from respectable quarters, there appeared an anxiety to diminish their importance in the public estimation, to what were such sentiments to be imputed? Was it because these establishments were so intimately connected with us, that, whether the colonists themselves grew rich or not, the whole produce of their labours was sure to be ours? Was it because they were so securely our own and out of the reach of our inveterate enemy, that they were the objects of his envy, precisely in the proportion in which they were not the victims of his power?—that they did not require bullion from us, but sent it to us in return for our manufactures?—that they neither built ships, nor made for themselves whatever we could make, but were employed in producing what we could neither produce nor do without, and what was an important addition to our means of commanding foreign trade, and of attracting foreign capital?—that they did not require for their defence large armies concentred in one spot, and which, from their magnitude and their distance from the metropolis, became in themselves matter of reasonable jealousy to the mother country?—or was it that the long intercourse we had enjoyed with our constantly attached and loyal colonies was grown insipid by its harmony, and that, as in the case of married couples who lived too much together, something like the *amantium iræ* were wanting to stimulate regard, and rekindle mutual affection? If this were the case, and that we were only making a moral or philosophical experiment upon the passions of the colonists; it would be well if we were careful not to tickle them into a frenzy, or, what perhaps was more to be apprehended, pinch them to death.—He should notice very briefly the colonial system, which was one of mutual monopoly; the mother country retaining to her own use and advantage, in all essential respects, their trade, navigation, and supply, and affording to them and to their produce, an exclusive or marked preference at her markets. This system appeared to be of old date with great maritime powers; something like it might be traced in respect to the colonies of Carthage, of which evidence might be found in Polybius. Laws grounded upon it had progressively been enacted in this country, some under the Protectorate; but the system had taken a definite shape in the time of Charles II., and was admirably pointed out in the preamble to the celebrated act for the encouragement and regulation of trade passed in that reign; that preamble would be found to comprise the elements of our entire colonial system, and indicated the mutual monopoly; but, as was ever the case betwixt a stronger and a weaker party, the compact was less formal in the parts that bind the mother country than in those that bind the colonies: he would, however, state to the house, in this respect, the opinion of a much-lamented statesman, Mr. Fox, who, in 1781, when the sugar refiners petitioned parliament to admit foreign sugars on certain terms, into British consumption, and into use in the refineries, took the part of the colonies, and spoke in these words:—" The noble lord (Beauchamp) had called the non-importation of prize sugars a mere Custom-house regulation, and therefore thought the rule might be easily dispensed with; but he must inform his lordship, that a compact more solemn than any act of parliament could create made that rule not to be infringed, for we had monopolized the produce of our plantations by unnatural restrictions on their trade. This was the only country in Europe in which they were permitted, by our laws, to sell their crops. Surely then, by every principle of reason and natural justice, they should also have an exclusive access to our markets, a monopoly subsisting on one side necessarily implying a monopoly also on the other. There was not any written agreement, but there was something more substantial; there was monopoly against monopoly. The West India planters were confined in the sale of their commodities to Britain, and Britain was confined to take their commodities from them and them only. This tacit bargain was confirmed not by words but by deeds; the planters enjoy certain privileges, and for those privileges they gave something in return, an ample equivalent; so that there was *quid pro quo*, which was allowed in the civil law to be a formal ratification of any compact or bargain." He recollected the debate, and believed that the sentiments he had taken from the reporters of the day were those delivered by Mr. Fox. The petition of the sugar refiners was rejected, and the house gave its confirmation to the doctrines he had advanced. The complaint which the refiners addressed to the public on that occasion (and in which the public became interested parties), was, that the colonies barely and scantily supplied the home consumption of sugar, and furnished no materials for foreign trade, which it was alledged was the advantage to which this country ought to look; the colonies appear to have taken the hint, and to have profited by the lesson then given them.

	Cwt.
In 1781 the export of sugar to all parts, excepting Ireland, was equal to about	111,095
1791 it was	267,213
1798	783,698
1799 it fell, in consequence of acts hereinafter mentioned, to	237,062
1802, after the repeal of those acts, it was	1,744,263
1805, in consequence of obstructed exports, it was . .	960,296

Thus it appeared that the colonies had accomplished the object which the British public demanded of them, and had not only amply supplied our own consumption, but furnished us with a large surplus for our foreign trade. In 1791 an event happened, which appeared to throw a momentary gleam over the fortunes of the British colonies, but which, however, had, in reality, he thought, contributed to their distresses; the destruction of St. Domingo caused a considerable advance in the prices of sugar, and other colonial produce, and occasioned in this country much clamour among the public on account of those prices. The public became anxious for new sources of supply, and the East Indies were looked to; it was not considered that our East India possessions are not colonies, nor subject to our control, and subservient to our views as such. Lord Melville had pronounced, in a letter to the Directors,[*] his opinion that they never could be considered as colonies, for the reason that we could not command their exclusive trade. He did not mean to give more importance to the cultivation of sugar in India than it deserved; its consumption in this country appeared to be annually from 50 to 60,000 cwt., but its consumption in Europe, which had first been promoted and encouraged by us, was something more; and its consumption, both here and elsewhere, was probably now kept down by the excessive low prices of colonial produce; but, as a principle affecting our colonial system, the admission of East India sugar into our consumption, on the terms on which it now stands, could not be justified; and he would cite, on that subject, the opinion of a committee of the Court of Directors themselves, extracted from a report under the date of March 1802, and in which the following passage occurs:—"It may become a question hereafter, how far the importation of "sugar from the East, which leaves a loss "to the importer, and the first cost of "which is paid for by silver from "hence, shall be encouraged to the prejudice of the West India sugar, the cost of "which is either spent by the proprietor in "the mother country, or paid for by the "manufactures or stores exported from "home; for silver is often received from "the islands, but seldom sent thither. The "balance of trade is, as it always must be "in future, in favour of India; it is therefore highly important to probe the question, which relates to the cultivation and "importation of such an article as sugar "from the East, to the bottom. The value "of every rupee invested in sugar, and imported from the East, is an additional rupee to the balance of trade against the "mother country. Some able and well-"intentioned persons have made it a question, whether sugar may not be supplied "from India to almost an indefinite "amount; but they are not aware that the "success, or, in other words, the benefit "of India, in this instance, would prove "the destruction of the mother country, "which could not exist under the immense "drain of bullion that must follow. If the "East was in the same predicament with "the West Indies, when the cost of the "sugar was either spent in Great Britain "and Ireland, or paid for in manufactures "and stores, it would be consistent with "the soundest principles of political arithmetic to encourage the importation by "every possible means." The house would observe that this was not the opinion of a committee of West India planters and merchants, but was signed with the respectable names of the East India directors, C. Mills, J. Roberts, F. Baring, J. Bosanquet, H. Inglis, J. Cotton, A. Robarts, and E. Parry. The evil attending the St. Domingo revolution, however, did not stop here; the scarcity of colonial produce which it occasioned, suggested to the British ministry the delusive project of making foreigners pay a part of our heavy duty on sugar. It was said that we had the whole colonial trade under our command—that foreigners must take their sugar from us, and that we might therefore safely deny a proportion of our drawbacks and bounties on the re-export. This expedient was brought forward in 1796, was approved by parliament, and in that year 4s. were taken from the drawback on the raw sugar, and 7s. from the bounty on refined. This he considered as a most impolitic measure, a mere expedient of the moment to get over the difficulties of the year; and he was sorry to say, that, in the whole course of his mercantile experience and intercourse with ministers on commercial subjects, he had too often found that the expedient of the year was the chief object, and that others, perhaps eventually more important, must give way to that. Like greedy and improvident farmers, it was the year's crop we looked to, one white crop perhaps after another, and stimulated most likely by alkalis and forcers of all sorts, regardless whether we were or were not reducing the soil to a *caput mortuum:* but let the soil be once reduced to a *caput mortuum*, and then neither the farmer nor the financier will find their crops stack or thresh out well.—In 1799, this pernicious measure received new force, by a further reduction of the drawbacks and bounties, on the same alledged principle as before; but the delusion did not last long; for in that year, a Report from the West India merchants was made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, affording the most irrefragable evidence that Great Britain did not in fact command the colonial trade, or the supply of Europe with colonial produce: that report states, that there entered at the port of Hamburgh, between the 8th March and 10th Sept. 1799, chiefly laded with sugar and coffee—146 ships from America, 3 from the Havannah, 7 from the East Indies, with sugar, 18 from the neutral West Indies, 56 from Lisbon and Oporto; in all 230; and that, from all the British ports, there had only arrived, in that time, 211 ships, of a small tonnage, and not entirely laden with colonial produce. This representation, or the facts to which it relates, and the evident decline of our export of colonial produce, caused the restoration of the drawbacks and bounties to their old standard: but the channel of trade had taken a new course, and a very material stimulus had been given to the cultivation of the Spanish and other rival colonies.—The duty on sugar had been increased at different times from 3s. 6d., at which it stood about 60 years ago, to its present rate of 27s. per cwt., with a further provisional tax hanging over it of 3s. per cwt. When the duty was only 3s. 6d., a writer of the name of Massy had computed, that 16s. per cwt. was an ample price for sugar at this market, and paid the planter a fair return upon his capital. I mention this, said Mr. H., for the purpose of shewing how erroneously we judge, when we see a rapid and astonishing advance in the price of articles, and infer that the producer of them is growing rich in proportion to that advance; for it now stood upon most respectable evidence, in a report upon the table of the house (the Report of the Sugar Distillery Committee), that when the consumer of sugar paid for it 63s. per cwt., not one shilling of that amount went into the pockets of the grower. It was in fact thus applied—

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[*] Letter of the right hon. H. Dundas, to the chairman of the East India Company, 15th April, 1793.

	s.	*d.*
To the revenue for duty - -	27	0
To the ship owner for freight - -	10	0
To the underwriters for insurance -	3	6
To the docks, public offices, and to merchants and brokers for commission	3	0
To the manufacturers for goods sent out, and to the curers of fish, provisions, &c.	13	0
To the island revenues for taxes, and to white servants, medical assistance, and other contingencies there (over and above the produce of rum)	3	0
To America, for lumber and provisions from the United States, or from the northern British colonies	3	6
	63	0

so that, with the exception of a pittance that went to America for articles of the first necessity, the whole came directly into the pockets of various descriptions of British subjects, and circulated in every possible channel that could interest the capitalist, the manufacturer, and the landholder.—He was ready to acknowledge that the magnitude and amount of the duty on the British consumption of sugar was a matter that could not be oppressive on the colonies, so long as a market, at a fair price, was found for their produce, so long as its consumption at home was not impeded, and that for its surplus, by the aid of just drawbacks and bounties, a foreign vent was obtained; but it must be evident, that, in the failure of such export, and in case a large and unusual quantity were thrown and forced upon the home consumption, the duty must, in such case, fall upon the grower, since the price he got must be that reduced price at which he could tempt an extra consumption of the article at home, even if it were by making it the food of cattle; that in 1803, a war duty of 4s. was added on this article, and the planters were assured that it must fall on the consumers, as the export trade would soon be freed from impediments. It happened, however, that the whole of that duty, aggravated by additional charges, originating in the renewal of war, did fall upon the growers. In fact, the duty must ever do so, unless a fair price at the foreign market for the surplus produce be obtained.—That the result was this: it had been held in that house, that a British subject, having embarked his property in a manufacture at home, attended with labour and risk, had a right to expect 10 per cent. as a fair return upon his capital. The colonist, who manufactures sugar in distant islands, is surely entitled to at least as much; yet 10 per cent. upon a colonial capital, embarked in a sugar plantation, he was ready to prove, would require 25s. to 30s. per cwt. free from all charges whatsoever, upon the sugar produced. Now, what had been, for many years past, the situation of the West India planter?

In 1786 and 1787, he got about 19s 6d. per cwt. free from charges.
1799 and 1800, about . . . 10s. 9d.
1803, before the new tax, about 18s. 6d.
after the new tax . . . 12s. 6d.
1805 . . . . 12s.
1806 . . . . nothing

for the greater part of the crop of 1806 had sold for about 35s. 6d. per cwt. ex duty, when 36s. ex duty has been proved to be the cost of producing it.—This he considered was a case demanding the consideration of parliament; for he could produce high authority* for the maxim, that when a class of industrious cultivators are labouring at prices inadequate to their support, the statesman ought to consider it better that they should be relieved, and the burthen sustained by the whole community, than that it should fall upon and crush that single class.—He might be asked, what can parliament do?

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* Sir J. Stewart's Political Economy, vol. I. p. 495.

Had they not lately passed a bill for the relief of the trade? They had indeed passed some regulations tending to encourage an export, but, alas, the door of export was not open!—He considered that there were various means of relief possible and practicable; and although obstacles in respect to each presented themselves, those obstacles ought to be considered in relation to the object to be obtained. A small and inconsiderable object deserved to be set aside by almost any serious obstacle; but the obstacle might be great and weighty, and yet the object might be much more so. He thought that when the distress of this trade came to be considered with attention, and the consequences that might result from that distress traced into all the channels which it was likely to reach, parliament would be of opinion that it deserved to be relieved even at some risk, and at the expense of some sacrifices; but he would slightly consider the several means of relief which the petition itself suggested.—In respect to the present duty levied on sugar, it was evident that relief might be granted in that respect, even without any sacrifice of revenue, should a forced and extraordinary consumption take place in consequence of the export being stopped. If we consumed an additional million of cwts. (one third of our whole import), which we usually exported, we might evidently abate one third of the duty, and yet not be losers; but, even were a greater reduction demanded from us, it would be more prudent to support the grower of that which gave the duty, than to levy the tax rigorously to his ruin.—An extra consumption at home in the distilleries or breweries might seem to be now out of the question, since the report of the committee on the subject: the committee, however, had only determined upon the present inexpediency of that measure, and had even recommended that steps should be taken for obviating any obstructions which exist to its future adoption, in case it should become necessary; and the growers of grain need not be jealous of such an interference with them, since, were it judged proper to permit a free export of grain to the West Indies, more would be so exported than the distilleries now took off, and with additional advantage to the islands.—The permission to America to take sugar and coffee in return for the lumber and provisions she supplied, had been granted formerly, and might be granted again, either experimentally, and as a temporary relief, or under certain permanent limits, without any detrimental interference with the colonial system, the value of which he was not disposed in general to contest, or unnecessarily to interfere with its restrictions. But there was another subject on which he was very little inclined to dwell, as he knew that it stood connected with many great and important interests; yet the welfare and support of the colonies was unquestionably one of those interests, and it might be right for the committee to enquire how far the welfare and very existence of our own colonies were endangered by the consideration which we persist in paying to the claims of neutrals, in forbearing to impede, as in time of war we might, the transit of our enemy's colonial produce to the European markets, under all the advantage and security of the neutral flags, thus taking away the inducement which the enemy might have to except colonial produce from the rigour of his general exclusion of our commerce. Certain he was, that none of the neutrals, not America herself, could have one interest more dear and valuable than that of preventing Great Britain from sinking in a contest, in which she was the bulwark of all that remained of independence in the civilized world, and in which she must certainly sink, if she be not enabled to avail herself of her wonted resources, arising from the industry of her subjects in every part of her extended empire.—For these reasons he trusted that there would be no objection to his motion. The noble lord who now conducted the finance department (lord H. Petty) had expressed his approbation of the measure; that noble lord had been educated in sound principles of political science, and he trusted that while he collected the stream of public prosperity, he would not neglect its source.—The hon. gent. then moved, "That the petition of the West India planters, merchants, and others, be referred to a select committee of this house to consider the same, and to report, from time to time, to the house, their opinions and observations thereon."

Mr. *Jacob* begged to enter his protest against the statement of the hon. gent. that either the present administration, or the one that preceded it, or that of lord Sidmouth, had been either cool or indifferent respecting the interests of the colonies. The American intercourse bill of last session shewed the attention of the present ministers to the wants and accommodation of the colonies.

Mr. *Rose* felt himself called upon by the allusion to the American intercourse bill, to state, that he still considered it as an injurious measure. If not for that, the whole shipping trading to the colonies would, in a year or two, be in the hands of this country. Not more than one sixth of the manufactures exported from this country was sent to Spanish America.

Lord *Temple* defended the American intercourse bill from the statement of the right hon. gent., who had gone so much out of his way to repeat his former opinion upon that measure. He should be happy to meet that hon. gent. on the subject, and was confident he could prove that the measure was highly beneficial to the colonies. The only difficulty that had arisen respecting it, was, that the colonies did not think it went far enough, and expected more than his majesty's ministers would or could concede.

Mr. *Wilberforce* was happy that this question had been brought under consideration before the passing of the Slave Trade Abolition bill, because the distress complained of in the petition could not be imputed to that measure. He had long regretted the extraordinary increase of capital employed in procuring colonial produce; but certainly should not object to any just consideration for the distresses complained of.—The petition was then referred to a select committee.

[MUTINY BILL.] Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee on the mutiny bill. A desultory conversation ensued on the various clauses, in which Mr. Bastard, the Secretary at War, Mr. Windham, colonel Wood, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Canning, and sir John Doyle participated. All the clauses were eventually agreed to.—On the Speaker's inquiry, whether any amendments were proposed to be made in the body of the bill,

Lord *Castlereagh* rose. He considered the system of the right hon. secretary for the war department as too complicated to effect its own purpose. In the papers on the table was a case which satisfied his own mind that that system was wholly inadequate to maintain the necessary present force, and was calculated to involve the country in future hazard, unless some modification of it, such as that which it was his intention to propose, should be adopted by parliament. He contended, that since the defence of the country had been entrusted to the right hon. gent., it had been materially deteriorated. Indeed, the right hon. gent. seemed to admit that the home defence was inadequate to its object; for otherwise, after having blamed the predecessors of the present administration for not having assisted the continent, he would hardly have abstained from making a single exertion to co-operate with our allies, or to prevent the French from carrying their troops from the Coast to the Vistula. Nothing had been done, with the exception of that enormous subsidy of £80,000 to Prussia, for which his majesty's ministers had even thought necessary to apologise. Fifteen or twenty thousand men had been sent on distant foreign service, and by that means the home defence had been much weakened. The volunteers also, that right arm of the public force, had been withered under the right hon. gent's superintendance; and with respect to the Training bill, which was to bear down all before it, from the day that that bill had passed, nothing had been done, but making out the lists and apportionments, though a whole twelvemonth had elapsed. For all this deduction from the home defence, we might be consoled, if the body of the force detached abroad had been sent on objects of real importance; but here the right hon. gent. was equally unfortunate. At that moment, 20,000 men, the flower of the British army, were locked up in Sicily, remote from every thing that it was the interest of the country to endeavour to acquire. The conduct of his majesty's ministers, with regard to South America, had been equally vacillating, and equally unwise; not a step had been taken by them till the negotiation at Paris had terminated. The noble lord animadverted with severity on the expedition under colonel Craufurd, of whose destination, he believed ministers themselves had no clear conception. With regard to the modification which he meant to propose, it was clear that the right hon. gent. could not allege that his measure had been adequate to the immediate necessities of the country; and if not so, it would be much less adequate to the waste which his system contained within itself; a waste, doubling the usual casualties of the army. The modifications he proposed would not, however, prevent the continuation of the right hon. gent's experiment; it went merely to allow those recruits who wished to do so, to enlist for life instead of a limited period, thus counteracting the dangerous effects of the existing system. The documents on the table proved, that up to the first of January last, the right hon. gent's plan had not produced more than was formerly produced by the ordinary recruiting. Since that period, he was happy to find, that the number raised was increasing, but this was owing to circumstances applicable to any system, and above all, to the notice given to officers of second battalions, that unless a certain number of men were raised within a limited period, those battalions would be reduced. He compared the right hon. gent's system with the Additional Defence act, and having argued at considerable length, in deprecation of the one, and in defence of the other, concluded by moving, as a proviso to that clause of the bill which related to the administration of oaths to recruits, that if any recruit should declare before a magistrate his intention of enlisting, but not for a limited time, on receiving such bounty as his majesty should think proper to offer, it should be lawful for the magistrate to take his oath for such extended service.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* said, he was glad to find that the noble lord, though not uniformly, had allowed that his plan had succeeded. The fact was, that the recruiting had increased; and the desertions had diminished. The general force of the country had been augmented, and as to the home defence, unless the enemy were to meet with greater successes than those of which we were at present apprised, it would be some time before any tremendous danger could be apprehended. The noble lord had been perfectly safe in his observations on the expedition under colonel Craufurd, because he knew that it was unfit at present to divulge the object of that expedition. "But," says the noble lord, "why not "harass the enemy in some other place?" Would not this reduce the home defence of which the noble lord was so tenacious? As to activity, an injudicious and imprudent activity was more dangerous than indolence; for in military subjects he could not agree with the French proverb, which said, in the idiom of that language, "It is better to do nothings than nothing." The noble lord cried out for expeditions. What sort of precedents of expeditions had the administration, of which the noble lord had formed a part, afforded? Had not the noble lord, by sending out his expeditions, contrived to drown a great many men in the English channel, and to wreck a great many others on the enemy's coasts? As to the diminution in the energy of the volunteers, their zeal and activity had been called forth by the danger of the country; should the country again be in danger, he had no doubt that that zeal and activity would again be displayed, but at present there was no motive for their exertions. The noble lord complained, that his (Mr W's) bill had not done what it never professed to do, namely, in seven months to cause an immense increase in the army. A measure intended to produce a regular, permanent, and increasing supply, was incapable of making a great and sudden accession. He combated the comparison which the noble lord had instituted, between the present military system and the defence bill of the last administration, and contended, in contradiction to the noble lord, that the superiority was greatly on the side of the former. He shewed, from a comparison of the returns, that the produce of the regular recruiting, under the former system, was to the present only in the proportion of 214 men a week to 509. The desertions were, under the former system; in the last six months of the year 1805, as 1 to 157; in the last six months of 1806, the proportion was as 1 to 268. The improvement in both these great points continued to increase to the present hour; and in proportion as the new measures began to be better understood, their operation would be more extensive. Their influence was founded on the fixed principles of human nature. It was not by affording the present means of debauchery that he sought to fill the army, but by holding out prospective rewards, to which it was desirable that the minds of the people should be fixed; and, therefore, the amendment of the noble lord was to be deprecated, as going to undermine and unsettle the root they had already taken.

Mr. *Rose* stated, that calculating the expense of recruiting parties, coupled with the bounty of 18l. it made every man cost the country 38l. by the time they joined. Calculating the increased expense of Chelsea, the expense was not less than 65l. a man. The expense of Chelsea, on the present system, would amount, in time of peace, to between 700,000l. and 1,000,000l. a year.

Colonel *Shipley*, from his experience in his own regiment, assured the house that recruits were obtained in greater numbers and of better quality; not the debauched outcasts of the manufacturing towns, but the sons of the yeomanry, sent by their fathers to devote a part of their youth to the promotion of the glory of their country, in a war which was maintained for the preservation of the rights of mankind.

Colonel *Barry* bore testimony to the same satisfactory operation of the new measures with respect to his own regiment.

Sir *James Pulteney* repeated his former arguments against discharging men in the middle of a war. Great mischief would arise from that principle in the colonies, and with all our naval superiority, it would be found extremely difficult to transport the men backwards and forwards, as often as it would be necessary; he thought it unfair to institute a comparison between the ordinary recruiting now, and what it was while the Additional Force act subsisted. It would appear, on examination, that as great a proportion of recruits deserted now as under the former system.

Sir *John Doyle* rose, amidst a very general call for the question. If he had not been warned to be brief by the lateness of the hour, he should not be so stupid as not to take the hint gentlemen were so kind as to give him. (a laugh). He was against the amendment, as it went to mix limited and unlimited service. The very objection the gentlemen opposite urged formerly against his right hon. friend's plan was, that it would have this effect; and yet they now brought forward as an amendment a principle which would have the same effect permanently, and in a much greater degree. His right hon. friend's plan had been stigmatized as visionary, theoretic, and quixotic. Its theory was, that by accomodating the service to the feelings and principles of human nature, more men would be obtained, and of a better quality. The theory of the noble lord was, that by making the situation of the soldier worse, and binding him to it for life, he would enter into it more readily, and remain in it more contented. The regiment he had the honour to command had been twice filled up so as to exceed its compliment under the present plan, though it had at one time sent 250 men, and at another 200 to the first battalion. There was a physical as well as a moral improvement in the quality of the recruits. (Here there was a general coughing, which was stopped by a cry of order!) The hon. bart. said, he was happy to find that the coughing did not proceed from any indisposition in the health of the house, though it might from an indisposition to hear him (a laugh). The measure produced 500 men a week since January, which was in the proportion of 26,000 a year. If this measure was visionary and quixotic, he wished we had more of such quixotism. The physical superiority of the recruits now detained was evinced by the small proportion rejected; their moral superiority by the reduced number of desertions. He was sure, that however cold calculation might anticipate the possibility of the return of a large number of men at the expiration of their periods, leaving our colonial service in a circumstance of great exigency, there would always be found in the bosom of British soldiers a spirit which would never permit them to return to their homes while the service of their country required their service abroad. He cited the instance of a Scotch regiment under Marquis Cornwallis, in India, which, though its period of service had expired, volunteered for an expedition then fitting out, with the exception of two men, who afterwards came back, and begged to be received, but whom the regiment, with a becoming esprit de corps, refused to receive. He also cited the instance of the new regiments raised for service, limited in point of space as well as of time, that volunteered to accompany sir Ralph Abercrombie in his expedition to Egypt, and argued for unlimited service both in time and space, in order to have their offers accepted. He saw all this, and felt and marked it as a proof of national honour, which would never admit a British soldier to avail himself of the expiration of his period of service, in order to retire, when his country should be in want of his arm, but on the contrary would prompt him to renew his engagement and to persevere till the danger was dissipated. Having set out with the intention to be brief, and having received frequent hints from gentlemen to that effect he would now sit down; for, though he had something more to say, he thought he could not leave the house under a better impression than what he had just said was calculated to produce.

Mr. *Perceval* thanked the hon. general for his statement. Though not intended for that purpose, it fully corroborated many of the predictions made by himself and his friends respecting the consequences of the military plan introduced by the right hon. secretary. Frequently had he adverted to the inconveniencies and difficulties that must arise from that plan to the colonial service, from the discharge of men in time of war, &c.; but it would seem that men now crowded so thick to fill up the ranks, that all these inconveniences and difficulties would vanish before the magic operation of the new system. Yet he could not help wishing that the effects of this astonishing bill might be compared with those not only of the recruiting, but also of the parish bill. It would then be seen (and he could prove it even from the papers on the table) that the two months, namely February and March, of the year 1805, exceeded the returns of the two favourite months, set forth as so productive, under the influence of the new system. Even in the last stage of its existence, the parish bill produced 1265 men, a greater number than was now obtained from the full vigour of this new plan. As to the volunteers, that system was acknowledged to be at an end; for the danger of invasion was said to be over, and that alone kept them together. It would therefore appear, even from the confession of the right hon. gent. that those "depositories of panic" only came forward in the hour of danger; that when danger shewed itself, then it is they flock to their standards. The hon. and learned gent. concluded by adverting to the expedition in which a gallant colonel (Craufurd) had been engaged, who so frequently detained the attention of the house by his observations upon military affairs. He trusted, that to whatever part of the globe he was destined, he carried with him the countenance of ministers. He hoped that his labours would be crowned with success, and that he would not have to report his triumphs to ungrateful masters (hear! hear!). That if he should be fortunate enough to secure for his country as great a conquest as the Cape of Good Hope, he would be at least entitled to the gratitude of this house, or be allowed to wear his hard-earned laurels, without obloquy and reproach (hear! hear!) It was an awful prospect for the country, it was an awful lesson for the naval and military gentlemen of the house, to reflect, that they were to earn their professional character and fame, by their service within these walls. (Loud cries of hear! hear!)

Mr. *Windham* begged to ask the learned gent. if he wished to insinuate that the hon. colonel (Craufurd) to whom he had alluded, had obtained his present appointment in consequence of any services he was supposed to have rendered government in that house?

Mr. *Perceval* disclaimed any such insinuation, and observed, that he must have been wholly misunderstood by the right hon. gent.

Mr. *Fawkes* begged to be allowed to make a single observation. He did not pretend to know what was the destination of the hon. colonel so strangely alluded to; but whatever might be that destination, he trusted that should that honourable officer disregard his instructions, and divert to any other purpose the force entrusted to him, but that which his orders pointed out, he would be brought to a court-martial, to have his conduct cleared; or otherwise, that he would have to relate his story to "ungrateful masters."

Mr. *Perceval* again rose to explain, and declared, that he was likewise misunderstood by the hon. gent. who spoke last.—The house then divided on the amendment. For it 60. Against it 179. Majority against it 119. The bill was then ordered to be engrossed.—The second reading of the Roman Catholics' Army Service bill was deferred till Tuesday next, after which the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, March 13:

[SCOTCH JUDICATURE BILL.] Lord *Grenville* moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Scotch Judicature bill. As on former occasions he had entered with some minuteness of detail into the nature of the circumstances which called for that regulation, and into the mode of carrying it into effect, he should not now trouble their lordships with a repetition of what must be so present to their recollection; but content himself with moving, that the bill be now read a second time.

The Duke of *Montrose* had several objections to certain provisions of the bill, but he should not enter into a statement of them at present, as they would come more regularly before the house in another stage of the question.

The Marquis of *Abercorn* was by no means aware of the extent of the innovations which the bill seemed to have in contemplation, otherwise he would have entered his protest against it sooner. In many respects, more particularly in the creation of new places dependent upon the crown, it went to infringe not only the spirit, but the letter of the act of union.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* differed wholly from the noble marquis, and pledged himself, whenever their lordships thought proper to enter upon the question, not only to convince the house, but even that noble lord, that in no instance whatever did the measure proposed go to violate the spirit, or infringe the act of union; and that it did not provide for the creation of more places or offices than existed at that period, and subsequent to the time of the union between the two countries.—The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, March 13.

[MINUTES.] Sir John Frederick obtained leave to bring in a bill for building a bridge over the Thames, at Vauxhall, and for making roads adjacent thereto.—The names of the defaulters on the Dublin Election ballot were read over, and lord Bruce was ordered to be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms.—Lord Howick observed, that, when on the preceding evening he proposed that the second reading of the Roman Catholic Army and Navy Service bill should take place on Tuesday next, he was not aware of certain circumstances which would render it inconvenient to many members to attend on that day: he therefore moved, that the second reading should stand for Thursday; which was ordered accordingly. —Mr. Gooch, from the select committee appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of Wm. Morland, esq., complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of Taunton, informed the house, that the said committee have determined, that John Hammet, esq. and Alex. Baring, esq., were duly elected; and also, that the said committee have determined, that the petition of the said Wm. Morland, esq., did appear to the said committee to be frivolous and vexatious.—On the motion of the secretary at war, the Mutiny bill was read a third time, and passed.—Lord Henry Petty brought in two bills. The one was for charging 12,000,000l., part of the loan of the present year on the war taxes, and for continuing a certain portion of the war taxes beyond the war, with a view to that object; the other was for the further regulation of the sinking fund, according to the new financial plan. Both the bills were read a first time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, March 16.

[SCOTCH JUDICATURE BILL.] On the order of the day being read for going into a committee on the Scotch judicature bill,

The Duke of *Montrose* expressed himself decidedly hostile to the measure in its present shape. He conceived the proposed division of the court of session into three chambers, with a superior court of appeal, to be an infraction of the articles of union, inasmuch as the court of session would thus no longer be the supreme court of Scotland, but would be rendered inferior to another court, namely, the court of appeal. The division into three chambers might also be productive of serious inconveniences; a case, for instance, decided by a majority of ten judges to four, might, by the operation of this bill, be again decided upon by four judges in one of these three chambers, and these four might happen to be the minority on the former decision. The chamber of review would, he thought, also defeat the object sought to be attained, namely, the more speedy administration of justice, by again narrowing the channel of that administration; and he had little doubt that this new court of appeal, if established, would soon be as much overloaded with appeals as that house was at present. He thought it would be much more advisable to divide the court of session into two chambers, consisting of eight judges, and seven, from each of which three judges might be detached into the outer house, to do the business there in a manner more complete than that now practised. The judges might take it in rotation every year to go into the outer house. If this mode was adopted, and the courts were empowered to give possession in consequence of judgment, and to order the payment of money, or to take good security in case of an appeal, and also, if in that house costs were given on appeals to the extent of the expence actually incurred, together with damages for any injury sustained, there would be no necessity for an intermediate court of appeal, and appeals to that house would become much less frequent. With respect to the introduction of trial by jury, he thought it an experiment replete with difficulty, and one that ought not to be tried without the most mature consideration, at least, the experiment ought to be confined, in the first instance, to the city of Edinburgh. In order, therefore, that there might be still further time given for the consideration of this very important part of the subject, he moved an instruction to the committee to divide the bill into two or more bills, in order to keep that part of the bill relating to the judicature, and that respecting trial by jury, perfectly distinct.—This motion was not put, the first question being on the committal of the bill.

Lord *Redesdale* considered the present measure as a breach of the act of union, as, if it was carried into effect, the court of session would, in fact, no longer exist.

The Earl of *Selkirk* contended that it was perfectly consistent with the act of union to make regulations for the better administration of justice in Scotland, and this measure did nothing more. He could not conceive that the establishment of an intermediate court of appeal would tend to increase appeals, as experience in this country, with respect to the court of exchequer chamber, proved directly the reverse.

Lord *Eldon* was of opinion that the proposed division of the court of session into three chambers was not consistent with the spirit of the act of union; he thought that much might be done by the mode proposed by the noble duke, by establishing two chambers, whilst, at the same time, the act of union would not be infringed. His lordship examined different provisions of the bill, and contended that they were extremely defective with respect to the directions given for resorting to trials by jury, and appeared to have been framed without a due consideration of the nature of pleadings in the court of session, which were so different to those adopted in the courts of law in Westminster-hall. He had considerable doubts respecting that part of the bill which related to trial by jury, and thought it would be better to separate it from the other. It was a most important subject, and called for the earnest and serious attention of their lordships.

Lord *Grenville* thought it unnecessary for the noble and learned lord to remind their lordships that this subject demanded their earnest and anxious attention, as those by whom the measure had been brought forward had not failed to impress upon the house the great importance of the measure, and had earnestly solicited for all the assistance which could be derived for its completion, both in and out of that house. The greater part of the noble and learned lord's objections referred to particular provisions of the bill, which would be better discussed in the committee, and where it would be found that most of them had already been anticipated. No sufficient reason had, in his mind, been urged for dividing this bill into two, particularly after the subject had so long been under consideration. As to the objection that this measure was an infringement of the act of union, it did not appear to him to be in the least well founded. It was clear that there existed an absolute necessity for remedying the evils which resulted from the accumulation of business in the court of session more than that court could possibly get through, and the accumulation of appeals in that house. The necessity of some remedy was so evident, that those noble lords who objected to this measure proposed as a substitute the division into two chambers. If the division into three chambers was however an infringement of the act of union, it was perfectly clear, that the division into two chambers was also an infringement. He, however, could not conceive there was any doubt that parliament had the power of making enactments for the better regulation of the court of session. It was a power recognized by an act of the Scotch parliament, and reserved by the words inserted in the article of the act of union. It would be absurd to suppose that the court of session had the power which was acknowledged, of regulating their own proceedings, but that parliament had no paramount power over them. With respect to the trial by jury, the reasons which had been stated for not introducing it into Scotland appeared to him to be the best reasons for its introduction.

Lord *Melville* declared himself friendly to the principle of diminishing the number of lords of session. He had formerly proposed a bill for diminishing their number to ten; but he confessed he thought the proposition of the noble lord for dividing them into three chambers, much more preferable. He doubted, however, the propriety of establishing a court of review, which he thought an infringement of the act of union, whilst, at the same time, it would not tend to diminish the number of appeals to that house, as the litigants would still be anxious to appeal to the last resort. With respect to the trial by jury, he did not think it would be productive of those beneficial effects which were looked for by the proposers of the bill; it was ill suited to the habits of the people of Scotland, neither did they wish for its introduction.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* quoted the 18th and 19th articles of union, for the purpose of proving that the present measure was no infringement upon that act, there being an express reservation that regulations might be adopted for the administration of justice, consistently with public policy, and for the evident utility of the subject. The division of the court of session into three chambers, and the establishment of a court of review, were questions of public policy, respecting which parliament had undoubtedly the power of deciding. The court of session had formerly established regulations by acts of sederunt for the more speedy administration of justice, and it were absurd to suppose that parliament had not the paramount power to enforce regulations for the better administration of justice. The introduction of the trial by jury formed part of the resolutions passed last session, and since that period no petition had been presented to the house from any part of Scotland against that part of the plan. He was therefore warranted in supposing that there was no objection to its introduction.

The Earl of *Mansfield*, after modestly apologising for offering himself to the attention of the house upon such a subject, expressed himself of the same opinion with the noble lord (Melville), and cited an opinion delivered by that great lawyer, the earl of Mansfield, that the introduction of the trial by jury in Scotland, so far from being advisable, might be attended with much hazard in the experiment; so totally unsuited was it to the habits and prejudices of the people.—The house then went into a committee *pro forma*, in which lord Eldon gave notice that he should, when they came to the clause relative to the trial by jury, move that it be omitted, for the purpose of having another substituted, better suited to answer the desired purpose.—Progress was then reported, and the committee obtained leave to sit again on Wednesday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, March 16.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Eyre, chairman of the committee appointed to try the merits of the petition complaining of an undue election for the borough of Guildford, reported, that Mr. Sumner was not duly elected, and that the petitioner, the hon. Chapple Norton, was duly elected; but that the opposition of Mr. Sumner to the petition was not frivolous or vexatious. The clerk of the crown was ordered to attend the next day to amend the return, by erasing the name of Mr. Sumner, and inserting that of Mr. Norton in its place.—On the motion of Mr. Hobhouse, it was ordered that, at the rising of the house that day, lord Bruce, who had been taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms, in consequence of default at the election ballot, should be discharged, on paying his fees.—On the motion of lord Temple, a new writ was ordered for the election of a member for the borough of Buckingham, in the room of sir W. Young, who had accepted the office of governor of the island of Tobago.—Mr. Courtenay moved, that the order for the consideration of the Culross election petition, be deferred to the 10th of May. Sir J. Anstruther said, that though the sitting member was willing to agree to a reasonable delay, he could by no means agree to a delay which would, perhaps, be the means of putting off the trial of this case to the next session. He would agree to a delay of three or four weeks. The consideration of the Culross petition was then fixed for April 16.—Lord John Thynne moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Bath Common division bill. Lord Ossulston opposed the motion, as the bill went to interfere with one of the principal and most airy walks of the invalids who resorted to Bath. He moved, as an amendment, that the bill be read a second time that day three months. The bill was defended by lord John Thynne, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Hobhouse. A division took place; for reading the bill a second time now 49, against it 78, majority 29. A second division then took place on the question for reading the bill a second time that day three months: when there appeared for the motion 57, against it 49. The bill was of course lost by a majority of 8.

[SLAVE TRADE ABOLITION BILL.] Lord H. Petty moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Slave Trade Abolition bill.

Mr. *Hibbert* rose and said:—I do not rise, sir, with the vain hope of changing, by any observations of mine, the determination which the house has expressed, in a manner so decided, upon this question, but rather with an anxious wish to record an opinion, grounded on consistent principles, and unaltered by any thing which I have heard upon a subject so interesting and important. In adherence to consistency, which, rather than popularity, is my object, I shall appear to differ more with the prevailing sentiment of the house than some of my hon. friends have done, who have yet united with me in opposition to this measure; for, after the concessions which they have made upon the points of legality, humanity, and justice, I do not see how we can sit down and deliberate upon the policy and expediency of keeping open the trade; we fall, too, in so doing, under the censure of the hon. member for Bedford, (Mr. Whitbread) who thinks that in the debate we have "given too much into cool discussion." In which reprehension he includes, I presume, the noble lord (Howick) who introduced the bill into the house, and the noble lord (H. Petty) who sits upon the same bench, and who certainly did not, either of them, encourage that declamatory tone which has too much prevailed in this debate. The hon. member himself took care not to copy their error, for he asked us whether it was necessary that we should prove that robbery and murder are unlawful? Certainly we need not trouble the hon. gent. for such proof, but it might have been as well if he had shewn how robbery and murder are to be prevented by this bill; in what sense it is calculated to do good rather than mischief, to confer benefits adequate to the evils it inflicts, and the risques it imposes upon humanity. The hon. member has intimated a conjecture, that the crimes attendant upon the Slave Trade in the West Indies have provoked the judgments of God, and that the hurricanes to which those climates are subject are the signals of his vengeance. Sir, there is much moral and physical evil in the world, but it is a bold and rash attempt in any mortal to impute that evil as a judgment of Providence upon the heads on which it may chance to fall. Where an individual perishes in the actual commission of a crime, we may be allowed to draw a profitable lesson from so striking an incident; but where calamities consistent with the course of nature extend themselves over large districts, and afflict persons of various descriptions, there is something peculiarly rash in pronouncing that the sufferers are the victims of divine justice. I am better acquainted with the history of Jamaica than with that of any other island in the West Indies. Jamaica has been for 20 years free from hurricanes, that period no way marked by a forbearance as to the purchase or labour of slaves. In 4 years, nearly successive, hurricanes have visited that island, and have specially desolated one of its districts—that district and those years not chargeable with any extraordinary concern with the slave trade. Those calamities have swept away large fleets of British ships returning from conquest over the enemies of their country, in nowise participating in the slave trade; and, what is still more worthy of remark, I do not find that any corresponding judgment has, at those periods, fallen upon British legislators and statesmen, the authors and promoters of the slave trade, who, as I shall shew, did not make their acts of parliament in ignorance, but knew well what they were doing; neither upon them, nor upon the nation whose affairs they administered, did such judgments attach; but, on the contrary, the era in which the slave trade was authorized and encouraged by the British legislature was one of distinguished prosperity in that country, one in which she became the envy of the world.—Another observation of the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) I will just notice. "All has been assertion," he says, "on our side, against facts proved on theirs." I did not expect this remark from the hon. gent. or from those who vote with him on this subject; for I contend, on the contrary, that the main facts on which the question depends have been asserted over and over again on their side, and never proved. I allude more particularly to their assertions, that the wars, and cruelties, and miseries of Africa, are caused by, and dependant upon, the European resort thither for slaves: and here I will not merely oppose assertion to assertion, but challenge investigation, and ask them where, if the proof they alledge exists, that proof may be found? In their pamplets and publications, though again and again they assume it as proved, I cannot find it, nor does the proof lie in the documents which have been produced on your table. They pretend to value facts only, and to disregard opinions; but opinions are not, in all instances, to be disregarded, nor are the authorities in our statute-book to be treated with disrespect. I do confess, sir, that when a right hon. gent. (Mr. G. Rose) on the other side, produced a detailed account not only of all the acts, but of the proceedings of parliament, with the opinions of committees of this house, so decidedly and so repeatedly expressed upon the subject of the slave trade, illustrating and explaining, as he read it, the characters of those who introduced and sanctioned those proceedings, I did think that the accumulated authority thus concentrated and brought into a focus, was calculated to make some impression upon this house, and particularly upon its junior members, who might thence be induced to doubt and hesitate at least, and not to remain so confident in opinion as to treat with disregard, nay almost with contempt, the sentiments and arguments of those who yet adhere, with a lingering attachment, to the monuments of the wisdom of our ancestors, to the deliberate judgment of men, with whom I will not say that I would rather sometimes go wrong than always right with others, but of whom I will say that their talents and virtues have not been exceeded by those of their successors. Sir, it is impossible that we can pretend, that upon this subject they legislated in ignorance. The abuses of the slave trade were more flagrant at its commencement than in its progress. It began on the part of the English with acts of violence and rapine. Of those acts it is well known that queen Elizabeth expressed her disapprobation; and in the year 1711, queen Anne, in recommending the subject to the attention of parliament, directs, that they shall enquire into the "nature of the trade." But are not the acts of parliament themselves, and their preambles, quite sufficient to prove that our ancestors were at variance with us in the first principles of the question? When they thought fit to encourage an "African slave trade," for the purpose of "supplying the West India colonies with slaves," was not this the whole of that proceeding, which we now pronounce to be contrary to justice, humanity, and sound policy? Put the case merely thus, and say nothing of any circumstances not necessarily and indispensably connected either with the purchase of slaves in Africa, with their conveyance to the West Indies, or with their maintenance there as slaves on our plantations, and let me ask the young members who have heard the declamations which this debate has occasioned, whether here be not the sum and substance of that abominable crime which they are about to abolish? Our ancestors indeed distinguished betwixt the trade and its abuses: that they tolerated, these they reprobated; a sufficient proof of which is afforded by the act of 23 Geo. II. c. 31, which, in its preamble, authorises the trade and its application to the West Indies; but, in one of its provisions, enacts penalties upon its abuses—abuses which it pronounces to be "to the prejudice of the said trade." It is in vain then for us to say that we are not completely at issue with our ancestors upon this question, or that we know any thing which they did not know, when they gave repeated legal sanction to that which we seek to abolish.—There are also, sir, other opinions which I am inclined to treat with respect—opinions founded upon facts and observations made in the midst of those very scenes of disgust and horror, which it is the professed object of this bill to prevent: and again let me ask those who have attentively listened to the pathetic representations made in the course of this debate, whether they can conceive it possible that two persons, neither slave traders nor West India proprietors, but impartial, enquiring travellers, should penetrate into the interior of Africa, be witnesses of what is passing there, and of the condition of its inhabitants, and yet come away, the one doubting whether an abolition of the slave trade would answer any good purpose, the other expressly disapproving that measure? What! live and travel in Africa, and even doubt upon the subject? How is it possible? unless indeed it should prove that we at this distance from the scene are deceived by partial views of what, when regarded near and entire, wears another appearance, and produces another effect. Yet is it nevertheless true, that Bruce and Parke, their minds unprejudiced on the subject, or if biassed at all, experiencing a bias against the trade, have returned, the one from the East, the other from the west of the negro country; Parke intimating his doubts* whether the abolition of the trade would answer the views of its promoters; and Bruce, in the strongest terms, deprecating the measure.†—I have before mentioned, on the authority of Mr. Parke himself, that I believe his book to express, in this respect, his own sentiments, and not those of his editor, Mr. Bryan Edwards: and Mr. Edwards, sir, when he edited that book, was either an abolitionist, or at least wavering in his opinions. He was a man of much genius and ability; if his talents had been cultivated in another direction, he would probably have been an eminent poet or orator, but an orator, I think, rather excelling in the rhetorical than in the logical beauties of the art. He was, upon commercial subjects, and more particularly on the subject of the slave trade, of vacillating opinions; and the West India body, who always respected his abilities, could seldom depend upon the determinations of his judgement. When, in a former debate, I connected the statements of Parke with the comment with which Mr. Malthus has accompanied them, I expressly said (not knowing then that Mr. Malthus had published any opinion about the Slave Trade) that I was not able to say whether that gentleman was or was not a friend to abolition; but the principle he has advanced, and the reasoning he has introduced on this subject, remain unaltered; and when he states that the population of Africa is continually passing beyond the means of its subsistence, and that the condition of the negro nations will experience no amelioration until industry and security of property be introduced among them, these circumstances appear to me to bear strongly upon this question. I shall be told that industry and security of property cannot find their way into Africa until the Slave Trade be abolished; but those who look for an abolition of the Slave Trade in Africa by a British act of parliament, seem to me to shut their eyes upon the lessons of history and experience.—I will not travel over again the ground I have trodden. I have before stated my opinion, that the little information which we can glean of the state and condition of Africa, before the resort thither of Europeans for colonial labourers, has been either kept back or misrepresented in the publications of the abolitionists; and, when a right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) alluded to what Leo Africanus relates to us concerning Negro Land, the hon. gent. (Mr. Wilberforce) who has interested himself so much in this question, appeared to me to promise us some comments upon the page of Leo. I shall not have an opportunity of observing upon what may fall from the hon. gent. on this subject, and I am not sure whether his usual ingenuity may not extract from Leo some passages which, in his opinion, favour his own views of the question; but I challenge him to contradict this result, that from the whole tenor of Leo's seventh book, which treats of the negro nations, it appears that before the resort of the Portuguese to the coast could have affected the condition of the interior, wars, both for dominion and plunder, originating as frequently, and from as slight provocations as they do now, were common throughout Negro Land; that the captives taken in those wars were either condemned to slavery, to imprisonment, or to death; that the condition of that slavery was in many instances most cruel and oppressive; that extensive markets for slaves were then open, and that to the Moors and to the eastern countries the sale of slaves was extensive; that in some instances the African Princes invited and even forced the Slave Trade, refusing to pay in gold for what they bought, and compelling the merchants, much against their will, to take slaves in return for their merchandize; and that slaves were at that day so plentiful, and horses for the purposes of war so valuable, that fifteen or twenty slaves were given for one horse. This I assert to be a fair abstract of what we gather from Leo, premising, however, that I am not able to read the original Arabian, nor have I ever met with the Italian translation made by Leo himself. I have, however, compared the Latin Elzevir translation with a French translation published at Lyons, in the sixteenth century, and they correspond in all essential respects. A voyager almost contemporary with Leo, is Cademosta, who in speaking of the part of the African coast visited by him, tells us, that the negro nations are often at war, that they sell slaves to different nations, "and some to the Christians, since they began to trade with that country," evidently shewing, that when the Christians entered into the commerce, they found it already established and extensive.—I build then, sir, my sentiments upon this question in part upon these authorities: and finding nothing in divine or human law which pronounces the possession, or the purchase, or the use of a slave, to be necessarily and invariably unjust, I cannot see either the obligation or the policy of abolishing that share of the Slave Trade which at present exists for the supply of our own colonies. If I were now to deliberate concerning any society, whether slavery should enter into its constitution, I should say; "Certainly not." If I were laying down regulations, and framing laws for an infant political establishment, I would take into my consideration all the original and abstract rights of man, for such rights do exist, and ought to be venerated, although they cannot often be applied with practical benefit to societies that have long existed under established laws. But we are not now in the case of debating whether our colonies shall or shall not be cultivated by slaves from Africa; they are and ever have been so cultivated; and we know at least that their prosperity has been hitherto dependant upon occasional supplies of the same description of imported population. All the rest is experiment merely, and theory, contradicted too by all that we know from fact and experience. When I before took occasion to observe the inconvenience of adopting in politics a rule so rigid that we would profit by nothing in this world that was connected with vice and abuse, the hon. gent. (Mr. Wilberforce) told me, that "this was ever our way; we wanted to let the Slave Trade pair off with some other tolerated crime." Sir, I do not find myself reduced to the miserable expedient of defending one abuse by another. I shewed how inapplicable these strict drawn rules must prove to the state of the world we live in, and that, if we would be rigidly bound by such principles, we must have neither lotteries nor alehouses; but I did not say that, consistently with the present condition and circumstances of this country, it was expedient that we should abolish either lotteries or alehouses: why then does the hon. gent. taunt me with the charge that I have not attempted to check those evils?

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* Parke's Travels, 4to. p. 287, 298.

† Bruce, 4to. vol. I. p. 3[illegible]2.

Why am I to be summoned to put on the armour of chivalry, and to mount my Rosinante in the hon. gent's suite? Sir, if I should ever sally out upon such adventures, and, stepping beyond the little circle of public or private life, wherein I may have it in my power to be useful, should undertake the reform of the world, I will not forget what is and has been the average state of human life: nor will I attempt to carry legislation beyond its fair and reasonable province.—And now, sir, I will look towards the West Indies; and here the hon. gent. (Mr. Wilberforce), attempts to pin me down to the statement of progressive population which I have found produced by himself and his friends, and which, believing it to be tolerably exact, I have contended did, when connected with the very moderate supply the islands would need, were they left unthreatened by this measure, prove, that the humane purposes of the Abolitionists were already attained, or in a fair way to be attained, without any violent proceeding. Oh! says the hon. gent., if you admit that, then without any importation, the increase by breeding will soon answer every purpose, except that of extending cultivation, and that is what we cannot encourage. Sir, I believe that the treatment of slaves has been improved by experience and mitigated by civilization; and admit, therefore, that the maintenance of the numbers by breeding may have been progressive to a certain degree; but this goes a very little way towards proving the policy of condemning our colonies to remain for ever without the possibility of an imported supply of population; for after this bill is passed, there is no remedy for any of those various events which are within the compass of possibility, and which may suddenly diminish their population. I have a right to say, that there is not any one in this house, who can at this time conjecture what and how many are the accidents which, in spite of humanity and vigilance, may contribute to the decrease of the negroes in our West India colonies, while, within a few leagues of them, a rival colony shall be flourishing and prosperous, unfettered by that eternal restriction which this bill will impose. A hurricane, and consequent famine, carried off, in Jamaica alone, 15,000 black inhabitants. Epidemics have occasionally prevailed, that have proved nearly as fatal; and, independantly of such accidents, there exists the inequality of sexes, bearing more or less hardly on individuals, and the impediments which a laborious manufacture always opposes to population. The house has heard the result of the experience of an hon. gent. near me (Mr. Barham), whose humane endeavours to support his own numbers have hitherto proved ineffectual. My hon. friend (Mr. Ward), who spoke so ably on this question a few nights ago—so ably, that this house must wish that he would more frequently take part in its debates—and whose conviction on the subject I pretend not to say results from any partial view of the case, alluded to an estate which did support its numbers: that estate, sir, is most favourably circumstanced; it is insulated among the high lands of that district where it is placed, and the negroes cannot, without the utmost difficulty, indulge that rambling propensity which they bring with them from Africa, where polygamy is the law of the land. I could tell my hon. friend, that those who have constantly had the care and superintendance of that estate, have had also the care of others in the neighbourhood, to which they have extended exactly the same humane management; and that in no other instance have they found it possible to maintain the numbers without purchase.—I am enabled to state a case of peculiar hardship, in respect to an estate called Dean's Valley, in the parish of Westmoreland, Jamaica, which, from 329 negroes which it possessed in the year 1783, ill assorted as to sex, has sustained a gradual decay of its numbers, until, by the last return in the year 1806, the numbers were reduced to 166. This estate, for upwards of 20 years past, has been in a trust under will of the proprietor, who died in 1783; and the trustees have not been at liberty to purchase a negro. As to the treatment of the negroes in this interval, those who know any thing of that island will rest satisfied, that there has been nothing wanting in humanity or provident care, when I state, that Mr. Mure has had the management of it, having, at the same time, the charge of Mr. Dehany's estates in that neigbourhood, where the numbers have been maintained, and the condition of the negroes generally cited as among the happiest in Jamaica. Sir, other cases of hardship may be stated, if necessary—cases of minors and lessors of estates, who will take back their properties wholly or nearly destitute of labourers, and consequently incapable of being profitably cultivated, and to whom, even in the long interval in which this question has been under agitation, there has not been the power or the ability to provide against the ruin which now awaits them. It has been said, you have had warning. Why have you not imported females and young people? As to the warning, sir, there was not till last year any concurrent decision of the two houses of parliament on this question: and as to the preferable importation of females, has that been at the discretion of the planter? An hon. and learned gent. (the Solicitor General), whose speech made a deep impression on the house, willing to prove that slavery prevailed in Africa in exact proportion with the demand for slaves, and that crimes were invented and forged whenever convicts were wanted, told you that if the planters should even say we will have none but women and children, women and children would be convicted and transported accordingly. Sir, I wish gentlemen would consider what would have been the feelings of the house, and what the tone of declamation that would have been excited, had such a fact been stated in evidence, as that of ships waiting upon the coast of Africa until they could be filled with women and children, because, forsooth, these were the description of slaves most saleable in the West Indies—with what exclamations of horror would such a recital have been received! And because the fact does not exist; because the colonies have been obliged to receive such slaves, and such only, as the laws of Africa have suffered to be exported, is it now to constitute an additional charge against the planters, that they have not assorted the sexes, or imported such only as were best fitted for supporting the population?—"When the condition of the slaves in the West India colonies is taken into consideration by the abolitionists, they first tells us that slavery bids defiance to law. "There are laws 'tis true," says the hon. member for Bedford, "but there are masters of slaves:" and we hear again and again, what cannot be denied, that laws made for a society consisting of a mixture of slaves and freemen, are not susceptible of the force and equal administration which laws have in a country of freemen only. Sir, nobody that I know of has pretended to prefer slavery to freedom, or to contest the point, that slavery does hardly admit of the complete controul of the law. Slavery has been mitigated, and must be mitigated, as civilization is extended. It is mitigated by manners, by opinions, and by examples. But, sir, when the full measure of censure has been poured upon us from this channel (because we found the colonies cultivated by slaves, and must continue so to cultivate them), was it to be expected that we should also be separately arraigned for the insufficiency of those laws, which, with better will than power perhaps, we have endeavoured to apply in regulating this state of society? Was it candid in the hon. and learned gent. (the Solicitor General) to cite, as an instance of West Indian barbarity, a law passed 120 years ago (the date of which he did not tell us till the question was put to him), and in which coarse expressions were found respecting slaves, when that learned gent. well knows that there exist, even in the statute-book of the British parliament (and I believe yet unrepealed), several acts, the provisions of which are a disgrace to humanity?—Sir, the laws which have been passed for the protection of the negroes in the West Indies have not all proved dead letter; they have been enforced and executed in many instances, and they are at least evidences and records of the public opinion, by which the conduct of the whites in the West Indies is in a very considerable degree controlled; nor is it true that those laws, which breathe the mildest spirit, have been wrung from the colonists by the discussion of this question; it is well known that the consolidated slave law of Jamaica (the island which contains one half the slaves of our West India colonies) was passed previous to that discussion.—While I contend, sir, that slavery has been mitigated by civilization, I must express a doubt whether civilization has equally tended to prevent abuses in societies of freemen governed by equal laws; and if a comparison be now drawn, as to the practical result in regard to the happiness of individuals, betwixt the one society and the other, I may assert that, of acts of cruelty and oppression which stain the character of those who commit, and increase the misery of those who suffer them, more instances occur in the cities of London and Westminster in one week, than in one month in the whole island of Jamaica.—The hon. gent. has somewhere alleged, that the circumstances of slaves often purchasing their freedom with the money they save, is an indisputable proof that they are miserable in a state of slavery. Sir, a slave, like an English labourer, looks upon a liberation from labour as his sovereign good. It does not follow that he is the happier for having attained it; but it is something to know that these ill-treated slaves do yet frequently save property enough wherewith to purchase their freedom.—

Most sincerely do I wish that, respecting the treatment of negroes, either in one island or in one insulated district, an experiment had been made at the expense of government, and upon the maxims of the abolitionists, and that it might have been seen how far the voluntary services of African negroes could have been obtained, and industry and happiness have been advantageously promoted, under a system essentially differing from that which prevails in our colonies. We should then have proceeded upon sound and safe principles, to innovate upon that which, however imperfect, has conduced hitherto to their prosperity.—The hon. gent. will not admit my supposition that our needful supply (if the dread of abolition were removed) would become very trifling, in comparison with the numbers now in our islands; for he contends that we still desire slaves, for the purpose of extending our cultivation indefinitely, not recollecting how little likely it is that cultivation should be further extended, under the existing discouraging markets for produce; and I have not been surprised, sir, to hear, at the same time, the present distress of the West India trade urged as an argument in favour of the abolition. The abolition, says an hon. gent (Mr. Jacob), will prove a blessing to you, for it will lessen that produce of which you now import too much; while the hon. gent. (Mr. Wilberforce), opposite to me, who had been told by me, that, in opening the case of the West India trade, I should not think it necessary to allude in the most distant manner to this question, and who seemed to approve the distinction, did, upon that occasion, and when I could not reply to him, apply the whole of that case to this question, and expressed his satisfaction that the postponement of this debate had given him an opportunity of previously hearing our case stated, since now it must appear, that 'it was not to the Abolition of the Slave trade that could be imputed the distresses of the colonists.' Sir, I cannot so well answer these extraordinary arguments as by recalling to the memory of the house that there have been periods when, for two or three successive years, those useful and valuable establishments, the public breweries of this country, have been admitted to be unprofitable, and even losing concerns; and we will suppose that in such circumstances the brewers had found it necessary to lay their case before parliament, requiring some legislative measure for their relief; what should we think of the statesman, who, on such an occasion, should say, sell your drays and your horses, turn away your men, use less malt and hops, pay us less duty, and that will relieve you: or should some hon. gent. in this house, at such a moment, professing an anxiety to assist the brewers, have projected a measure which they believed would set their factories on fire, how consolatory must it be to them to hear him exclaim—Well, I am glad I know your case, for now you cannot say that it is my projected measure which has occasioned your ruin! The distress of the West India colonies at this moment, sir, arises from their having complied with the urgent stimulation of the mother country, in furnishing her not only with produce amply sufficient for her own consumption, but also with a large surplus to enrich her by foreign trade; and, because the foreign market, not by their fault, is denied to the colonists, they ask you to support them under the burthen of producing what has been, and may again be, a most profitable resource to yourselves.—On the political value of the colonies, and the intimate connection of their prosperity with our naval power, having on another occasion spoken at some length, I will now be silent; and very shortly advert to the danger of insurrection in the islands connected with the present bill. Sir, I do not desire to look on the gloomy side, and will hope that our colonies may not undergo the rapid fate of Saint Domingo; but I cannot forbear to notice what we have heard upon high authority, that the people of France do connect the revolution in Saint Domingo with the abolition of the slave trade. The noble lord (Lauderdale) who, in the course of the late negociation, was thus informed, is said to have replied, that he believed otherwise. I respect much, sir, the manly understanding of that noble lord, but cannot consider his opinion on this subject as of equal value with that generally diffused over the French nation, who witnessed the whole course of that dreadful event, who knew the pains taken by the Amis des Noirs to spread their doctrines in the colonies, and who read the twopenny and threepenny publications, which there too teemed from the press, inviting the negroes, "to break their chains upon the heads of their oppressors." Expressions equally inflammatory I could shew the noble lord (Howick) who sits on the bench before me, in the pamphlets which have been circulated here, although I doubt not that his mind has never been sullied by the perusal of them, and that he therefore thought an allusion which I made to them upon a former day less justifiable than it really was. Sir, it is not the debates of this house (of which we are charged with permitting the circulation in the colonies) that are so much calculated to impress the mind of the negro, as an act of legislation, the operation of which he will immediately see, and the grounds and motives of which he will then naturally make the objects of his enquiry.—This, sir, I think is the proper moment for my acknowledging that protection to our characters, which some hon. gents have thought fit to interpose against the abuse which others have so copiously bestowed upon us. I have, sir, carefully estimated the amount of that protection, and I think it is this: 'these West India planters and merchants,' say they, 'are, for aught we know, anatomically constructed, much like other people; they have a scull, a brain, a pia and a dura mater, like ourselves; but man is the creature of habit, and their habits are detestably bad. Their early associations fill their minds with inveterate prejudices, which prevent them either from understanding or feeling like the rest of the world: but then let us not be too severe upon them; for were we ourselves (lord H. Petty, Mr Canning) exposed to similar impressions, which thank God we are not! our opinions and conduct might be just like theirs.' I do not know how others may feel on this subject, sir, but I for one desire not to put the gentlemen to this expence of reluctant liberality, to exact from them this tribute of left-handed candour. All that in our defence and justification I would ask of them is, that when they have torn out of the statute-book the acts of one hundred and fifty years, and scattered them upon the floor, they would permit us, humble gleaners, to collect and to carry home with us the fragments; we will treasure up the preambles and provisions which they have contemptuously rejected, and those shall be our justification: for the rest, let them leave us to God and to our own consciences; but if we ask them not to trouble themselves about our defence, let them recollect, that upon the subject of the slave trade it ill becomes a member of the parliament of Great Britain to stigmatize the instruments which that legislature has deluded into a crime (if we are so to call it), of which the nation has pocketted the gains.—I am here led to advert to that compensation which is due, as I think, to those whose properties this bill may injure or destroy, and for which there is, within the bill, no provision, nor has there been any thing like a distinct pledge given. On the contrary, the opportunity of discussing the justice or expediency of such a provision has not occurred, his Majesty's ministers having declared themselves not authorised to express the royal permission for entertaining the question. I had the highest direction in this house, your own, sir, for declining, in merely asking his Majesty's ministers for that permission, to go at length into the general argument; and I am driven now into the necessity of urging what I have to say on the subject as an objection to this bill, which cannot, as I contend, without some such qualification, be reconciled with that regard for justice and for property, which is the acknowledged attribute of a British house of commons: and here I have a right to call upon those for their support, who may be, in all other respects, friends to this bill, but who have invariably maintained that it ought to pass, accompanied with a liberal pledge of compensation to those whose property, hitherto protected by the laws, may be injured by its enactments. I have more particularly a right to expect such support from gentlemen connected with the colonies, and friends of abolition, but who must yet be well aware of the partial injuries it will inflict, and who will not, I trust, vote for this bill, since it contains no pledge of protection to those who may innocently suffer by its operation. Sir, it was objected to me, when I attempted to introduce this question to the house, that it was not the usage of parliament in similar great public regulations, to provide compensation prospectively. But there is the act of 28 Geo. III. cap. 54, which stares us in the face, in direct contradiction to this assertion: that act relates to the regulation of the slave trade on the coast of Africa. It is not my business to make distinctions betwixt the African and West Indian slave trades, but the former is not the part of the trade for which parliament has ever expressed a predilection, and yet, in the 15th section of the act I have mentioned, there is a large and liberal provision of compensation, not merely for property taken away, but for losses to be sustained. How, let me ask, did such a clause find its way into that bill? His Majesty's approbation for the consideration of the subject was certainly first obtained, and then the house did, upon deliberation, see the policy and the justice of admitting that provision. Why then, in the name of justice, has even a deliberation upon the question, as applied to this bill, been denied to us? We are assured that we shall sustain no injury, and, on the contrary, that the colonies are to be greatly benefited by the abolition. Are they sincere who advance this opinion (Messrs. Wilberforce, Jacob, &c. &c.)? Then, sir, at how cheap a rate might they, in this instance, have the grace of relieving apprehensions, of removing objections, and of connecting a measure certainly of innovation and violence with a display of uniform and consistent justice! But, on the other hand, we are told, take care how you admit any consideration of compensation, for the whole revenue of England might not suffice for the claims it would occasion. Are they sincere who advance this opinion (Mr. Whitbread)? Then how cautious should we be of incurring a loss of such magnitude, that the whole revenue of the country may be too little to make it good. I am aware that those who maintain this last opinion have alledged, that compensation may be demanded for voluntary and exaggerated losses, and for a sacrifice of extravagantly computed prospective profits. Sir, there could be no such dangers incurred under a clause wisely restricted to real and substantial losses—a clause framed with reference to precedents that already exist in the statute-book, and expressed in terms of additional precaution, suggested by the present case. Is it pretended, sir, that this bill can operate without unmerited injury to individuals? or does the house adopt the sentiments which I heard, with the utmost surprise, fall from an hon. baronet?—sentiments which did appear to me so extraordinary and objectionable, that I cannot express myself freely concerning them, unless the hon. baronet (sir P. Francis) be present. And now, sir, seeing him present, I shall state what I understood him to pronounce as his deliberate opinion (referring not to slave traders on the coast of Africa, but to the West India planters and merchants); and if I heard him right, it was, that no person who had been concerned in a trade which parliament has recently declared to be contrary to justice, humanity, and sound policy, can, in respect of losses sustained in that trade, make out to parliament a case that ought to be heard for compensation. The hon. baronet thus puts out of the protection of the law a large class of British subjects, who can plead a long series of ancient statutes as their authority, and whose claim is precisely founded on the reversal of those statutes. Understanding this to be the hon. baronet's opinion (he will correct me if I have mistaken it), I must say, that it is an opinion repugnant to every principle of justice, humanity, and sound policy.—One ill effect that must result from passing the bill, thus unqualified, we shall surely experience, in the discouragement it will cast upon the commercial spirit of the country. What have merchant adventurers to trust to but written laws? They cannot call into question whether the legislators who passed those laws were more or less well informed, and had or had not the fullest lights upon the subject. Sir, twenty-five or thirty years ago, when I commenced merchant, had I canvassed both houses of parliament for an opinion how a mercantile capital could be adventured in foreign commerce the most advantageously to the public, nine out of every ten would have advised me to embark it upon the cultivation of the colonies; and in this reign two acts have been passed, encouraging loans, one from British subjects and one from foreigners, for that purpose; and yet, in this very reign, the security of those who lent money in faith of those acts, is, without compensation, to be violated; for an estate that may be at any time cultivated by the purchase of negroes (whether more or less of that description be now upon it) is, in the West India colonies, a valid security; but land deprived of that privilege and use, is not so. I cannot, sir, but look with despondency to the effect this example must have upon commercial confidence and credit. You will still, I doubt not, have your loan contractors, your lottery contractors, your barrack contractors, and the swarms that hang upon your revenue departments may increase perhaps as the matter they have to feed upon will diminish; but the ardent and adventurous spirit which has created and sustained the commercial character of this country, which has 'raised other fruits beneath another sun,' and rendered every quarter of the world the theatre of British industry, and the source of British wealth, can exist only under an uniform and consistent protection from the legislature, and, wanting that, must expire.—I have, sir, now only a few words to address to my hon. friends connected with the colonies, who have given their support to this bill. Let me ask them what is their situation before it passes, and what will be their situation when it is passed? They have now a long series of legislative authorities to refer to, in support of those establishments and that cultivation on which their property has been embarked. To-morrow those establishments, and that cultivation, will be as it were under an interdict, and as reprobated by the legislature. My hon. friends have, I know, taken up their opinions on conviction, and have rejected with scorn that adulation which has been offered to them, as of a distinct character and class from their fellow colonists. If they could possibly have felt any complacency in that distinction, they must know that to-morrow that too will lose its value. My hon. friends will not believe that I speak my own sentiments, for I acknowledge no guilt imputable to any of us; but those who call us all guilty may look upon them as *participes criminis*, useful while retained as evidences, or detached from their accomplices, but, when the cause is over, subject to the indifference, not to use a stronger term, which generally attends that description of persons. Are my hon. friends flattering themselves (I know that some of them have so done) that here the matter ends, and that, in future, the colonist will enjoy his property without molestation? Have they not heard, sir, is not the alarm-bell of further innovation yet ringing in their ears, have they not heard a young nobleman, of great hope, and of the highest connections in this country, announce a measure tending directly to emancipation? That young nobleman will be treated like a gallant soldier who outsteps the line, and anticipates the charge; but the line is advancing, and the charge will soon be made. Where then will my honorable friends take their stand? Are they pledged to go all lengths, or are they, by a late hesitation and repentance, to lose the merit of their former concessions? Had they not better, even if they object not to this bill, lay hold of the laws which have hitherto protected them, and demand compensation at least, as the condition of their passive concurrence? they will soon find themselves undistinguished from us who have from the first withstood these innovations—undistinguished, excepting by the bitter consciousness of having been aiding and consenting to their own destruction; and they must be contented with us to walk through the empire with a brand upon their backs; if they enjoy a short prosperity, it will be a prosperity blasted by obloquy and reproach; if they fall, on the contrary, as I believe they will, they will fall unpitied and unprotected.—Sir, if in what I have said I have expressed myself at any time with unbecoming warmth, I shall to-morrow be sorry for it; the house will, I trust, regard it as the effort of an expiring flame, the spasm before dissolution. Believing, as in sincerity and sobriety I do, that if this bill pass, it condemns the colonies to a decay more or less rapid, I could not bring myself to say less in justification of the opposition I have given, and must continue to give to it; but, sir, I have done, and cannot foresee that I shall again at any time have to trouble the house on this subject, unless it chance that on the one hand consequences I do not now look for should demand from me retractions or concessions, which shall, in that case, be freely made before they are called for, or that I should, on the other hand, be compelled to submit to the house cases of individual distress and injury originating in this bill, and humbly praying for compensation; should this last, sir, be my lot, and should even the worst I have contemplated come to pass, I shall not think that the language of reproach will avail any thing under such circumstances, neither will I (and for this the hon. gent. whom I oppose ought to thank me) at that time undertake their defence and justification. I will not say that I knew many of these abolitionists who, with the exception of their prejudices on this subject, were much like other men; and that, had I been, as, thank God I was not, like them, misled by delusive theories, deceived by false, exaggerated, or partial accounts of what has passed, and is passing in Africa and the West Indies; instigated by popular clamour (itself artificially and enthusiastically excited); and fascinated by oratory, I might with them have given my voice for a measure which has proved destructive of its object, and has sacrificed one main source of our national prosperity.

Sir *Philip Francis* had never said, that the persons engaged in the slave trade were out of the protection of the law. What he had stated on a former night was, that he would not be a party to any proceeding of that house, which should pledge to any compensation for any future losses that might arise from any measure under discussion. He had asserted that, on general principles, there could be no claim for losses sustained by a transaction which the house had declared to be contrary to justice, humanity, and policy; and he still adhered to that opinion. He had gone further with respect to Trinidad; for that was a modern establishment, and the speculations had been undertaken in that island, with a knowledge of the resolution of parliament of 1792, that the trade should be abolished after a certain time. He should feel it his duty to resist any application from that island, at the same time that he would be as ready as any hon. member to grant compensation for losses which might be sustained by the operation of the bill, upon a special case being made out.

Mr. *Lytleton*, though he had not the presumption to suppose that he could place the arguments that had already been employed in the different stages of this measure in a stronger light, or a more persuasive form, could not yet content himself with giving a silent vote upon this occasion. The slave trade was so enormous and horrible, that there was no parallel to it in the annals of the world. He was glad that the measure of its abolition was at length arrived at its last stage; though he was sorry that any alteration had been made in the preamble, because he could not reconcile to himself any compromise upon the subject. He was convinced that none of the imputed consequences would follow from the adoption of the measure.

Mr. *Henry Thornton* observed, that it did not signify to the house what Leo Africanus or Mr. Park might have thought of the slave trade, as they were themselves more competent to decide upon the facts before them. In a communication which he had with Mr. Park, however, that gentleman, though he studiously avoided giving any decisive opinion as to the effects of the abolition of the slave trade, admitted that the justice of such a measure did not allow of an argument. This measure would not only throw wide open the doors of civilization for Africa, but lay the first stone for the establishment of the happiness of the West Indies. As this country was the balance for the great power on the continent, they ought to attend to the grounds upon which its means were founded, and particularly in its colonies. Measures were to be taken for the improvement of the condition of the mass of the people in the sister kingdom; an hon. gent. of great weight in that house (Mr. Whitbread) from his character and talents, had brought forward measures for the improvement of the mass of the people in this country; measures had on a former occasion been taken to correct abuses which were said to have existed in the East Indies; and he would ask, whether it was not right that they should take measures for the improvement of the West India islands? He had paid particular attention to the case of the slaves, and he agreed that the system was more severe than any that had ever existed in the world. The slave was called to work half an hour before sun rise, and was dismissed from work half an hour after sun set, and this period of labour, with the intermission of two hours in the course of the day, was greater than could be borne in a tropical climate. They were besides worked under the whip, a practice which had never obtained in any years; and men, and boys, and girls of tender age, and women in an advanced stage of pregnancy, were subjected to blows at the discretion of the driver. The slavery in the West Indies was much more severe than in the ancient world; for shortly after the propagation of christianity, slavery was done away. Here the hon. member read an extract from the historian Gibbon, to shew, that, when the sources of procuring slaves were cut off by the union of Asia and Africa with the Roman empire, the Romans obtained them by the more tedious method of propagation, which was promoted by mild treatment, and encouraging marriage. These were the facts upon which the advocates of the bill supported it. But it would likewise have the effect of promoting the civilization of Africa, which was shut out at present from every side of the coast. This measure would place both Africa and the West Indies in a better condition, and have the effect of putting an end to the wars, crimes, and kidnappings, which were resorted to in Africa to obtain slaves. Of all the slaves that were brought from that country, not one was taken upon just grounds; but the instances were numberless of those taken by fraud and criminal artifices. He considered the trade as a crime, and in abolishing it, the house was performing a primary duty; the first duty of parliament being to provide for the freedom of the subject, and that no man should receive injury from another. After a few observations on the Sierra Leone establishment, the hon. member concluded by giving his hearty support to the bill.

Captain *Herbert* thought the measure fraught with ruin to the colonies and the commercial prosperity of the country. He complained of the style of declamation and common-place expressions of justice and humanity, generally delivered with much eloquence, with which this measure had been supported. It was foolish, if not blasphemous, for them to graft on their theories the character of the dispensations of Divine Providence. They ought to consider the good that this measure might do to Africa, and the evil it might do to ourselves, and, having compared the quantity of good and evil that might result from it, if the former should preponderate, to consider whether this was a moment at which they could afford to encounter so much evil. If this country were to withdraw its capital from the slave trade, our enemies would be enabled to carry it on upon better terms, because the price of the slave would be lower on the coast. But the Trans-Atlantic market was but a small part of the slave market. The empire of Morocco, and the great empires in the interior of Africa, took off the greatest portion of them. If he thought that there existed the cruelties alledged in the treatment of the slaves, he should not oppose the measure. But he had been in all our West India colonies, in all the islands belonging to other nations, and he thought the condition of the labourers in the West Indies as happy as that of the peasantry in any nation of Europe. The sway of the whites was mild, but the tyranny of the blacks was really a whip of scorpions. If this bill were to be passed, the emancipation would follow. He had been in the empire of Hayti, and conversed with all classes from the field negro to the field officer, and he could assert, that they had not wished for liberty when it was offered to them, but preferred the mild government of the whites to the severe oppression of the blacks.

Mr. *T. W. Plummer* was as much an advocate for liberty as any man, but thought it very dangerous to propagate such an idea among the unenlightened negroes. It was to be recollected how much Great Britain had already lost in her colonial strength, by the discussion of these abstract principles; to that she owed the revolt and loss of her American colonies, and it behoved her to be aware of propagating notions of political right among a people so unintelligent and so easily provoked to revolt as the negroes. With regard to the supply of negroes to the colonies, as it appeared on all hands at least a questionable point, that the negro population could be kept up without any farther importation, he recommended rather a suspension of the trade than a total abolition, in order that an experiment might be fairly made upon this important question.

Mr *Barham* said, that the total time of labour was only ten hours. The whip of a driver was never used, though it was formerly; and it was no more used now than the mace was to knock down members in the lobby. Neither the drivers nor white servants had power to punish without consent of the masters. The negroes preferred the ordinary mode of labour to lashes, as he himself had found by experience. He positively asserted, that when women were pregnant all idea of labour was at an end. His negroes had brought him, on a fear of scarcity, about a thousand pounds in gold; which was a proof that negroes had, in general, not been so harshly treated as had been apprehended.

Mr. *H. Thornton* still maintained that he was correct in the points he had stated.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* remarked, that although the overseers of plantations made use of the whip, that did not prove that the negroes were treated with cruelty; but, after all, it was not the intention of the house to abolish slavery, but the slave trade. Therefore, when the anti-abolitionists spoke of the miserable condition of the slaves, they were arguing against themselves, inasmuch as it was no part of the present bill to abolish slavery in the West Indies. Slavery was as ancient as the days of Homer, who said, take from a man his liberty, and you take from him his virtue. Still slavery was a degrading situation for man, and it was to be wished that it could be abolished. Slavery, however, differed very much, as to degree, in different countries; and he could not but believe, upon the testimony adduced, that the authority exercised over the negroes in the West Indies was much less than in most other countries where slavery existed at all. But even if this measure were carried, slavery would continue in the West Indies; and those advocates for the measure were not consistent with themselves, who argued from principles of strict right and justice in favour of the present measure, and yet did not follow up their own principles, by emancipating the present slaves in the West Indies. The right hon. secretary proceeded to observe, that on such a question, the house ought not to go upon abstract principles of right, but upon the consideration of the consequences of the measure, and the possible ruin of the British empire resulting from it. As to Africa, this measure would produce no benefit to that country, for there would not be less slavery after our abolishing the trade than before it: in the West Indies it would tend to produce discontent among the negroes; to individuals it would be a great loss and injustice, and would prove ruinous to numbers who had a claim to the protection of this country. France and other rival nations would most probably refuse to imitate our example, and would redouble this traffic to our ruin. Nor was this a time to venture such an experiment. We were engaged in a dangerous war with a powerful enemy. Was it not also a time to be strictly economical? Were they not called to attend to candle ends and cheese parings? And, at such a time, should parliament think of throwing away such a resource as the West India islands? Did they not see empire after empire tumbling like so many nine pins all around them? He knew there were some of his hon. friends who would tell him the present measure tended to security against such dangers. He wished it might, but he feared it. If this question was one of feeling merely, all their feelings must be alike; but he deprecated their feelings running away with their better judgment. It was not true that parliament was about to abolish the slave trade; they were only abolishing their share in it; and it was even doubtful, if, after all, this measure would, in any degree, diminish the traffic in slaves on the coast of Africa. He wished his forebodings and fears might go no farther; but, at any rate, he must renounce the honour and glory of effecting a measure which would be productive, as some gentlemen expected, of such salutary effects; at the same time, disclaiming any share in the pernicious consequences, which, to his apprehension, were much more likely to accrue from its adoption.

Mr. *Sheridan* replied to his right hon. friend, who, in saying that the same arguments which applied to the abolition of the slave trade, also applied to the abolition of slavery, had blended two things which ought to be kept distinct. The one was in our power, the other was in our hope, but not at present in our power. With respect to the treatment of slaves in the West Indies, he wanted no testimony on that subject. Despotism must lead to cruelty. As in the words of Shakespeare, "Mercy is twice blest, it blesseth him that gives, and him that takes;" so despotism was twice cursed. It cursed him that exercised it, and him on whom it was exercised. He trusted, therefore, that the present measure was the preamble of the future; but at the same time he was aware that the ultimate step must be taken with the utmost tenderness, caution, and deliberation. To give immediate freedom to men who had always been accustomed to slavery, would be productive of the most serious consequences. With regard to the wealth derived from the West Indies, we had paid for it more than "human sinews bought and sold" ever produced to this country. He painted in strong colours the mortality which took place among our troops in the West Indies, and contended, that if we could recover all our brave countrymen who had been sacrificed in that country, they would be cheaply purchased by the relinquishment of all the riches which had flowed from it. He ridiculed the idea of the colonies quitting the protection of Britain; they had too much good sense to take such a rash step; for they must well know, that as we were masters of the sea, we must also be masters of the soil. Nor did he apprehend that the abolition of the slave trade would cause any insurrection among the blacks. Had it not been in agitation for 20 years, and had there been the least ferment among them in consequence? After a warm panegyric on his late right hon friend (Mr. Fox), who had the abolition ever at heart; and on his hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce), by whose unwearied exertions the question had at length been brought to a successful termination, he concluded by declaring, that he had never given a vote with more heartfelt satisfaction than that which he should give on the motion before the house.

Lord *Castlereagh* lamented his difference in opinion from his hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce). However the right hon. gent. who had just sat down, might, by the superior brilliancy of his genius and ingenuity of argument, disguise the question, it was impossible that the measure now before the house could ever accomplish what the liberal mind of his hon. friend had for so many years in contemplation. The only result would be, that perhaps the attachment to the mother country would be a little shaken, the people in our West India colonies might be driven to import contrary to the wish and order of parliament, and the number of deaths would most probably be increased.

Mr. *Wilberforce* called most seriously the attention of the house to the point to which the question was now brought. They had for the present no object immediately before them, but that of putting a stop directly to the carrying men in British ships to be sold as slaves in the British islands in the West Indies. If that measure was to be shortly carried into execution, he should think that his labour for these 19 years past would be amply rewarded: but still, he must confess, that he should have another object after that in view, and that he looked forward to a still more happy change in the state of the negroes in the West India islands. According to the plain rules of common sense, his logical friend on the other side of the house (Mr. Windham) must be in error; we were not to say that because a man had two wounds we should refrain from curing one, because it was not in our power to heal up both the wounds immediately. The right hon. gent. must see, without entering into any metaphysical discussion, that the great Author of our being had ordained, that the duty and happiness of mankind should be closely connected. It was our duty to put a stop as speedily as possible to the traffic and sale of our fellow men; and notwithstanding the forebodings of the noble lord (Castlereagh), he had reason to hope that we should have the happiness to see that smuggling would be as easily prevented in that as in any article that was at present attempted to be dealt in contrary to law. He thought it to be an act of duty towards the many great and enlightened statesmen that had supported him in the accomplishing of this object which he had most dearly at heart, to acknowledge the liberality with which they had set aside all lesser differences, and united their efforts with this great measure, for promoting the happiness of mankind. The chearfulness with which it was supported by most of the leading members of the present administration, he hoped was a favourable omen of what might be expected from them at any time hereafter, when questions were to be decided on the great and immutable principles of truth, justice, and humanity.

Mr. *Windham* stated, in explanation, that his opinions on this question had been uniformly guided by the authority of Mr. Burke, who had entertained an idea of the gradual abolition of slavery, and of course of the slave trade, in a manner totally different from that proposed by the present measure.

Mr. *Wilberforce* observed, that the right hon. gent. had never mentioned the name of Mr. Burke in his speech, and therefore had no right to shelter himself under his authority. The plan the right hon. gent. had alluded to, he had often requested to see, and could never obtain a sight of. This, however, he could aver, that Mr. Burke had often stated both in private and in that house, to him and to many others, that he had abandoned his former ideas on the subject, and thought exactly as they did.

Mr. *Windham* appealed to the house, whether he had not quoted the authority of Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Barham* stated that the plan of Mr. Burke had been put into his hands, for the purpose of his making some observations in his place upon it.—The question was then loudly called for, when the gallery was cleared, but the bill was read a third time, and passed without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, March 17.

[MINUTES.]—The house ballotted for committees to take into consideration the petitions complaining of undue returns for Glasgow and for Newry, but the reduced list for the latter place only was presented at the bar. The names were as follow: G. H. Cavendish, esq. hon. M. G. J. Stewart, J. Grimston, esq. J. Smith, esq. right hon. W. Dundas, lord C. Fitzroy, J. Dent, esq. G. Wentworth, esq. T. Steele, esq. T. Codrington, esq. sir W. Curtis, right hon. C. Bathurst, lord C. H. Somerset. Nominees—lord Temple, R. M. Biddulph, esq.

[LIVERPOOL PLANTERS' PETITION.].—Mr. *Roscoe* presented a Petition of several planters, merchants, and others, at the port of Liverpool, interested in the British West India colonies, setting forth, "That the petitioners have, for a long time past, felt severely the pressure of the heavy duties on Sugar, the produce of the British West India colonies, though they have hitherto endeavoured to sustain them, aware of the exigencies of the public service, and hoping that the period was not far remote, when, by the happy event of the restoration of peace, their burthens would be lightened; and that the petitioners now find these hopes not only rendered distant, by the failure of the late negociation, but by the new Plan of Finance lately submitted to the house by the chancellor of the exchequer, in danger of being altogether destroyed, it being the effect of this plan to render permanent that part of the duties on Sugar which, by the existing laws, would cease with the war, a circumstance which the petitioners view with great alarm; and that these duties press at present with peculiar severity on the petitioners, and all persons connected with the West India colonies, in consequence of those measures of hostility against British commerce, which the recent successes of the enemy have enabled him to enforce in almost all the ports of the continent, whereby exportation has been impeded to an extent hitherto unexampled, and the natural effects of an overcharged market have been and are felt in a ruinous depression of prices; and that the petitioners acknowledge with thankfulness the measures which have already been taken by the house with a view to their relief, but consider them quite inadequate to produce that effectual relief to which the petitioners conceive themselves justly entitled; and that the petitioners humbly suggest the following measures as calculated to afford them further relief; namely, 1. A reduction in the rate of duty on British plantation sugar: 2. That liberty be given to the colonies to barter sugar and coffee, as well as rum and molasses, with the American states, in return for lumber and other necessaries, for a needful supply of which the colonies depend on an intercourse with those states: 3. That permission be granted to the distillers and brewers, to use sugar in their respective processes, when its price, compared with that of grain, may induce them so to do; and therefore praying, that these measures, or such of them as may be deemed expedient by the house, or other measures adequate to the relief of the Petitioners, under their present burthens and distress, may be adopted and passed into a Law."—Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the consideration of the select committee, to whom the petition of several planters, merchants, mortgagees, annuitants, and others, interested in the British West India colonies, is referred.

[PETITION FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD AGAINST THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ARMY SERVICE BILL.] The Marquis of *Titchfield* presented a petition from the chancellor, masters, and scholars, of the university of Oxford; taking notice of the bill for enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects in his naval and military forces, in the manner therein mentioned; and setting forth, "That the petitioners contemplate, with much concern and anxiety, the progress of a bill, which in their apprehension, if it should pass into a law, will break down one of the strongest barriers, raised by the wisdom of our ancestors, for the defence and security of our civil and religious establishments; and that the petitioners cannot look forward without very serious alarm to the consequences of repealing so important a portion of the statute 25 Car. II. cap. 2, commonly called the Test act, and of granting to persons of all religious persuasions an unrestrained admission into situations even of the highest naval and military command; and that the petitioners see much reason to apprehend that the said bill, if it should pass into a law, may lead to the removal also of every similar restraint in matters of civil concern, and to the abrogation of all those oaths, declarations, and tests, which are now required by law of persons admitted into offices and stations of civil trust and authority; and that the petitioners do verily believe, all these restraints and obligations, whether they have respect to employments of a civil or a naval and military nature, to be no other nor greater than are indispensably requisite for the maintenance and security of the monarchy and the church, as they are now happily established in this united kingdom; and therefore praying, that the above-mentioned bill may not pass into a law; and that the house in its wisdom will be pleased still to maintain and preserve inviolate those laws, which experience has proved to be the best safe-guards, under divine providence, of our present happy constitution both in church and state."—Ordered, That the said petition do lie upon the table until the said bill be read a second time.

[ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.] Earl *Percy* rose in pursuance of the notice he had given to move for leave to bring in a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in his majesty's colonies in the West Indies. His lordship expatiated feelingly on the wanton cruelties exercised on the unhappy negroes in the plantations, as developed in the late discussions. The object of his bill was to prevent the repetition of horrors, at the very idea of which every man in that house must shudder. If it had been established, as he trusted it had been established, that the slave trade was contrary to the principles of justice, humanity and sound policy, and that therefore it ought to be abolished; it necessarily followed, that slavery itself was contrary to the principles of justice, humanity and sound policy, and ought also to be abolished. It was, however, by no means his intention to propose any immediate abolition; what he had in view was, that the children of slaves born after a certain time to be fixed by the legislature, should be free; and thus a gradual and ultimately a total extinction of this barbarous usage would take place. His lordship concluded with moving "That leave be given to bring in a bill, for the gradual abolition of slavery in his majesty's colonies in the West Indies." On the question being put,

Lord *Henry Petty*, although it was impossible for him not to respect the motives and participate in the feelings of his noble friend, yet deprecated any discussion of this subject at the present moment. The abolition of the slave trade, and emancipation of the slaves, were two distinct questions;

and it had also been maintained by the leading characters in that house, that, in considering the one, the other ought to be excluded from their contemplation. To emancipate the negroes, would not be to add to their happiness, even if the legislature had a right to interfere with the property of the colonies. All that could be done by this country with safety and effect had already been done. He put it, therefore, most respectfully, but most strongly, to his noble friend, either to withdraw the motion for a bill to abolish slavery, or to concur in the previous question, which he felt it to be his duty to move.

Mr. *Eden* said, that in all great and important questions time was given for the parties, whose interests were affected, to petition against the measure. The present motion was precipitate, and precluded the parties from that opportunity. He would also ask, was the noble lord or any one else prepared to offer any remuneration to the colonists, if they should be deprived of the services of the slaves and their children? This was a measure which would be fraught with ruin to the colonists, and should therefore have his decided opposition.

Sir *C. Pole*, while he deprecated the motion as fraught with the most dangerous consequences, said, he rejoiced that it had been brought forward thus early, because it shewed the cloven foot, which had been attempted to be concealed: he believed that this was one main object in view by the abolitionists. It was fraught with much evil, and he trusted it would open the eyes of the public, to the intentions of the promoters of those measures.

Mr. *Wilberforce*, had the motion proceeded from a less respectable quarter, would have been as glad as the hon. baronet that it had been made, because it would shew that he (Mr. W.), and those who thought with him, made the distinction between the abolition of the trade and the emancipation of the slaves, and not only abstained from proposing the latter, but were ready to reject such a proposition when made by others. How much soever he looked forward with anxious expectation to the period when the negroes might with safety be liberated; he knew too well the effect which the long continuance of abject slavery produced upon the human mind, to think of their immediate emancipation; a measure, which, at the present moment, would be injurious to them, and ruinous to the colonies. He, and those who acted with him, were satisfied with having gained an object which was safely attainable; they had always declared what he now repeated, that the sole point which they had in view was, the abolition of the slave trade, and not of the emancipation of the slaves. The enemies of the abolition had always confounded these two objects; the friends of the abolition had always distinguished them.

Captain *Herbert* deprecated any discussion on this subject. If a hope remained that the colonies might be saved, the only mode of realizing that hope, would be by shewing that the house would not for a moment admit the proposal for emancipation.

Mr. *Sheridan*, after the anxious expectation which he had last night expressed, that the bill then passed was but the preamble of the ultimate measure of emancipation, thought that he should be guilty of the grossest inconsistency in giving a silent vote on the present question. With these sentiments he need scarcely say, that the noble earl had his thanks for having directed the attention of the house to this important subject, even at that early period. The noble earl's statement had been misrepresented. He had never proposed to enfranchise the living negroes; his measure, as he understood him, was to commence with infants born after a period, which would remain a matter of future parliamentary discussion. The planters were entitled to fair dealing on this subject. If the house meant to say, that by abolishing the slave trade they had done all that duty demanded, and that they would leave the emancipation of the slaves to the hazard of fortuitous circumstances, let them be explicit, and say so; but if there lurked in any man's mind a secret desire to proceed in that business, a secret conviction that more ought to be done than had been done, it was unmanly, it was dishonourable, not to speak out. For one, he would boldly declare that he had further views; he hoped, that the young nobleman who had done his feelings so much credit, by the proposition which he that evening made, would stand to his ground. If he persevered in the pursuit of his object with the same zeal as his Hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce) had done, he had no doubt that he would meet with the same success. An hon. bart. had talked of a cloven foot; he pleaded guilty to the cloven foot, but he would say that of the man who expressed pleasure at the hope of seeing so large a portion of the human race freed from the hackles of tyranny, it ought rather to be aid, that he had displayed the pinion of an ngel than the cloven foot of a demon. It was true no immediate connection existed etween the abolition of the Slave trade and the bolition of Slavery, but the same feelings must be roused by the consideration of both questions; and he who detested the one ractice, must also detest the other. He id not like to hear the term property applied o the subjects of a free country. Could man become the property of man? A colony emanating from the free constitution of England must carry with it the principles of that constitution, and could no more hake off its well-known allegiance to the constitution than it could shake off its llegiance to the sovereign. He trusted that the planters might be induced to lead the way on the subject of emancipation; but he cautioned the house against being too sanguine on this subject. Were the planters themselves always resident on the islands, he should have greater hopes; but it was not probable that because cargoes of human misery were no longer to be landed on their hores, that because their eyes were to be no onger glutted with the sight of human uffering, or their ears pierced with the cries of human distraction in any further mportation of negroes, that the slave-drivers would soon forget their fixed habits of brutality, and learn to treat the unhappy wretches in their charge with clemency and compassion. Slavery would not wear itself out; it would become more rigid, unless he legislature became more vigilant, and reminded the planters of the new duty hat had fallen upon them, of rearing the young slaves in such a manner, that they might be worthy of freedom. Adverting to a quotation from the historian Gibbon, he contended, that the slavery of the West Indies was unlike any other slavery; it was peculiarly unlike the slavery of ancient days, when the slaves frequently attained to the highest dignities. Esop, Terence, and Seneca were slaves. Was there a possibility that any of the unfortunate negroes now in the West Indies should emulate such men? It might be dangerous to give freedom to the slaves in a mass, but that it was not dangerous to give it to them in detail, was sufficiently proved by a little pamphlet that had been put into his hands the preceding night, in which it was stated, that a Mr. David Barclay, to his eternal honour be it spoken, who had himself been a slave owner in Jamaica, and who, regretting that he had been so, on a bequest of slaves being made to him, emancipated them, caused them to be conveyed to Pennsylvania, where they were properly instructed, and where their subsequent exemplary conduct was the general theme of admiration. With this fact before him, should he be told that he must give up all hope of abolishing slavery? No, he would never give it up. He would exclaim with the Poet, in the words of the motto of the pamphlet which he had mentioned,

> "I would not have a slave to till my ground,
> "To carry me, to fan me when I sleep,
> "And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
> "That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd."

Mr. *Wilberforce*, in explanation, denied ever having disavowed his wish that freedom should ultimately be communicated to the slaves. He had deprecated the discussion at present, because he looked to the gradual improvement of their minds, and to the diffusion among them of those domestic charities which would render them more fit, than he feared they now were, to bear emancipation.

Mr. *Peter Moore*, however strongly he had advocated the abolition, was against immediate emancipation. The abolition would ameliorate the condition of the slaves, by forcing the West India planters to treat them well, and they would ultimately be prepared to receive freedom. He hoped the noble lord would withdraw his motion, that he would turn his mind to the object with deliberation, and look at it remotely.

Mr. *Manning* was proceeding to state the result of his experience in the colonies when Sir *C. Pole* moved that the house be counted. Only 35 members being present, the House immediately adjourned.

HUOSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, March 18.

[SLAVE TRADE ABOLITION BILL.] Mr. Wilberforce, lord Howick, and several members of the house of commons, brought up the Slave Trade Abolition bill, agreed to with amendments.

Lord *Grenville* called the attention of the house to this subject, which he considered one of the most important that could occupy the attention of their lordships. With respect to the amendments made in this bill, he was satisfied they were calculated to carry its principles better into effect. It was, however, necessary, that time should be given for consideration, and he therefore moved that the bill, with the amendments, be printed. Ordered. His lordship then stated, that if the prints should be on the table before Monday, he should move the consideration of the amendments on that day.

[SCOTCH JUDICATURE BILL.] Lord *Grenville* said, that in consequence of what had passed in the late discussion of this measure, and of the consideration which he had since been enabled to give to the subject, he thought it would be more advisable to empower the committee to separate all that part of the bill which related to trial by jury, from the other parts which related to the division of the court of session into three chambers, and the formation of a court of review. He thought this mode would be better than that of which notice had been given on the former night of discussion by a noble and learned lord, namely, to strike out in the committee all the clauses which related to trial by jury, as, if this latter mode was adopted, it might lead to a supposition that it was intended to abandon altogether the proposed introduction of trial by jury. On the contrary, he hoped that that part of the plan would ultimately be adopted by their lordships. As, however, there was considerable difference with respect to the means of carrying this desirable object into effect, and as, with respect to the division of the court of session into three chambers, there was scarcely any difference of opinion, and but little on the subject of the formation of the court of review, these parts of the plan might be adopted with much less delay, if considered in a separate bill, than if they remained incorporated with the clauses relating to trial by jury. He should therefore move to postpone the committee to Monday, intending, on that day, to move the instruction which he had before stated, and in the consideration of that part of the subject respecting the division of the court of session and the court of review, it was his intention to propose several amendments.

Lord *Eldon* thanked the noble lord for having thus given farther time for the consideration of that part of the subject which was involved in considerable difficulty, namely, the trial by jury. He had no doubt that the trial by jury might, in some cases, be beneficially introduced into Scotland; but great consideration would be required with respect to the means of carrying it into effect, in order that it might not produce injury instead of good. With respect to the other part of the subject, he would give it every consideration in his power, and endeavour to come to that result, which, whilst in his judgment it would tend to remedy the evil that existed, would not violate the act of union. He doubted whether the court of review should not be rather sought in the chambers of the court of session, similar to our court of exchequer-chamber, with relation to the courts in Westminster-hall, than rendered a distinct court superior to the court of session, which he was inclined to think not consistent with the articles of union.

The *Lord Chancellor* declined entering at present into a detailed consideration of the subject, but he had no doubt that in the proper stage of the bill he should be able to convince their lordships that the difficulties in the way of the introduction of trial by jury in civil cases into Scotland were much less than were apprehended; that, on the contrary, it would be comparatively an easy task, whilst at the same time it would be a most beneficial measure to that country.

Lord *Melville* merely wished to throw out for consideration the necessity which in his opinion existed of adopting means to bring causes to greater maturity in the outer house, without which he thought the proposed measure would not produce any thing like the beneficial effect expected from it. With this view he thought it would be more advisable to have only two chambers in the inner house, whose sole business it should be to review the decisions given in the outer house, where, from the larger portion of time allowed to the judges for transacting business, that business might be done well. If, however, it was determined to have three chambers, he thought that one of those chambers should be allotted solely to the business of the outer house, in which case, from the single responsibility attached to the judges, every thing that could result from efficiency and from solemnity of decision might be expected His only object was, that the measure should undergo the most serious and attentive discussion.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* rose chiefly for the purpose of doing away any impression that might result from what had been said by the noble viscount, that his noble friend, who had proposed the measure, had not given to it the most anxious consideration. He agreed with the noble viscount in the necessity of adopting some means of doing the business in the outer house in a better manner, as it had been calculated that a lord of session, in consequence of the multiplicity of other business, had only 63 hours in the year to allot to that in the outer house. This, however, had been provided for in the present plan, by which (the three chambers only sitting alternately) 8 judges might always be allotted to the business of the outer house, whilst, according to the proposition of the noble viscount, only five could sit there.—After some further conversation, the committee was postponed to Monday, for which day the lords were ordered to be summoned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, March 18.

[Minutes.] Lord Stopford read at the bar the report of the Colchester election committee, declaring Robert Thornton, esq. duly elected, and that the petition, as far as the same relates to the said R. Thornton, was not frivolous or vexatious; and also that W. Tuffnell, esq. was duly elected, and that the petition, so far as relates to the said W. Tuffnell, did appear to the committee to be frivolous and vexatious.—Mr. Vansittart gave in at the bar a special report of the Shrewsbury committee, stating the absence of one of its members, and the cause assigned for such absence, namely, sudden indisposition. A medical gentleman attended, and proved at the bar the illness of Mr. Windham Quin, and the impossibility, in consequence thereof, of his attendance on the said committee. Leave was then given to the committee to adjourn till Saturday next.

[Roman Catholics Army and Navy Service Bill.]—Lord *Howick* rose and addressed the house as follows:—Sir, since I had the honour of introducing into this house, a bill for allowing dissenters of every description, to enter into his majesty's military and naval services, under certain restrictions, circumstances have occurred which have twice induced me to move for the postponement of the second reading of that bill: I now rise to state, that the same circumstances still continue to operate, and that I shall not be prepared to-morrow to propose the second reading. Not being able to ascertain on what day it may be in my power to proceed with this bill, I think it consistent with my public duty to make this statement, in consequence of which the order of the day for the second reading will be dropped, to be revived as the house may think fit. I am aware, sir, that this intimation must attract much observation, and that the house and the public will naturally expect some information with respect to the motives of it. All I can now say is, that I must beg their indulgence (hear! hear! from all parts of the house). I am not at present authorised, nor would it accord with my duty, to enter into any explanation on the subject. Whenever the proper time shall come, I can assure the house, that no man will be more ready than I shall be to state fully that, which under the present circumstances, I feel bound to withhold. I therefore must confine myself to giving notice, that I shall not move to-morrow for the second reading of the Roman Catholics Army and Navy Service bill.

[Mr. Paull's Petition respecting the Westminster Election.] On the motion of lord H. Petty, the house went into the further consideration of Mr. Paull's Petition respecting the Westminster Election.

Mr. *Sheridan* rose and said, that he was aware that standing in the situation he did, he was entitled to comment upon, and to sum up all the evidence that had been adduced in support of the allegations contained in the petition now before the house. He should, however, wave that right; the evidence was in the hands of every member of that house, and he was not anxious, if he could do so, to add to the impression testimony of such a nature must have already produced; he would content himself with one remark, which was, that that evidence, weak and futile as it was, did not say more to its own confusion than would have been proved by witnesses unimpeachable, which he (Mr. Sheridan), had the house thought it necessary, was ready to bring forward. As an instance, he should mention merely Mr. Weatherhead himself. When an inquiry was made as to his services in the navy, he confessed himself not quite satisfied with the return of the navy office. A noble lord (Folkestone) was equally dissatisfied, but upon different grounds. The noble lord seemed to think that this Mr. Weatherhead had been calumniated, and accordingly the noble lord moved for a return at once more exact and comprehensive. What had been the issue of this attempt to rescue the character of Mr. Weatherhead from this supposed slander? Why, in truth, no more than this; that he, Mr. Weatherhead, had not served in one ship only, but in twelve or thirteen, that he had continued in one ship a year, in another three months, in a third a month, in a fourth three weeks, and in a fifth five days; running, as it were, the gauntlet of the British navy; for it appeared that he had been actually guilty of desertion from each ship, though in the first return it appeared that he had deserted but once. But it was not more difficult to fix the station of this naval officer to a certain ship, than to fix his birth to a certain place; he had the singular good fortune to be born at a number of different places; he was born first at Newcastle, next at Morpeth, and after some other births he was finally brought forth in London (a laugh). But there was another slight ground of objection to the character of this witness; in the month of Sept. 1803, he petitioned to be examined for a lieutenancy, and to the recommendatory certificates of the different captains under whom he served, there was but one objection, namely, that they were all discovered to be forgeries. He was not anxious to press upon the house the gross and flagrant contradictions and absurdities in the evidence they had heard; he did not wish to expose the miserable wretches to the just rigour of the honest indignation they had so universally excited; but he would put it to the feelings of that house, whether it was not necessary to inquire how far those wretches had been the tools of a conspiracy; how far it was the duty of any agent or agents to inquire into the nature of the testimony and the character of the witnesses, more especially in a case where this evidence went directly to affect the seat of a member of parliament, to mention nothing of the danger of propagating groundless slander against a privy counsellor. It was for the house to consider how far the agents are responsible for employing wretches as substantial evidence, whose character they might have learned (had they been ignorant of it) in the neighbourhood of Bow street, Hatton-garden, and Newgate; but he should abstain; he would keep his word with the house, and not enter into any remarks upon the evidence. He had an idea of submitting some motion for the purpose of investigating the charge of conspiracy; he should, however, in compliance with the suggestions of those hon. friends, whose superior judgement was with him decisive, give way, and should now, through a motive of delicacy, retire, leaving his cause with confidence to the house, assured as he was, that the house would with becoming dignity assert its own character and honour, and in doing so preserve his.—Mr. Sheridan immediately withdrew.

Mr. *M. A. Taylor* rose and said:—Sir; when this question first came before the house, it certainly did not assume the serious aspect which it has taken this moment. I have read with considerable attention, the minutes of the evidence, which have been taken at your bar in short hand; and I must say, that I differ from the right hon. gent. who has just spoken, as to the course of procedure which ought to be adopted. I may venture to say, that a more flagrant conspiracy never before presented itself to this house. It is not only injurious to the character of the house, but it is, in my opinion, a new mode of attacking Mr. Grenville's bill. It is, I aver, an attempt to make this house a channel of injustice, and the vehicle of malice. On looking over the whole business, although the house may not be of opinion that it is a case requiring us to request his majesty to instruct the attorney general to prosecute criminally; yet, I submit that it is one in which it may be necessary to punish some of the witnesses for gross prevarication. It is well known that the house is always zealous in hearing every thing respecting the rights of individuals that can be offered; and such has been the case in the present instance; but I am still of opinion, that the person who signed that petition, had no reason to be alarmed that any witnesses had been bribed, otherwise he or his solicitor must have inquired into their characters. The apparent motive has been, that such a proceeding might find its way to the hearts of men, so as to prejudge the previous petition, which is in dependence. I must do Mr. Paull the justice to say, that I believe he never would have signed the petition, had he really inquired into or been informed of the real characters of those who were to support it. But those who have acted for him, seem to have used unfair means, merely for the purpose of exciting suspicion. The letter in the custody of Harris appears, from the evidence, to be a forged one. There has evidently been a conspiracy in the present instance. Reasoning upon the principles of justice and morality, is not a conspiracy an attempt to fasten upon a man a wrong which he never did, a crime which he never committed? Take that definition along with you, and look at the character of Drake, one of the witnesses. He appeared before you, he said, as a wounded officer who had fought the battles of his country. He alledged that he had been several times wounded in the service; by the return which has been made, however, he never received his pension for any wound he received in the back; but, that he fell from the mast head of a vessel, and broke his leg, which was afterwards amputated. Nor has this Mr. Drake been able to state, with truth, where he was born. After stating various places in England, he afterwards says, that, when in company with Homan, he boasted he could drink six bottles of claret, because he was an Irishman. Here the hon. member stated various inconsistencies in the evidence of this witness, in which he said, there did not appear a word of truth. Both Drake and Weatherhead were persons who ought, said the hon. gent., in my opinion, to receive your utmost censure; and you ought even to adopt the most rigorous measures. For my part, I should humbly submit, that a prosecution ought to be commenced by the crown, against both of them, for a conspiracy; but although you should not think it proper to punish for a conspiracy, yet surely you will punish any man who comes with lies and falsehoods in his mouth to the bar! I may still go further, and say that from the evidence of the other witnesses, it appears, that a conspiracy has been running through the whole of them. If the house do not think that there is enough to entitle them to commit for prevarication, I should be inclined to think, that Mr. Sheridan himself would be fully justified in bringing the question under the cognizance of a civil court. The house, perhaps, would rather wish that Mr. Paull should have the advantage of the witnesses being previously examined upon their oath, before a select committee, as it is not in the power of the commons to make inquiries before them upon oath. All that the house can judge of is the inconsistency. In my opinion, the petition of Mr. Paull ought to be declared false, scandalous, and malicious. This I say appears from the evidence; and I may state that I form this opinion from that alone, not having been in any way connected with the election, nor did I ever see Mr. Paull, till I saw him at the bar of the house; but I feel it my duty, as a member of the house, to support its character, its privileges, its justice, and its probity. Upon these grounds, I cannot submit to pass unnoticed, a petition that would make this house a channel of injustice, for I feel a deep interest in supporting Mr. Grenville's act, as it is one that characterizes the virtue of the house of commons. I never will sit by, tamely, and see, by a new mode and under false pretexts, the security and ends of its justice defeated or sapped in the very foundation. With the leave of the house, therefore, I shall submit a motion, which, when agreed to, I shall follow up with another respecting Mr. Drake, whose prevarications have been most eminently conspicuous. The hon. gent. then concluded with moving, "That the allegations contained in the said petition are false and scandalous."

Lord *Folkestone* said, he had all along acted in this business from a sense of justice and propriety, and a firm belief that the witnesses to be adduced in support of the allegations in the petition, would have clearly and consistently proved them; and though he would not say that the whole of the witnesses had been consistent, or had given their testimony without some difference, yet he thought enough had been proved, by consistent testimony, to sustain the allegations in the petition, in such a manner as to vindicate Mr. Paull, and the agents who acted confidentially for him, against the charge of conspiracy alledged by the hon. member who last spoke. Of the character or testimony of Weatherhead, he did not wish to say much; but he thought hat a weak cause, the defence of which rested upon no other ground than that of impeaching the characters of those who came forward to give testimony against it. If, however, it could be shewn, from the evidence itself, that there was in it no such inconsistency as that now alledged, he hoped that it would be admitted, that the arguments of the hon. gent. must, in a great measure, fall to the ground. Laying no stress at all on the testimony of Weatherhead, he yet was of opinion, that the evidence of Drake was consistent with itself, in all its parts. He was examined and cross-examined at the bar of that house, by men of the first talents in the country: and, except in a point or two of no importance, he could find no inconsistency in his evidence. The hon. gent. who last spoke, had assumed in the first instance, that the letter which had been mentioned as written by Mr. Sheridan, and in the hands of Emanuel Harris, was a forgery. This however, did not appear from any evidence before the house. If it really was a forgery, certainly Drake must be guilty of the most criminal conduct: but was it possible, if that were the case, that he should be so anxious for the production of a letter which must have furnished evidence against himself? The hon. gent. too, had endeavoured to implicate Mr. Powell, and the other agents of Mr. Paull, in a charge of conspiracy, by joining with Drake, in the endeavour to obtain from Emanuel Harris the letter in question; whereas it was the obvious interest of Mr. Paull and his agents, that the letter should remain in the hands of Harris, to be produced in evidence when necessary. It had been asserted, that Drake was not authorized by Mr. Sheridan to offer 30*l.* to Harris, for the letter; but Drake's evidence stated, that he was authorized to procure the letter, either for money, or by any other means in his power; and he saw no reason to doubt, that, in consequence of the conversations Drake had with Mr. Sheridan, and the anxiety expressed by that gentleman to obtain the letter in question, Drake was extremely desirous to obtain it from Harris, with a view, perhaps, to turn it to his own emolument, by surrendering it to Mr. Sheridan for a sum of money. Adding to this, the frequent interviews Drake had with Mr. Sheridan, both at the house of Mr. Homan and elsewhere—the alledged wish of Mr. Sheridan to have Drake taken up—yet instead of so doing, advising him to get out of the way; and the various instances of frequent and confidential intercourse with Mr. Sheridan, all which Drake had alledged, and which were not disproved, were circumstances that in his mind cast a very strange mystery over the business: but, for his own part, he conceived the evidence of Drake so consistent upon the main points of the case, that he felt no disposition to doubt his testimony upon others. The hon. gent. had stated also, in order to inculpate Mr. Paull and his agents, that before they accepted the evidence of Drake, they ought to have enquired his character at the navy office and elsewhere; but such an enquiry could not be necessary to justify them in considering Drake to have been some time in the confidence of Mr. Sheridan, when it was notorious that he was married to a natural daughter of that gentleman by her father's consent; that he was constantly admitted upon a familiar footing of intercourse at Mr. Sheridan's house; allowed to wait for him in the same room with other company; and that, at one time, Mr. Sheridan had left a party in which he was engaged, in order to converse with Drake; that the latter had frequently negociated bills drawn or accepted by Mr. Sheridan; and, in fact, was known to be on such a footing with him, as to obviate all doubt that he had been in Mr. Sheridan's confidence, and that the evidence he could give would be useful to them. Upon the whole, the noble lord was of opinion, that sufficient evidence had been adduced to sustain the allegations of the petition, to which petition it was to be remembered Mr. Paull had not resorted precipitately, or without the advice of his counsel.

Mr. *M. A. Taylor* assured the noble lord he had no idea whatever of charging either Mr. Paull or Mr. Powell, with being engaged in the conspiracy, but confined the charge solely to the witnesses produced at the bar of the house.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, he had heard with surprize the declaration made by the noble lord at the outset, and with still greater surprize, the expressions with which he had closed. He would not travel out of the evidence before the house, but from that alone he would prove the falsehood of the witnesses adduced in support of the petition, and establish their infamy out of their own mouths. The allegations of the petition were, that the sitting member had by himself and by other persons offered money to suppress or corrupt the evidence to be offered before the committee, which was to try his right to his seat. Was there any proof that Mr. Sheridan had taken any pains to get Mr. Drake out of the way, who was the principal witness to prove these charges? The noble lord said, Mr. Sheridan had strove to get the letter from Harris. Was there any proof of that? And if there was any proof that any person whomsoever in Mr. Sheridan's interest did in any one instance utter a word like tampering (as he believed there was not), what proof was there that such person was Mr. Sheridan's agent any more than Mr. Paull's. If it was proved that some of the allegations of the petition were absolutely false, and there was no proof that the others were true, was it not to be naturally concluded that the whole were false? In answer to the first question asked him at the bar of the house, who he was, Drake answered he was an acting lieutenant of the navy. That was proved by the Returns of the Navy Office to be false. He said, he lost his leg in the battle of Camperdown; it was proved he lost it long after that battle, in consequence of a fall from the mast, which rendered amputation necessary. He said he had ten or twelve different pensions from the king, in consequence of wounds he had received. It was proved he had only one pension from the Chest at Greenwich. Let the noble lord, if he could, make out a consistent evidence for this man, after these falsehoods. The noble lord wished to give up Weatherhead. But as the petitioner had called him, and the petitioner's counsel had dwelt on his deposition in his summing up, he must make use of him. Drake said, he was directed by Mr. Sheridan, to get the letter from Harris. He said that the first letter preceded the second only two or three days. Harris said, it had been in his possession a full month before the 2d. and long before the dissolution of parliament. Then the noble lord contended, that if the first letter had been a forgery, Drake would naturally have endeavoured to conceal every thing respecting it. But the noble lord forgot that Drake told the house he had burned it, and consequently that he could not incur any penalty from it. He would not allow the noble lord to exclude Weatherhead's evidence, however convenient it might be for his case. Drake said, he had written all the letter, with the letters M. P. to which Mr. Sheridan prefixed his name. Weatherhead said, Mr. Sheridan wrote M. P. as well as his name. Drake said Mr. Sheridan signed the letter in the Shakespeare Coffee-house, just as he was going out to the election, and that there was an immense crowd before the door. Harris proved he had the letter a month before the election, when the Shakespeare Coffee-house was not open. If the noble lord had examined these matters, and judged of them as he did, he would not have attempted to uphold a testimony so invalidated. With regard to the second letter, Drake said first, that he was present when it was signed; and afterwards, that it was written not in his presence but in an adjoining room. Weatherhead said he wrote it, but that Harris objected to the M. P. there being then no parliament, and wished the addition of Treasurer of the Navy, and Mr. Sheridan's residence. He says he wrote those additions all in one line, and that Mr. Sheridan prefixed his name on that line. But he had seen the letter here alluded to, and he pledged himself that Richard Brinsley Sheridan was one line, Somerset-house a second, and the third was Treasurer, Navy. The copy before the house was exactly similar, except that the third line was treasurer of the navy, instead of treasurer, navy, as in the original. What inference could be drawn from such evidence as this, except that the allegations that were founded upon it were false? Drake said at first, he went by authority of Mr. Sheridan to buy up the letter from Harris, and he avowed that, at that very time, he intended to make use of the letter against Mr. S.: but this he afterwards retracted, and said, he formed the determination of using the letter against Mr. S., on some subsequent provocation. But Harris before that time had returned from Portsmouth, and had given Mr. S. a copy of the letter, and was advised by Mr. S. to deliver up the original to the messenger of that house, or to Mr. Paull's agents. But Harris was unwilling to part with the letter till he should produce it before the committee of the house, according to his summons. If, after this, there could be a doubt, that the allegations in the petition, so contrary to these facts, were false, it was impossible that any inference could be deduced from internal evidence. The charges with respect to the tampering by agents, were equally unfounded. Only one person was liable in the slightest degree that the most forced constructions could exaggerate into any thing like tampering; and that person, who had not thought it necessary to defend himself either personally or by counsel against such an accuser, could not be said to be an agent of Mr. Sheridan. He did not wish to implicate Mr. Powell: but Richardson who, by the bye, had answered yes and no at different times to the same question, confessed, that he went to Mr. Burgess to tempt him to offer him money, with the intention to betray that offer. But Mr. Burgess, like a wise and honourable man, would not listen to any such proposition. This same Mr. Richardson confessed, that he wrote a letter to Mr. T. Sheridan, in which he threatened to go over to the other party, unless he got money. And he likewise went to Mr. Burgess, and offered to betray to him copies of the whole of the proceedings of Mr. Paull's committee: but this offer also Mr. Burgess, like an honourable man, refused. He should be sorry to accuse Mr. Paull or Mr. Powell of being concerned in a conspiracy; but he thought that if they could not have taken care to prevent such acts, they should have at least more maturely weighed the evidence of such persons, before they founded such charges upon it. He acquitted the counsel of any improper intention in what they had offered to the house; but they should consistently with their usual diligence, have sifted more minutely the false and scandalous evidence by which the false and scandalous allegations in the petition were supported. He agreed in the propriety of the motions proposed by his hon. friend.—The motion was then agreed to, lord Folkestone alone having faintly said "no."

Mr. *M. A. Taylor* then moved, that William Drake, in giving his evidence, was guilty of wilful falsehood and gross prevarication. Agreed to.—Mr T. also moved that William Drake, for the said offence, be committed to his majesty's gaol of Newgate, and that the Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly. Ordered.

Mr. *Whitbread* observed, that though the other witnesses for the petitioner had grossly misconducted themselves, he did not think it necessary to have recourse to any further severity, and therefore would propose no motion with respect to them.

[FREEHOLD ESTATES BILL.] The *Solicitor General* moved the order of the day for the third reading of the bill for rendering the Freehold Estates of persons who die insolvent, assets for the payment of their simple contract debts.

Mr. *Tuffnell* said, that he did not doubt the present bill would operate in a considerable degree to enlarge the credit of freehold proprietors, and facilitate the raising of large sums of money, which, to many, would be a considerable source of prosperity; but, at the same time, it must obviously be productive of considerable inconvenience, and in many cases of much mischief to the creditor, who having no means to come at any precise knowledge of the debts already due by the freehold proprietor, or the settlements made upon his estate, would feel himself much disappointed, upon the demise of his debtor, to find debts to a much larger amount than he expected charged upon that property to which he looked for his security. This would necessarily give rise to litigations without end, and set the new creditor upon endeavouring to find out flaws in the settlements which preceded his claims, with a view to set them aside for his own advantage; and thus, in many instances, the creditors, for whose security this bill was avowedly designed, would have just reason to complain that their property was injured rather than served, through a measure which would teach them to advance large sums, and to rely often upon a hollow security. He thought too, that it was unfair to place the freehold property of the country on such a footing, while the copyhold was exempt; and peculiarly severe to involve the whole of the former, merely for the faults of a few men. He was convinced the learned gent. who introduced this bill, was amply competent to devise means for his purpose much more eligible. He concluded by expressing a hope that the bill would be recommitted, and that further time would be given for the better consideration of a subject of such importance.

The *Speaker* observed, that in the present stage of the bill, it was too late after it had been engrossed, to have it recommitted.

Mr. *Simeon* defended the bill. He stated that the present bill was not a new idea of the hon. and learned gentleman's who brought it in, but that a bill similar to the present, and still more extensive, as including copyhold property, was brought in, in the year 1772, by a most learned lawyer, Mr. Ambler, and had passed through that house at a time when there were a great many very eminent lawyers who had seats there. It was lost afterwards in the lords, in a very thin house, when 7 voted against it and but 5 for it. He could easily state many cases of the most severe injustice which could be practised under the present law. Country bankers might purchase landed estates with the money of other people, and these estates would descend to their heirs free from all their debts as bankers. As a master in chancery, many cases came before him, where creditors for considerable sums stated that they did not think it worth their while to prove their debts, as they had no specialties, and the property of the deceased was principally in landed estates. He considered this property of freehold estates not being liable to those debts, as a mere remnant of antiquity, that had been kept up long after the reason of it had ceased.

The *Master of the Rolls*, upon such a proposition as that which was then before the house, a proposition which, if it was carried into effect, would make a most material change in the law of the land, felt it to be his duty to state his sentiments most fully and explicitly on the subject. In so doing, it was necessary, first, that he should endeavour to bring to the recollection of the house, that it was only under the feudal laws that freehold property was first established; and it was impossible for any man to tell what further change the present innovation might lead to. By the old law of France, the moment a man was married, one half of his property was secured for the benefit of his children; by the present law of Scotland in certain cases, the whole property was secured by law to their heirs: but did any man ever say that these laws were unjust? They might be deemed impolitic in many instances, but they certainly were not unjust. It had been said that it would be unjust that the heir to an estate should be living in affluence, whilst the creditors of his predecessor were left to starve; but would it not be also an injustice if the heir to an estate were to be deprived of his birth-right through the improvidence of his predecessor, and be left in the greatest possible distress, perhaps, in some cases, whilst he was paying the debts of another person's contracting? If this new principle was to get footing once amongst the laws of England, almost every marriage contract in the kingdom might possibly be annulled. Allowance should be made for the necessary fictions and peculiarities which were adopted in law proceedings; it might be reckoned absurd, for instance, that in the case of specialty or simple contract debts, the addition of a bit of wax in the one case, whilst in the other there was nothing but the name subscribed, should give the one such superiority over the other, that the one would be for the most part paid, whilst the other would, in many instances, be left unpaid. But such were the established distinctions which were sanctioned by the laws of the realm, and no evil was found to result therefrom. With respect to the cases which were stated to have occurred before the masters in chancery, a bill might be brought in to remedy those particular cases without making any general alteration in the principle of our laws. This he conceived to be a most important consideration, and it brought into his mind the observation, that no country in the world was so jealous of its political liberty as this was—and yet he maintained that our political was nothing in comparison with our civil liberty. In this point of view he considered the bill as one that might be productive of the most serious consequences to the country. It might have been necessary at the time of Edward I. but it was not suited to the state of England under George III. when commercial speculations had increased to an extent that our ancestors could not have thought possible ever to have been brought about. If this measure was to be now adopted, a man who was disposed to commit a fraud would only be led to vest his money in copyhold instead of freehold property; and the commercial man, if he possessed the most extensive funded property, would have only to get into that house and he might defy his creditors. At the time of the introduction of the statute of Frauds, the statute of Limitations, and at the time of the enactment of a law to regulate cases of Debtor and Creditor in our colonies, it must have come to the recollection of the legislature that there was this peculiarity in the law which it was now proposed to alter; but still it was never, at these times, thought of changing the law with respect to England; a plantation was only considered as an instrument of commerce, whilst the attachment to the soil of England was cherished by the legislature. There had, since that, been two attempts to graft a measure, of the nature now before the house, upon the English code, the one by the late lord Kenyon, and the other by another most eminent lawyer, but both these luminaries of the law, upon mature deliberation, abandoned the measure, as being unsuited to the genius and manners of the people.

Mr. *C. Wynne* observed, that the frequent passing of acts of insolvency was a proof of the defect of our laws with relation to debtor and creditor. As the law now stood, a man who advanced a sum of money to another would take care to have the best security possible for the recovery of the amount of that debt, whilst the honest and industrious tradesman would for the most part suffer for the want of a similar security.

Mr. *Calvert* declared, that he had conversed with several persons upon this subject, but he never heard of such frauds as had been alluded to this night. The men of landed property he now heard represented as being the rich and the oppressors, and the commercial part of the community were spoken of as a poor and distressed set of people. The very reverse of this he believed to be the fact. The landed property men were the sheep, whom the minister, whoever he was, could easily lay hold of and sheer at pleasure; when, if a minister attempted to lay his hands on any particular branch of commerce, there were meetings in every coffee-house in London, and in many cases they escaped from his grasp.

The *Lord Advocate* of Scotland observed, that it was a peculiarity in the English law, which was unknown to the ancient Greeks or Romans, or to any modern state in Europe, that the death of a man should put an end to all the moral obligations which he owed the world. He was himself, in the proper sense of the word, a strong aristocrat; but he did not think it right to support the aristocracy by such means as the law now sanctioned. In Scotland and in Germany a most high and honourable sentiment of the antiquity and greatness of families prevailed; but still they did not allow a man to roll in the wealth which had been left him by his ancestors, whilst at the same time he would stare the creditor of that man in the face, and say he would not pay him. He asked any man in that house, would it not give him an additional pang upon his death-bed, if he knew that he was to die without being able to do justice to his fair creditors? He asked any man, could he bear to think of going in grandeur to the funeral of a relation who had left him a considerable estate, without at the same time some qualms of conscience disturbing his breast, if he knew that the debts of that relation were left unsatisfied and that he did not mean to discharge them? A man must have a mind incapable of distinguishing right from wrong, or else he must design wilfully to deceive, if he did not answer these questions in the affirmative. It was but two days since the house passed a law on the grounds of humanity and justice, against every argument of expediency which could be urged, and could they, then, refuse their sanction to a measure so founded on justice as the present? The idea of innovation was held out as a bugbear; but was every science, art, and manufacture to improve by innovation, whilst the law alone should be deprived of its claim to pursue a similar course of amendment?

Mr. *Canning* compared the present to a law which had formerly been introduced for the regulation of country bankers, by making their estates liable to their debts. Lord Kenyon observed upon that measure, that it would be necessary that every banker should have a map of his estate and catalogue of the incumbrances on it hung up in his house. A measure of that sort had been adopted in Ireland, and the only result was, that it increased commercial property, and rendered the estates unsaleable. Such, he contended, would be the result of the present measure, if it was to be adopted by the house.

The *Solicitor General* rose to reply. He had listened with the most patient attention to the objections that had been urged against the measure, both in and out of that house, not with a view technically to advocate it more effectually, but with the determination wholly to abandon it, should those objections appear to him to possess any weight. The result, however, was, that the sentiments with which he sat out on the subject, remained unaltered. He was decidedly of opinion, that to exempt an estate from the payment of debts contracted by its late possessor, was a most flagrant act of injustice. He was surprised that there were those who maintained that such an exemption was just, and he was somewhat concerned that among them was the only member of that house who was invested with the robes of magistracy. He had not proposed this alteration in the law hastily. Before his introduction of it into the house he had consulted the highest legal authorities in the kingdom upon it, and, with the exception of his honourable and learned friend (and even he had not expressed any direct dissent), it had received their unanimous and perfect approbation. A rt. hon. gent. had accused him of attacking the aristocracy of the country. He had a high respect for the aristocracy, as forming a part of our mixed constitution; he had indeed shewn a higher respect for it than that which had been displayed by the opposers of the bill; for he wished to rescue the aristocracy from the imputation of being unwilling to pay their debts: he wished to shew, that they did not owe their weight in the country to an unjust law, by which their just creditors might be defrauded. (Hear! hear!) The hon. and learned gent. asserted that this bill had the approbation of the three presiding judges of three of the highest tribunals of the country; and, that it was a bill for the relief of the poor creditor against his rich debtor. He described and argued upon the situation in which poor servants and inferior tradesmen were placed, with regard to their rich debtors, as the law now stood; for not having in general any bonds, theirs being merely simple contract debts, they could not recover against the heir of their debtor. After dwelling for some time on the injustice resulting from this deficiency in the law, repeating the words of sir John Strange, that "a man who dies, without making provision for the payment of his debts, sins in his grave," the learned gent. concluded with expressing his hope, that the house would not suffer a bill to be lost, which had for its object the removal of that deficiency, and which proposed to remedy an evil, that was in fact a reproach to the justice of the country.

The *Master of the Rolls* explained, and assured his hon. and learned friend, that he never intended to throw an imputation on the bill before the house, or on the fair intention of its learned mover.

The *Solicitor General* was sorry to have misunderstood his rt. hon. friend, and assured him that nothing was farther from his mind than to give a moment's pain to his right hon. friend.—The question was now loudly called for, and the house divided. For the bill, 47; Against it, 69; Majority, 22. The bill was of course lost.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, March 19.

[Minutes.] —The following members were chosen to try the merits of the Lanark election petition: lord G. H. Cavendish, J. F. Cawthorne, esq., lord R. E. H. Somerset, C. Chester, esq., hon. W. Gore, T. Wood, esq., E. Harvey, esq., T. Thornton, Esq., W. Bagwell, esq., lord Brooke, right hon. R. P. Carew. Nominees: C. Dundas, esq., J. Paterson, esq.—The Secretary at War rose, pursuant to notice, tomove for leave to bring in a bill for paying the allowances to half-pay officers, their widows, and persons on the Compassionate List, at their own residences. In the object of this bill all would agree. It was one which was very desirable, if it could be effected, and he could anticipate no objection to it. He therefore need not trouble the house at length on the subject. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in two bills, the one to pay the allowance as above, and the other to enable the Kilmainham hospital commissioners to make regulations for the more easy and speedy payment of pensions. Agreed to. —Lord H. Petty obtained leave to bring in a bill to rectify an error in the act of last session, for settling additional allowances on the younger branches of the royal family.—Mr. Vansittart obtained leave to bring in a bill for extending to the outports the provisions of the custom-house office reform bill, and for applying to the superannuated fund such retrenchments as may be made in consequence of that extension.—The Advocate General presented to the house, according to order, a bill to authorize the payment of Prize Money, arising from captures made by ships of his Sicilian majesty in conjunction with British ships, to the Sicilian envoy, for the use of the officers and men of such ships; and the same was received, and read the first time.—The Serjeant at Arms at the bar informed the house, that pursuant to order he had taken the rt. hon. R. B. Sheridan into custody as a defaulter at one of the late calls of the house. It was ordered that Mr. Sheridan should be discharged at the rising of the house this day, paying his fees. Shortly after Mr. Sheridan left the bar, where he was held in custody, and advanced to the treasury bench; upon which the Speaker called order! order! and observed that nothing could be more irregular than the entrance of the rt. hon. gent. into the house; Mr. Sheridan being, strictly speaking, still in the custody of the serjeant at arms. Mr. Sheridan appeared altogether unaware of the irregularity he was committing, and hardly sensible that the Speaker was addressing himself to him, till Mr. Hobhouse took him by the arm, and explained the matter to him as he was conducting him back to the bar. The Speaker informed the serjeant, that it was the pleasure of the house that Mr. Sheridan should be discharged at its rising this day. Of course it was his duty to keep him in custody till then. Mr. Hobhouse apologized for his rt. hon. friend, who was not aware of the irregularity of coming into the house while in custody.

[Scotch Taxes Regulation Bill.]—Lord *H. Petty* rose, pursuant to notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill to provide for the payment of the public revenues in Scotland into the banks of that country, for the purpose of being remitted to the bank of England. The principle of the measure had already obtained the sanction of the last parliament by the acts requiring the payment of the public money from the several departments of the excise, customs, post-office, &c. into the bank of England. The same principle would apply in the measure he now proposed, with some circumstances of local distinction, rendered necessary by there being two national banks in Scotland. The collectors of the revenue in that country would be required, by the bill he was about to propose, to make up their accounts on the last day of every month, and to transmit them, with the sums they should have on hand, to the receiver general of the land tax for Scotland, who was to deposit the money, half in the bank of Scotland, and the other half in the royal bank, from which banks it was to be remitted to the bank of England, whenever it should amount to 5000l., there to be kept with the other public monies received from the different departments of the revenue, according to the provisions of the acts of the last parliament. As the Scotch revenue was liable to certain occasional, and sometimes sudden, demands for particular services, provision was to be made for advances for those services, and when the receiver general should certify the occasion to the banks, that certificate would be a warrant to them to issue the money, and to make a deduction to that amount from any sum on hand to be remitted to the bank of England. The banks of Scotland were to keep accounts of all monies thus received, and these accounts were to be liable to the inspection of the lord advocate for the time being. This bill, when it should have received the sanction of the legislature, as he hoped it would, would be the completion of the system he had the honour to introduce, and he had the satisfaction to think, that when it should have passed, the whole of the public money would be placed in a perfect state of security. He moved for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the payment of the revenues of Scotland into the banks of Scotland, in order to their being remitted to the bank of England.—After a few words from Mr. Rose, who coincided entirely in the propriety of the bill, leave was given to bring it in.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, March 20.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Bankes reported from the Glasgow election committee, that Archibald Campbell, esq., the sitting member, was duly elected, and that the petition against his return was not frivolous nor vexatious.—Sir J. Frederick brought up the bill for the construction of a bridge over the Thames opposite Vauxhall, which was read a first time.—Mr. Sheridan brought up a bill for further regulation of the office of treasurer of the navy, which was read a first time.—Mr. C. Dundas, pursuant to notice, moved, that private bills should be allowed to be presented before the printed copies are delivered, but not read a second time before the delivery of printed copies of them to the members. The motion was agreed to and an order made accordingly.—Lord H. Petty brought up a bill for correcting a mistake in the act of last session, for granting annuities to the younger branches of the royal family, which was read a first time.—Sir J. Newport brought up a bill for regulating the commission appointed to inquire into offices and fees in Ireland, which was read a first time.—The defaulters on the preceding day were reported to the house, when the following members, not attending to excuse themselves, were ordered into the custody of the serjeant at arms: sir P. Francis, capt. Freemantle, Mr. H. Joliffe, Mr. W. Keene, Mr. R. Manners, sir C. Morgan, and Mr. R. Thornton. Capt. Freemantle, sir C. Morgan, and sir P. Francis, were severally taken into custody on coming to the house, and ordered to be discharged out of custody at the rising of the house, first paying their fees. — Ordered, on the motion of lord H. Petty, that the house, at its rising, should adjourn till Monday next.—Sir J. Newport obtained leave to bring in a bill to extend the provision of the act of 33, Hen. 8, relating to the wages of servants to counties of cities, and counties of towns in Ireland.—Mr. Vansittart obtained leave to bring in a bill for the more effectual prevention of smuggling.—Mr. Vansittart moved that various sums be granted to his majesty in lieu of the like sums issued from the civil list revenue, in compensation for Miscellaneous Services of the past year, which were agreed to, and ordered to be reported on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, March 23.

[SLAVE TRADE ABOLITION BILL.] The Earl of *Westmoreland* presented a petition from certain planters, mortgagees, merchants and others, interested in the West India islands, against a clause added by the house of commons to the Slave Trade Abolition bill, enacting that negroes seized in consequence of illicit trade, should be declared free, which they stated would be productive of great danger to the colonies. Ordered to lie on the table.

Lord *Grenville* moved the order of the day for taking into consideration the amendments made by the house of commons in the Slave Trade Abolition bill. His lordship observed that the object of the greater part of these ammendments was to inforce penalties and forfeitures upon those carrying on the trade, after the period fixed by parliament for its abolition, which it was not the practice of that house to enact. These amendments, therefore, were merely calculated the better to carry into effect the principle of the bill. With respect to the amendment in the preamble, leaving out the words, declaring the trade to be contrary to justice, humanity, and sound policy, it would not be imagined after what he had said upon the subject, that his opinion had sustained any alteration. It having, however, been thought right by the house of commons to make this alteration, in order that the feelings of those concerned in the trade might not be wounded, he had no objection to it.

The Bishop of *Landaff* rose to deliver his opinion of the bill, which he had not till then an opportunity of doing. The right reverend prelate observed, that in judging of the propriety of the preamble as it originally stood, or of the amendments that had been made in it, the different states of slavery as they existed at different periods of the world should duly be considered. Certain conditions of slavery existed in the antediluvian world full 700 years before Noah; and such must have existed both before and after the formation of civil society. Under the circumstances of those times, multitudes must have existed, who could derive sustenance only from their labour, and who, in order to secure the means of support, were willing to surrender up that labour, and with it their freedom. Such a state of slavery might not indeed be considered as contrary to justice and humanity, because it was a voluntary act on the part of those who submitted to it; but, although that state of slavery might not be judged inconsistent with justice and humanity, it did not follow that other descriptions of it might not be highly inhuman and unjust; for what could be more contrary to justice and humanity, than to excite civil war in a country, and then take advantage of the calamities arising from it to force away the miserable inhabitants into an hopeless captivity? Such he conceived to be the nature of the trade which it was proposed to abolish. Its abolition was an act of national humanity and justice; it was an act that would never be blotted out in the records of divine mercy. He was ready to confess, that the most keenly exploring eye might not be able to dive into the consequences of such a measure; but as it evidently sprang from the root of undissembled piety and humanity, it should not be supposed to be productive of evil; but, on the contrary, that it must be healing and beneficial to mankind.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* could not let slip this last opportunity of entering his protest against the bill; he must therefore repeat some of his former objections to it, though he was aware that the repetition must in some degree be irksome to the house. At least he must remind them that one more occasion presented itself to allow them to rectify their opinions, which they should be the more induced to do from the awful warning contained in the petition which he had that day laid on their lordship's table. From that petition they might collect the dreadful consequences which even the resolutions of last year were producing in Jamaica. Every thing there seemed to indicate the approach of an organised insurrection, which might receive a new stimulus and encouragement from the bill now on the eve of passing. It, therefore, called again for the most serious consideration of their lordships, and that consideration would shew them that the proposed clauses involved the greatest inconsistencies, absurdities, and even impossibilities. As to the preamble, nothing could reconcile him to it. No good could be expected from it, while it might be attended with much mischief: he was, therefore, for leaving it out altogether. As to the consequences of the measure, they certainly appeared to him most alarming. If ever St. Domingo and Cuba were in the hands of our enemies, and if they resolved to carry on this trade, that alarm would prove but too well founded. He would even venture to say, that it was to the existence of the slave trade that their lordships were indebted for their being now sitting in that house. Our existence depended on the strength of our navy, and the strength of our navy was chiefly derived from the slave trade. Their lordships must be convinced of it, if they but reflected that the town of Liverpool alone now sent out a greater number of privateers than were employed by the whole of the country against the enemy, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

The Marquis of *Sligo* disapproved of the clauses, and contended, that the preamble contained a gross calumny.

The Duke of *Norfolk* was not very anxious on former ocasions to support the measure of the abolition; because he knew that many of those who were loudest in its praise, were far from being sincere in their wishes for its success. Now, however, when it was taken up by ministers who had his confidence, and, who, he was satisfied, were incapable of any duplicity, the bill should have his most cordial support, and he should rejoice to see it pass.—The question was now put on the several amendments, and agreed to.—Lord Grenville then moved, that the bill, with the amendments, &c. as agreed to, be sent to the commons, and on the motion being agreed to,—his lordship again rose, and congratulated the house on having now performed one of the most glorious acts that had ever been done by any assembly of any nation in the world.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, March 23.

[MINUTES.] A message from the lords, announced their lordships' assent to the mutiny bill, and the sugar drawback bill.—Mr Whitbread observing that he had on a former evening stated it as his opinion that W. Drake had not received his wound in the battle of Camperdown, declared that a document had since been put into his hands, by which it was proved that that person had actually lost his leg from a hurt received in that action. This document was a letter from captain Bligh of the Director, to Mr. Bewick, then Chairman of a committee at Lloyd's for the relief of the sufferers in that action. He begged, therefore, to be understood as retracting his assertion, and he would move for documents to explain the circumstance; but lest any false impression should go abroad, that when those papers should be produced, he would propose the liberation of the prisoner, he would observe, that the circumstance which he had just mentioned was not the only misrepresentation and falsehood contained in Mr. Drake's evidence. There were numerous others; among the rest he had declared, that he had never applied for relief to the admiralty, when in fact he had done so to the very person by whom he had been questioned. He therefore would first move for copies of all communications made by capt. Bligh, late of the Director, to N. Bewick, esq. chairman of the committee at Lloyd's, for the relief of wounded seamen. The Speaker observed, with regard to the latter part of the motion, that the Society were not known to that house, and therefore could not form part of a motion from the Chair. Mr. Windham concurred in this opinion, declaring, that however good the intentions of the society alluded to, it would be very improper that it should be recognized in that house. Mr. Fuller seemed to think that Drake ought to be liberated. After a few words from Mr. Rose, and Mr. Jeffery, Mr. Whitbread withdrew his motion on account of the improper recognition which it contained; but in reply to Mr. Fuller's observations, repeated, that the imprisonment of Mr. Drake, was not in consequence of the circumstance alone which he had just cleared up.—On the motion of Mr. Whitbread, the following papers were then ordered to be laid before the house: a copy of the Smart Ticket produced by Mr. Drake, whereby he received a pension from the chest of Greenwich: also, a copy of the Sick Ticket sent by capt. Bligh, late of his Majesty's ship Director, to the hospital at Yarmouth.—Mr. Bankes gave notice of a motion tomorrow respecting places granted in reversion. Lord Howick assured his hon. friend, that he should have his most complete support. Not a single reversion had been given away by the present administration, although it was well known that several very valuable ones had fallen in.—Mr. Herbert obtained leave to bring in a bill to suspend for one year, the penalties on the regrating of Oak Bark.—Lord Temple, finding that the committee on this subject had not yet finished its investigation, intended to allow his bill to drop for the present session, and of course supported the hon. gent's. motion.

[CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION.] Lord *Euston* presented a petition from the chancellor, masters, and scholars, of the University of Cambridge, taking notice of the bill for enabling his Majesty to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects in his naval and military forces, in the manner therein mentioned; and setting forth, that the petitioners are anxious to express their serious apprehensions of the danger likely to arise from the said bill if carried into a law, to the established constitution of this country both in church and state, not only because it might eventually place a dangerous power in the hands of those persons whose tenets are not friendly to our ecclesiastical establishment, but also because the principle of the bill leads to the total abolition of the Test act, and to other still more alarming consequences; and therefore praying, that the said bill may not pass into a law. On his lordship's moving that the petition do lie on the table,

Mr. *W. Dickenson* rose not to oppose the motion of the noble lord, but in the fulfilment of his duty as a member of parliament to put a plain and simple question to the noble lord opposite (lord Howick). Twelve or thirteen days ago, that noble lord introduced into the House a bill (against which the petition that had just been presented was directed) enabling his majesty to accept the services of all his liege subjects, of every religious persuasion, in the army and navy. About five days since the noble lord intimated that it was not his intention to carry into execution the order for the second reading of the bill, but to allow it to drop, to be afterwards disposed of as the house might think fit. The noble lord stated, that this intimation was owing to circumstances which it was not then in his power to disclose, but which at some future time he would explicitly narrate. He wished to ask, if that time had arrived? The public mind was in a state of great anxiety. Many rumours were afloat respecting a Change in the Administration; without any wish for such a change having been expressed by the people, or any intimation for the necessity of it having proceeded from that house (hear! hear!). Among others, a rumour had been circulated, that his majesty's ministers had endeavoured to press on his majesty a subject to which the honourable and conscientious mind of his majesty was averse. (Hear! hear!) Was that rumour true? He (Mr. D.) had obtained leave to quit London for a fortnight. He should see many of his constituents at the assizes, and he wished to be enabled satisfactorily to answer the questions that would naturally be put to him. He thought it unnecessary to offer any excuse for this intrusion on the house, the particular circumstances in which the country was placed, he trusted, would justify him.

Lord *Howick* replied nearly in the following terms: Sir, certainly no apology was necessary from the hon. gent. for the exercise of one of the first privileges of a member of parliament, that of calling upon his majesty's ministers for explanation upon any great and important subject. In answer to the hon. gent's. questions, I shall declare, as far as I can, consistently with my duty, what is the present state of the administration of this country, adding only, that, with regard to those circumstances which I do not at present feel at liberty to divulge, I shall rely on the candour and indulgence of the house, trusting they will believe that no man is more anxious than myself that my conduct should stand fair with the house and with the country; and consequently, that the time must come when my duty to the king and to the public, and every consideration of private honour will induce me to make an explicit statement of the recent occurrences. In the mean time, I shall proceed, under the restrictions which I have mentioned, to reply to the questions of the hon. gent. To one of those questions I do not feel authorised at present to give an answer: it is that one which alluded to a rumour, which, if true, would, as the hon. gent. has implied, impute culpability to his majesty's ministers, namely, that his majesty's ministers had endeavoured to force on the king a measure which his conscience disapproved. On this point I will only say, that it is the duty of any minister, on any subject connected with the interests of this great empire, to offer such advice to his majesty as his judgment shall dictate. More I cannot now say. With regard to the other question proposed by the hon. gent., it only remains for me to add to the statement which I made when I signified my intention of not moving for the second reading of the religious army service bill, that the circumstances which then prevented me from doing so have led to a situation in which I am now enabled to inform the house that, although I have not yet received his majesty's commands to deliver up the seals of my office, his majesty has thought proper to send for persons not employed as his servants, and is engaged in forming arrangements for a new administration.—The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

[CARNATIC PAPERS.] Sir *T. Turton*, in a speech of considerable length, which he prefaced by observing, that no change of administration could in any measure affect the question now before the house, inveighed strongly against the assumption of the government of the Carnatic, which he repeatedly termed one of the most gross and infamous stretches of tyranny that ever disgraced the annals of India. He dwelt much upon the subsequent treatment of the Polygars, who, he contended, were no more subjects of Britain than of Hesse Cassel. He did not charge the lords Clive or Wellesley with the murder of the nabob of Arcot, but insisted that both had been the means of bringing about that murder. The hon. baronet concluded with moving, that there be laid before the house a copy of the instructions given to lord Mornington by the Board of Controul or the Secret Committee, previous to the Treaty respecting the Carnatic in 1792. The hon. baronet said, that beside the one now before the house, he had upon the same subject twelve other motions to submit to the house.

Mr. *Tierney*, in answer to the hon. baronet's long speech, should briefly observe, that of the papers now called for, one part did not exist, and the other part was already printed.

Sir *T. Turton* said, that not being in the office of the right hon. gent., he had not the same means of information, and therefore was not aware of what had been just mentioned. He thought the right hon. gent. answer a fair one, and was willing to withdraw his motion.

Lord *A. Hamilton* thought it better that the proper officers be required to lay before the house a copy of all the instructions that had been issued.

Sir *A. Wellesley* contended that all the instructions which had been transmitted, were already in possession of the house.

Col. *Symes* asserted that there would not be time in the present session to examine all the papers for which the hon. baronet had moved. Though he had given a long explanation of the object of these motions, yet the explanation was so imperfect, that he could not pretend to understand him. Yet there were one or two observations in his statement which he could not pass over without some notice—Sir T. Turton rose to order, affirming that the hon. gent. ought to confine himself to the particular question before the house.—After a few words from sir J. Anstruther, Mr. Tierney and col. Symes, the motion was agreed to.—The motion for a copy of the Review promised by marquis Wellesley to the Directors was then put and carried, it being understood that there was no such paper, but sir T. Turton wishing to have that fact formerly before the house.

Sir *T. Turton* also moved for copies of the official Letters, other than that of the 23d April 1800, respecting the papers discovered at Seringapatam, with the answers so far as not already printed.

Col. *Symes* contended that the greatest moderation had been practised in acting on these papers. He denied that the papers had been come by unfairly, or that any improper means had been used to shorten the life of the nabob, who was said not to have died a natural death. He died in consequence of the intemperate use of opium. The governor of Madras sent Dr. Anderson to him when ill, whose report was, that he found him labouring under an incurable dysentery.

Sir *T. Turton* would not now enter upon the merits, but he was at issue with the hon. gent. in the whole of his statements. Motion agreed to.—He next moved for a copy of the Paper containing the approbation given of the conduct of lord Clive in the transaction above alluded to, and in the subsequent arrangements with respect to the Prince. Agreed to.—The hon. baronet also moved for copies of the Letters of Omdut Ul Omrah, &c. complaining of grievances. Ordered. He next moved for a copy of a Letter from lord Hobart to Omdut Ul Omrah, complaining of the permission given by him to certain artizans, &c. servants of the company, to settle in his dominions.

Sir *J. Anstruther* said, there was no such paper, and that it was not respectful to the house to be moving for papers which it was known did not exist.

Colonel *Symes* observed, that gentlemen might exercise their imagination to the great inconvenience of the house, if these things were permitted.—The house then divided on this question, which was lost by a majority of 30 to 24. The other motions were agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, March 24.

[MINUTES.] A Message from the lords declared their lordship's assent to the amendments made by the house on the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave-trade, with the correction of a clerical error in one of them.—The amendment of the house of lords was agreed to, after a particular explanation from the Speaker, who stated it to be the practice of the house to allow such amendments, when they went only to express more fully, and to further their own intentions, as the amendment in the present case did, going only to supply a clerical omission.—Lord Temple moved that the amendments of the lords in the Sierra Leone Company bill should be taken into consideration. The Speaker felt it his duty to call the attention of the house to the subject of these amendments. This bill, proposing to vest lands in the crown, struck him to be of the same nature of a money bill; and if in the one or the other the lords should introduce any amendments, it appeared to him that, according to the privileges of that house, such amendments were fatal to the bill. He supposed, therefore, that some member of that house would move, that this bill should be laid aside. Lord Temple in conformity with the opinion of the chair, moved that this bill should be thrown out; which was agreed to. The noble lord then moved, that the house should tomorrow resolve into a committee upon the acts relative to the Sierra Leone company, with the view of moving for leave to bring in a bill of the same nature as that which had been just rejected.—Mr. Vansittart rose to state, that an hon. gent., (Mr. Osborn Markham) who was a member of the Shrewsbury election committee, having vacated his seat in consequence of his acceptance of a certain appointment, he submitted, for the consideration of the house, how the committee were to act under such an event? The Speaker felt that the right hon. gent. had done right in communicating the information which the house had just heard. But as to the subject of that information it was his duty to state, that a member's vacating his seat in consequence of his acceptance of an office which was incompatible with such seat, or from any other natural cause, was no reason why the committee alluded to should not proceed in its investigation, nor could the house prevent, upon such grounds, any such committee from proceeding.—Mr. Lethbridge presented a petition from John Palmer, Esq. of Bath, the original deviser of the mail coach conveyance of letters. The petition stated an agreement having been made, several years ago, between the said John Palmer, and certain persons then in office in his majesty's government, which agreement had never been performed by the said persons, whereby the said John Palmer was greatly injured. It concluded with praying relief. Ordered to lie on the table.—A new writ was ordered for a member to serve in parliament for the borough of Calne, in the room of Osborne Markham Esq. who had accepted the office of Commissioner of Barracks.

[LANCASTER ELECTION.] Mr. *Dent* called the attention of the house to a circumstance which occurred relative to this election, which greatly involved the privileges of that house. A petition had been presented against him, as one of the sitting members for that town, charging him with bribery and corruption, and loading him with all those epithets which petitions of that description usually contain. It was, however, permitted to drop, but not until he had been put to very considerable trouble and some expence, in preparations to resist it; in doing which he discovered, that five of the persons petitioning against him were not at Lancaster; and he found that there was not the smallest chance of even obtaining that redress which the law of this country gives in cases of forfeited recognizances, as the party so entering into such recognizances on this occasion did not appear to be worth sixpence. He further discovered that warrants, as from the speaker, to attend the committee in town, had been served on several persons, five or six of whom were in attendance then in the lobby, but that all these warrants had been forged; that a person well known to a right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Tierney) appeared as the solicitor conducting this petition, and the ostensible agent of the petitioners; that the warrants were discovered to be forged, on application at the office of the speaker's secretary; that they were dated the 26th of Feb., whereas none were issued from that department until the 4th of March; and that Mr. John Alcock, of the Borough, was the person to whom he alluded as the ostensible agent of the petitioners.—Here the hon. member was proceeding to submit a motion on the subject, when

The *Speaker* suggested the propriety of merely mentioning a future day for taking the matter into consideration, and at present moving, that the offending parties be upon that day ordered to attend.

Mr. *Dent* then observed, that to-morrow would equally answer the ends of justice.

Mr. *Tierney* did not rise to oppose any enquiry which the house might make upon the business, but merely to say, that he thought to-morrow would be too soon, as it might not be possible for Mr. Alcock, in so short a time, to have an opportunity of justifying himself. He certainly could not, and would not disavow his knowledge of that gentleman, and since he was thus publicly noticed as having such knowledge of him, he would add, that he believed him an upright and honest man.—After some desultory remarks from other members, it was at last ordered, that Mr. John Alcock do attend the house to-morrow, together with other persons named in the order.

[RESOLUTION RESPECTING OFFICES IN REVERSION.] Mr. *Bankes* said he was not aware that the motion he was about to offer was liable to any objection. It came recommended, not by his individual authority, but by the sanction of the committee of the house appointed " to examine and consider what regulations and checks have been established, in order to controul the several branches of the public expenditure in Great Britain and Ireland, and how far the same have been effectual, and what further measures can be adopted for reducing any part of the said expenditure, or diminishing the amount of salaries and emoluments without detriment to the public service." It occurred to the committee, in furtherance of the object committed to its care, that grants of offices in reversion, though not exceeding the grants that had been made in former times, ought to be restricted, and put a stop to. In Ireland, which had lately become united with this country, and was equally entitled to attention, the practice of granting reversions prevailed to an infinitely greater extent. The practice was an abuse, so far as it prevailed, and it was an abuse likely to be extended, if some timely check was not imposed upon it. He was therefore directed by the committee, as its chairman, to move a resolution, " That no office, place, employment, or salary, in any part of his majesty's dominions, ought hereafter to be granted in reversion."

Mr. *Yorke* gave every possible credit to the motives of his hon. friend and of the committee, and yet he felt a good deal of difficulty in assenting to this motion. The doubt in his mind was, whether the ancient and accustomed practice ought to be altered, when, as stated by his hon. friend himself, it had of late been but little abused. It was a favourite maxim with him, not to change established usages unless he saw some strong reason for it. This granting of offices in reversion had been a power in the hands of the crown for the purpose of rewarding services; and hitherto it had in fact been a saving to the public; for unless these offices could be given in this manner, services, if they were rewarded at all, must be rewarded by a grant, and a double burthen would thus be laid upon the public. The object of this motion, as had been stated, was undoubtedly of the greatest importance; and yet the house was called upon to decide upon it at once. The notice had only been given the preceding day, and given in such a manner that till he came down that day, he did not exactly know the purport of it. He hoped therefore that the house would at least take more time to consider of it. If the motion had been for leave to bring in a bill, he should have had no objection to it, because he could then have stated his objections in the different stages, provided he thought it was liable to objection. But as the motion was for a resolution, he was inclined to dissent from it; for even though it should be followed by a bill, those arguing against that bill would be under an evident disadvantage when such a resolution as this stood on the journals. He hoped therefore the motion would be postponed; if not, he should be under the necessity of giving it his negative.

Lord *Howick* gave his most cordial support to the motion. He saw nothing in the arguments of the rt. hon. gent. who spoke last, to induce him to think it ought to be postponed. The notice given yesterday in one of the fullest houses of the session, and particularly marked by his (lord H.'s) saying he would support the motion, and adding, what he repeated now, that not one single reversion had been given away by the present administration, though some very valuable ones had fallen in, was, in his opinion, as ample a notice as could be desired. It had, however, been stated in objection to what he then said, that some offices had been granted in reversion in the court of chancery. What he had said ought to be understood of the government, and not of the subordinate departments. The fact, with respect to these reversions in the court of chancery, was, that the present lord chancellor had advised his majesty to grant the reversion of two small offices in his court to a person who had been his clerk, while he was in such distinguished practice at the bar, and who, losing that employment by his promotion to the seals, would be wholly unprovided for without this grant in reversion. This was the only grant in reversion that had been made, though a tellership had fallen in. No custom should be allowed to sanction a thing, which, in the opinion of correct men of all ages, was improper. It was not necessary to argue the impropriety of the practice now; many better opportunities would occur in the various stages of the bill that would be introduced on the resolution. The right hon. gent. had said, that this would reduce the power of the crown to reward services, and that it would increase the expense of those rewards, by rendering it necessary to make all remuneration the subject of present grant. The rt. hon. gent. had looked but slightly on this matter, or he would have found, that grants of reversions had usually been made, not to meritorious servants, but to persons, who, from their tender age, could have rendered no services whatever. The grant of reversions was, in fact, an abridgment of the means of rewarding public servants; for if the holder of the office dropped, the reversioner stepped in, and prevented its being given to a meritorious servant. Thus the public burthens were increased, instead of being, as the rt. hon. gent. argued, diminished by grants in reversion. He approved of the mode by which the committee proposed to establish this barrier, as well as of the barrier itself. While the bill, which was to impose a permanent restriction, was in progress, a resolution of the house would be sufficient to deter any minister from granting the reversions which the bill proposed to render illegal. He was not prepared to go into the question, whether the restriction was more or less called for now. He could not say, whether grants in reversion had been more or less frequent in late years; but several grants had been made in late years, and particularly in Ireland. He gave his cordial support to the motion, and he wished the house to go still further, and to come to a resolution against the granting of any office for life, not usually so granted. If any thing of that kind had been done, or was in contemplation, he thought it highly proper for the house to interfere, and to prevent it, by expressing its decided disapprobation. (Hear! hear! from many parts of the house, but from the Treasury Benches in particular.)

Mr. *Plumer* (of Hertford) rose and said: I wish, sir, that this measure had been brought forward 40 years ago. This has been hitherto my sincere desire; and I, therefore, give the motion now made my most hearty assent. Having said thus much upon the measure itself, I cannot help embracing this opportunity of paying a tribute of applause to the present administration (I say present, upon the supposition that they are still in office), as I really think they have shewn every disposition to benefit the country by their judicious measures, and their avoiding the practice of former administrations, of granting reversions. Upon this occasion, too, I have another observation to make, which is this: in coming down to the house this day, I have heard a report, which I am very sorry to hear; I have heard, sir, that the new government which is now forming, or to be formed, have agreed to give to an hon. and learned member of this house (alluding to Mr. Perceval, who was not then in the house) an appointment to the Duchy of Lancaster for life, in order to tempt that gentleman to take a place in the new government. Upon this, I may observe, that if men of great abilities are not satisfied with the rewards attached to the situations which his majesty chooses to appoint them to hold in the government of their country, if they do not think the usual compensation sufficient, they ought not to accept of office at all. I do, however, at all events, enter my protest most solemnly against the measure of giving a man a situation for life, in order to entice him to occupy another, which may be more fleeting and temporary. (Loud cries of hear! hear!)

Sir *John Newport* wished this resolution had been adopted a year sooner. The house would not then be in the situation in which it now was, with respect to some of the Irish offices which had been reported as proper, some to be abolished, and some to be reformed, and which could not be touched in either way, on account of the interests of the reversioners. The office of customer and collector of the Port of Dublin, one of those reported as requiring regulation and reform, had been granted in reversion two deep, and consequently could not be touched by the late bill for the retrenchment, reform, and regulation of offices in Ireland, though it had twice fallen vacant within the year, and though it was one of those that most particularly required reform and regulation.

Mr. *Johnstone* approved of the motion, which was perfectly consistent with the principles on which his hon. friend (Mr. Bankes) had always acted, and he thought it was a happy omen of what might be expected from the exertions of the committee of which he was chairman. He could not, however, think a mere unauthenticated rumour a sufficient justification for what had been said of an hon. and learned gent. not now present, the whole tenor of whose life had shewn his preference of public principle to private advantage. He could not help observing too, that those who had been most clamorous in cheering the reflections cast on the hon. and learned gentlemen, were members of a family which was loaded with wealth derived from public sinecures. He wished, with the hon. gent. on the floor, that the resolution now before the house had been adopted 40 years ago, and then that family would not now be drawing £60,000 a year from the labour of the public. But however eager they had hitherto been for places and pensions, he was glad that at last they had found it expedient to change their tone.

Mr. *Plumer*, in explanation, allowed that the mere rumour of the day was not a sufficient ground for calling the attention of the house to any thing: but after the allusion made by the noble lord opposite, he thought himself justified in the observations he had offered. As to the rest of what had fallen from the hon. gent. it did not touch him. He was not one of the family which was loaded with wealth derived from the public. If the report was unfounded, what he had said could do no harm: if the report was true, what he had said might do much good.

Lord *Henry Petty*, though he approved of the present motion, rose not so much for the purpose of expressing that approbation, as with a view to apologize to the house for not having brought forward the subject himself. He entertained the same opinion with the committee some time ago, and intended to have made a similar motion, and for that purpose had moved for an account of the offices granted in reversion, which was now on the table. He had, he believed, given no notice of his intention, but he had only not proposed the bill before, as he had not been aware of any immediate necessity for it. He had assurances on the subject, and in favour of his view of it, from the noble duke at the head of affairs in Ireland, and from the noble lord here too, to whom the hon. gent. (Mr Johnstone) had alluded. He had with singular propriety adverted to that noble lord in the language of reproach on that day, when it was well known that he had power to grant a considerable office in reversion, and yet that the only use he made of it was to abstain from exercising a privilege which had been used by every one who preceded him. That noble lord had already laid down in practice what it was now proposed to lay down in theory, and therefore the hon. gent's. allusion was peculiarly well timed. When he approved of the resolutions now moved, he ought to recollect that Lord Grenville had already acted upon the principle. It was not therefore by those who followed the practice of granting offices in reversion, that the resolution was loudly approved of, notwithstanding the hon. gent's. insinuation, but by those who abstained from it.

Mr. *Henry Martin* (of Kinsale) said, he so fully coincided in the propriety of the resolution now before the house, and felt it so necessary to counteract a system so mischievous as that which had been alluded to this night, that he should now give notice, that he would to-morrow move an humble address to his majesty, praying, that he would be graciously pleased not to grant any place in the duchy of Lancaster, or elsewhere, for life, which had hitherto been usually held by the possessors during his majesty's pleasure. (Hear! hear! from all parts of the house.)

General *Gascoyne* disapproved of the bringing forward this resolution at present; because he thought it looked very suspicious, and had the appearance of being intended to restrict the new government. In the absence of all those, who, according to report, were to have a share in that government, it was not proper to press it. No notice had been given of it, that must necessarily have reached them. At all events, though it should pass at present, that must not be considered as a pledge to support the bill.

Mr. *Horner*, as a member of the committee, felt himself called upon to say a few words on the present occasion. As the hon general had insinuated that this motion had been brought forward with a view to recent and present circumstances, he begged leave to inform that hon. general and the house, that the subject, respecting the grant of places in reversion, had been the first to which the attention of the committee had been directed. It had been several times under discussion, and the last time their attention had been called to it, it was warmly supported by an hon. gent. who was likely to have a place under the new arrangement. The insinuation, that this resolution was intended as a restriction on the persons included in the new arrangement, appeared to him extraordinary, as coming from an hon. gent. professing himself the friend of those members.

General *Gascoyne*, in explanation, disclaimed any intention to throw any imputation whatever upon the committee. He had only said, that the manner in which the resolution had been brought forward and argued, excited in his mind a suspicion that it was intended as a restriction on the new arrangement.

Mr. *Sheridan* observed that the hon. general certainly had not thrown, by his speech, any censure upon the measure now proposed; but he had thrown a very severe imputation upon his friends in the new administration; and one for which he believed at least, they would be very little obliged to the zeal of the hon. general. For his own part, though the new ministers were about to occupy those places from which himself and his colleagues must shortly retreat, yet he had so little of political animosity towards them, that he was unwilling to impute to them any such intentions as those which the zeal of the hon. general this night bespoke. He hoped they were actuated by stronger motives for accession to power, than those of bargaining and buying their way into office. The hon. general's reasonings amounted to this: "If you attempt to carry a resolution of this sort, you will throw the strongest impediment in the way of forming a new and virtuous administration, to succeed the wicked and corrupt one just turned out of office: you will paralize the vigour of their exertions: you will cripple the magnitude of their plans, if you prevent them from taking, or granting lucrative places in reversion, or for life, in addition to those they are to hold during the king's pleasure, in remuneration for their great services and splendid talents." This, however, was a doctrine to which he could not subscribe, and a kind of support from the hon. general, which he believed, would not be very grateful to his friends. Some allusion had been made in the course of this discussion, to certain reversions held by a distinguished family, several branches of which formed parts of the present administration; but he could see no analogy between the cases alluded to, and those now in contemplation of the house; between reversions during pleasure, enjoyed for services long rendered to the state, and reversions and places for life, to be granted in the first instance before any service whatever was rendered, and given as a kind of bounty to entice a placeman to enlist for a high office; to which also a high salary was to be attached. This was indeed a novel mode of recruiting an administration. But whenever the new ministers should appear in their places, he hoped the hon. general would give them a very different support from the kind of observations he had this day pointed against them.

Mr. *Huskisson* was sure that the character and principles of his hon. friend, who had brought forward the resolution, would secure him from the imputation of having been actuated by party motives. From what he had learned in conversation with other members of the committee, he was persuaded that they were all agreed that no places should be granted henceforth in reversion. As to the propriety of any arrangements with a view to induce individuals to accept of office, he believed that the first measure of the administration then in office, with a view to enable a noble lord (Grenville), for whom he felt a very sincere respect, was a sufficient proof that such an arrangement was not very extraordinary. As to the new administration, he knew nothing more of it, than he was enabled to collect from the rumours afloat, and he did not believe that any arrangement had been yet submitted for the approbation of the highest authority in the state.

Mr. *Whitbread* observed, that without giving any opinion upon the merits of the case referred to by the hon. gent. (Mr. Johnstone), he had no hesitation in asserting that there was a material difference between that case and the one more particularly alluded to, in the course of this debate. For in the one, the object was to enable a man to hold an office which was conferred upon him for life, in conjunction with one to which he was appointed during pleasure, and for that purpose the sanction of parliament was applied for, and obtained; while in the other the proposition was, that an office heretofore held during pleasure, should be conferred for life, and that too at the mere will of the crown, in order, as rumour stated, to induce a man to accept another office during pleasure. With regard to the noble family alluded to by the hon gent. as holding places of considerable profit, did the hon. gent. mean to assert that the holding places of profit by public men was inconsistent with the purity of public character? If the hon. gent. did mean that, such a sentiment must be heard with peculiar surprise from such a quarter, after the panegyric which the hon. gent. had thought proper to pronounce upon the public spirit and patriotism of his right hon. friend. For that hon. gent. must know that one of the highest places of profit in the country was granted in reversion to a person of the name of Perceval; and again in reversion to another person of the same name. The hon. gent. expressed his heartfelt approbation of the measure, which the motion before the house had in view, and in concurrence with the hon. member, his regret that such a measure had not been introduced forty years ago. In alluding to the hon. mover, he could not help expressing his surprise, that any man who had the least opportunity of appreciating the character of that hon. gent. could suppose him capable of binding himself to the purposes of any party. The house indeed must have heard with astonishment the imputation which an hon. gent. on the other side had thought proper to throw out. The hon. member concluded with declaring his cordial concurrence in the motion before the house, against which he had not heard a single argument, and his anxious wish for the success of the motion of which his hon. friend (Mr. Martin) had given notice for the next day.

Mr. *Huskisson* in explanation stated, that he did not mean to assert a complete analogy between the case of the noble lord alluded to (lord Grenville) and that which appeared to be so much in view in the present discussion. Probably he merely meant to infer from the former case, that in the contemplation of ministerial arrangements, the nature of an office might be changed by connecting it with one with which it was previously deemed altogether incompatible. To be sure in one case the change could be effected only by the sanction of parliament, whereas in the other it was quite subject to the will of the king.

Mr. *Parnell* thought that it behoved the house to take peculiar care upon a question of this nature. For, understanding that a noble lord (Castlereagh) was likely to hold a leading situation in the new administration, whose conduct in Ireland could not escape his recollection, he was fully convinced of the necessity of vigilant precaution. He (Mr. Parnell) had had the honour of a seat in the house of commons in Ireland during the discussions upon the Union, and he remembered that in the first session, when that measure was proposed and lost, two families of some parliamentary influence stood neuter. But in the following session, under this noble lord's management of reversions, these two families were brought into action, and by such means the union was voted by a small majority. A son of one of these families was, to his knowledge, secured in the reversion of the clerkship of the pells in Ireland, and to a son of the other family he imagined that a reversion of a more serious nature was promised, for the first bishopric that became vacant was assigned to him. With these facts in his recollection, and with the prospect now before the house, he thought that every practicable guard against corruption ought to be established.

Mr. *Johnstone* disclaimed any intention to assert any thing so absurd, as that the holding of a public place of profit was incompatible with the purity of public character. He only meant to say, that it afforded him great satisfaction to hear a motion of this nature so loudly applauded by men who were themselves loaded with so much of the public money. It was a good omen, and he hoped it would not prove delusive.—The resolution was then agreed to, and Mr. Bankes, Mr. Horner, and Mr. S. Bourne, were appointed to prepare and bring in a bill pursuant thereto.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, March 25.

[MINUTES.]—The royal assent was given by commission to the Slave Trade Abolition bill, the Irish Licence bill, and the Thames Police bill, and two private bills.—Lord Grenville (who sat with his friends on the opposition side of the house), gave notice, that to-morrow, on the motion of adjournment for the recess, he should state such explanations as he deemed consistent with his duty to his country and to himself, respecting the circumstances which had led to the present situation of public affairs, and of the country.

[SCOTCH JUDICATURE BILL.]——Lord *Grenville* moved the order of the day for a committee on the Scotch Judicature bill.—The house having resolved itself into a committee, the noble lord stated his intention of moving, pursuant to the instruction of the committee, to divide the bill into two, and also of proposing several amendments in that part of it which related to the chambers of the court of session, and to the court of review. With respect to the latter court, some persons had thought that it would be an additional step in the progress of litigation, inasmuch as the unsuccessful parties would still appeal to that house, and therefore that the number of appeals to that house would not be lessened. There was one mode, however, he thought, which would materially tend to lessen the number of appeals to that house, namely, to abolish reclaiming petitions in the court of session, and to substitute, instead, appeals to the court of review. This would naturally tend to produce a more complete adjudication of causes in the chambers of the court of session, there being no opportunity, as at present, of re-examining their own decisions, whilst there was every reason to believe that that careful adjudication would render appeals less frequent. Of one part of the bill he thought an unfair advantage had been taken out of the house, as he never had an idea that the extraordinary lords to be added to the court of session should hold their places in any other manner than like the judges of England, during good behaviour. He had no objection, if it was thought necessary, to the introduction of clauses, enacting that the persons to be so appointed should have all the requisite qualifications.—After a few obserservations from lord Eldon, the amendments were agreed to. In the progress of the bill, lord Grenville stated that upon further consideration, it had been thought inexpedient to prohibit, altogether, appeals from interlocutors; and therefore he proposed to give a power to the court of review to receive appeals from interlocutors, and also on receiving an appeal from final judgment to call for all the interlocutors in the cause. An amendment was adopted to this effect, and the first part of the bill, relating to the chambers of the court of session and the court of review, having been separated from the rest, the house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.

Lord *Eldon* moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire where the judges of the court of session should be placed during their attendance on the house, and to search for precedents, &c. His reason for moving this was, that the judges of the court of session claimed the right of sitting within the bar, they having formed part of the council of parliament in Scotland.—Agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, March 25.

[Minutes.]—Lord G. Cavendish reported from the Lanark committee, that the sitting member, sir Charles Ross, was duly elected; and that the petition was not frivolous nor vexatious.—Mr. Long moved, that a new writ should be issued for a member for the borough of Plympton, in the room of lord Castlereagh, who had accepted the office of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state; and also, for the borough of Newton, in the room of Mr. Canning, who had accepted the office of one of the principal secretaries of state. Ordered.—Lord Howick adverted to the promise which he had given of an explanation with respect to the change of administration. To-morrow there would be a motion for an adjournment for some days, and he was unwilling that the house should separate without the explanation being given. He therefore gave notice that he would give that explanation the next day.—Sir S. Romilly, pursuant to notice, moved for leave to bring in a bill to render the Freehold Estates of traders liable to the Bankrupt laws dying indebted assets for the payment of their simple contract debts. As there seemed a general concurrence that a bill of this nature would be unobjectionable, he need not enter upon the grounds of the motion. He was sorry that the other bill had been lost; but since he could not do all the good he wished, he must at least endeavour to do all the good he could. The motion was then put and carried.

[Irish Budget.]—The house resolved itself into a committee of Ways and Means.

Sir *John Newport*, conscious how little claim he had to occupy the attention of the house at any time, but much less at the present, said he should endeavour to make his statements as briefly as possible; nor should he have to trouble the committee on the subject, if it had not been for the circumstance of his having so great a share in negociating the Loan last Monday for Ireland. The hon. baronet then briefly stated the different items of the Supplies for Ireland, composed of its separate charges, and its two-seventeenth parts of the joint charge of the empire, which made the whole charge amount to £9,561,218. Part of the loan for Ireland had been contracted for with the English Loan, the remainder he wished to have separately contracted for, because he was anxious that it should be made payable at the Bank of Ireland, for the purpose of obviating the inconveniences that were felt from the Irish government, they being obliged to draw upon this country for the money. The terms, however, which had been offered by the gentlemen who were bidders for that loan, were such as it had not been thought right to accept. The loan was, therefore, contracted for by the gentlemen who took the English Loan, upon an advance of 1s. 9d. per cent. interest, which, he trusted, would not under these circumstances be thought material. The Ways and Means, by which he proposed to cover these Supplies, consisting of the loans, of the Revenue of Ireland, which he took at the same as last year, viz. £3,882,790; surplus of the Consolidated Fund, £500,000; one million of Treasury Bills; and £300,000 which he proposed by New Taxes and Regulations, amounted in all to £9,685,093 which left an excess of Ways and Means, over the Supply, of £123,875.

The new Taxes and Regulations were to produce, by excess of the Duty on Licensed Distilleries, arising out of the Regulations adopted last year, over the amount of the antecedent year......	£120,000
Taking the Allowance of 16 per cent. from large Distilleries................	80,000
Augmentation on Duties on Horses, Carts, and Jaunting Cars...............	40,000
Paper	5,000
Stamps	10,000
Stamps to Retailers	5,000
Excess of Duty on Hats................	10,000
An Augmentation on the Duties of Customs upon Vinegar, Dye-Stuffs, and a few other articles..................	10,000
Together with other Items, amounting to	20,000
Making altogether......................	£300,000

Though the Sugar Duty imposed last session had failed to produce, the other duties had amply supplied the deficiency. The hon. bart. here enumerated the proportion in which each duty had exceeded in produce the amount calculated. Of the arrears and balances due of dead or removed collectors, £17,600 had been recovered within the last year; but this sum was considerably less than would be recovered in future years, if the measures should be persevered in for two or three years. The sum of the arrears appeared greater this year than last year, in consequence of an arrear that had accrued in the hands of the Collector of Maryborough; before he had been himself in office to the amount of £20,000, orders had been issued to the Board of Excise, to reduce the balances in the hands of Collectors under £100. From this statement, he trusted, it would be manifest to the committee, that the Irish government had not abused the confidence that had been placed in it. They had a vote of credit for £400,000, and they had issued but £76,000. Measures had been taken for the reduction of 38 offices in the customs, and for carrying into effect the suggestions of the Committee of Inquiry. The trade of Ireland had improved in the last year, though there appeared a diminution in its exports.

The value of the Imports for 1805, was - - -	£5,982,000
Ditto for 1806 - - - -	5,605,000
Being a decrease of - -	377,000
The Exports for 1805 - -	8,436,933
Ditto for 1806 - - -	9,314,800
Being an increase of - - -	£877,867

Which, added to the decrease in the Imports, made the improvement in the Trade of Ireland within the last year considerably above a million. The Trade to America had increased one third. The shipping of Ireland had increased in number 1-6, in tonnage 1-9, in seamen 1-3; the British shipping trading with Ireland had also increased 1-12, whilst the foreign shipping had decreased 1-10, a circumstance which shewed, that the advantage of the whole increase of the trade remained within the empire. The Exchange had also fallen to 9½ per cent. a rate much lower than had been known for many years. With those proofs of the growing prosperity of that country he should conclude his statement. The hon. bart. then moved his resolutions, which were agreed to.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.]—Sir *Philip Francis* wished to call the attention of the house to a subject of the greatest importance, and for that purpose rose to ask some questions of the president of the board of controul, or of the person who had lately filled that situation. On the subject to which he alluded, he could speak, perhaps, with more knowledge than any who had heard him. It related to the state of India. He was not so vain nor so ill instructed by experience, as to imagine that any thing he could say would make any very strong impression on the house, or rouse them to give a more than ordinary attention to the subject which it was his object to press upon their most serious consideration. But though experience had almost deprived him of hope on this point, yet there were some duties that survived even hope, and this was one of them. The questions which he was about to ask, were merely with a view to procure information, and it would depend on the answers, whether he should think it necessary to render them the grounds of any subsequent motion. The first question, then, was, why the accounts on which the East India Budget must be founded, were not as yet on the table, for the house must be aware that it was now three years since the last view of the state of India Finances had been given on full and authentic documents. This was a point of great importance, and worthy of the serious attention of the house. But this was not what he had particularly in view at this time, and the material object of his rising, was to obtain information on a subject which ought to be before the house. The first part related to the transaction at Vellore; a transaction, melancholy and disastrous in its immediate effects, and to the last degree dangerous, with a view to its ultimate consequences. Whether, therefore, we looked back upon the past, or forward to the future, it was essentially necessary, that on this point the house should be in possession of some authentic information, and he hoped that ministers, whoever they were, would not withhold that information. Addressing himself, then, to the right hon. gent., who, it was understood, had just retired from the office of president of the Board of Controul, he wished to know from him, whether he had received official information from India on this point, or any information upon the correctness of which he could depend? Whether the house would give him credit or not, he would assure them that this transaction was one of the most dangerous kind with regard to its consequences, and he begged of the house not to shut their eyes to it, because the danger was distant in point of local situation. But this was not all; he believed that other advices had been received within a few days past, of greater consequence than the information relative to the affair at Vellore. He alluded to the situation of the Carnatic, which had filled the government of Madras with the utmost alarm. So great, indeed, was this alarm, that an application had been made by the Madras government to general Maitland, governor of Ceylon, for an amount of force consisting of all the European troops in that settlement. He had no official information of this; but he had heard it from what he considered as very good private authority. If, then, any information of this sort had come to the India House, he hoped the proper persons would consider it as their duty to lay it before the house. In the mean time he wished to know, whether, in point of fact, official or authentic information of this nature had been received. He assured the house that the information to which he referred went to the very existence of our power in India. He had long wished to give up all concern with the affairs of India, on account of the inadequate effects which he had found to result from his earnest and frequent appeals to the house on that subject. But this, however, was not solely an Indian subject, it was one materially connected with the prosperity and perhaps the existence of this country. In the same manner, whatever materially affected Ireland was not only an Irish but a British subject, as the interest of both were, in a great measure, identified.—Mr. *Huskisson* spoke to order. He apprehended that it was irregular to go into a long statement when a member rose merely to ask a question.

The *Speaker* agreed that it was irregular.

Sir *P. Francis* had no other intention than merely to justify his asking those questions, and, as he had done this, he would trespass on the attention of the house no further.

Mr. *Tierney* rose to give such answers as he could to the questions of his hon. friend. To the question, why no account relative to the finances of India had been laid before the house, the answer was that none could be laid, as they had not as yet arrived. One year's accounts might, indeed, have been made out, and it was his intention to have brought forward these, as might be recollected from the notice he had given. But when he found that he was immediately to have a successor, and that, in fact, for some days past, he only held the office as a *locum tenens*, he thought that it would be more proper, under all the circumstances, not to take the affair out of the hands of others. He trusted it would not be thought that there was any neglect on his part. There were none arrived but the accounts to which he had adverted, and these he supposed were not those to which his hon. friend had referred in his question. As to the question respecting the transaction at Vellore, the East India board was in possession of authentic documents relative to that point, which would enable them to form a complete judgment upon the whole affair. As to the third question, relative to the situation of the Carnatic, he could assure his hon. friend, that his private information was wrong. No application had been made for troops to general Maitland by the Madras government. There was one general, indeed, who finding himself in difficult circumstances had applied to the governor of Ceylon for some troops, but no regular advices on this subject had arrived from India. General Maitland, with that attention to his duty, and to the interests of his country, for which he was distinguished, had taken the first opportunity of sending the earliest notice of the state of India, but no regular advices had come from India itself. As to the affair at Vellore, if a motion was made for laying any information on that point before the house, the board of controul would, of course, judge how far it would be prudent to comply.

[MOTION RESPECTING THE OFFICE OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER, &c.]——Mr. *Henry Martin* rose, pursuant to notice, to submit his motion to the house; and he had to regret that this task had not fallen into abler hands. He felt that he had little claim to the consideration of the house, and trusted that some gentleman of greater talents would come forward to support the question which he looked upon it as his duty to bring under the consideration of the house. But before he should enter into the grounds of his motion, or of the propriety of bringing it forward, he wished to clear away every suspicion that he was actuated by any motives of hostility towards the right hon. and learned gent. (Mr. Perceval) who was the object of it. With that gentleman he had the pleasure and the honour of being long acquainted, and he entertained the highest respect for his abilities and character. Much as he was attached to the honourable persons who composed his majesty's late administration, he could assure the house, that in bringing forward this motion, he was actuated by no party motive. He wished also to shew, that in doing this, he was not doing any thing that would trench upon the prerogative of the crown. From the year 1660 to the present time, there appeared but two instances in which the office of chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to which his motion particularly applied, had been granted for life. The result of the inquiry, which he had been able to make upon so short a notice was, that it had not in any other instance been granted for life within that period of 147 years. This would satisfy the house that his motion for an address, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to grant this place according to the usual practice, would not interfere with his royal prerogative. The first instance in which it had been granted for life, was in 1717, when it had been granted to lord Lechmere who had for a long time filled the office of attorney general. He should establish the difference between the cases. In that instance, the person had been raised to the peerage when all the avenues to his profession were shut against him, and it was thought right to give him some provision for life in reward of his services. The next instance was in 1782, when the place of chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had been granted for life to lord Ashburton. He was anxious to state all that he had been able to find on the subject. Gentlemen must not suppose him ignorant of the cases that bore upon his motion. But under what circumstances had that noble lord received this office? He had filled the office of solicitor general; had been long at the head of his profession; and had distinguished himself in that house as much as the learned gent. opposite, but in a far different manner. He had distinguished himself in the support of the rights of the people, and of the authority of parliament, in which way he had never heard of the learned gent. having distinguished himself. That noble lord having got a peerage, when all the law offices were full, it had been thought right by the persons with whom he had acted in parliament, to give him the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster for life. But it had not been granted to him to induce him to accept another office of honour and emolument. It was granted for services already performed. These were all the cases that he could find of such a grant; and, therefore, the motion for an address to his majesty, to make the grant in the usual manner, could not interfere with the prerogative; and there was a precedent of an address, the same in substance, though not in form, with that which he proposed to move. That address had been voted on the 23d of December 1783, on the occasion of a rumour that it was in his majesty's contemplation to grant this place for life, or for any other term than during pleasure, up to a particular period. He was aware of the difference between that resolution and the motion he intended to make, but at that time a report was expected from the committee of offices and accounts, which might recommend the abolition or modification of the office. He was not, however, so wedded to the words of his motion, as not to consent to modify it in any manner that the house might think proper. He did not know whether the committee at present inquiring into what offices ought to be abolished or regulated, might not be of the same opinion as Mr. Burke, that this office ought to be altogether abolished. But he did think that it would become a question in that committee, how far the grant of places for life was a grievance. For his part he looked upon such grants as equally grievances with the grants in reversion, and was of opinion, that no person should grant places except during his own life, unless for distinguished services. In such cases, he would admit the propriety of grants for life, as a remuneration for the services performed. But the hon. and learned gent. was to have another situation, which was in itself a place of great honour and emolument, and therefore could have no claim to the grant for life of such an office as that of the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. Were the gentlemen who were to become his majesty's ministers to be tempted by such means to accept offices, which were generally objects of honourable ambition? He did not mean to confine his motion to the particular case, but rested it upon general principles, to extend to all such offices pending the existence of that committee, from whose labours he was convinced the house and the public service would derive so much benefit. His motion would not, at all events, be liable to the objection made to a resolution moved the preceding day by the chairman of the committee, and recommended by the committee, that it was an innovation, because in the course of 147 years, there appeared but two instances in which the place had been granted for life. An address had also been voted of a similar nature on a former occasion, with which his majesty had complied, and had been graciously pleased to reply that he would not grant the office for life, and he had never since so granted it. It might be said, that he had taken the house by surprize. It ill became him to speak of himself, but every man who knew him, must know that he was incapable of taking the house by surprise. The motion had arisen out of the discussion the preceding day, and the delay of a few hours might have rendered it nugatory. It might also be asked, why he had not brought forward the motion under the late administration? To this he should answer, that they were incapable of any such proceeding, because they had shewn no disposition to grasp at every thing they could secure, because they had shewn the disinterested principles upon which they acted, by abstaining from granting any places in reversion. The hon. and learned gent. concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased not to grant the office of chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, or any other office not usually granted for life, for any other term than during pleasure."

The Hon. *J. W. Ward* rose to second the motion, to which he gave his full and cordial approbation. The motion for the address to his majesty was recommended to the house by every principle of reason, and all the authority of precedent. The precedents shewed incontestibly that the motion would not interfere with the royal prerogative, and the reason of the thing was so obvious, as not to require illustration. Every grant of a place for life had a direct tendency to impair the dignity of the crown. Any other measure might be condemned upon certain particular grounds, but this was a proceeding which was to be resisted upon every consideration of reason, policy, and interest. The practice, if permitted, would impair the dignity and means of the crown. It would abridge the exercise of the power of punishing weak, wicked, or corrupt ministers, by depriving them of their offices, and take away from the crown the power of bestowing those offices on wise and virtuous ministers; it would remove all *locus penitentiæ* from the sovereign, by tying up his hands with respect to offices which he might once have conferred on unworthy objects, and be an injury to the rights and interests of the people. Unavailing would be the complaint of the people under their sufferings; it would not be in the power of the crown to revoke such grants, after they had been once made. Grants of this description appeared to him unconstitutional under all circumstances. They had the effect of raising up a race of men to live upon the wealth of the public, and to make them alike independent of the sovereign, who might promote them, and of the people, by whom the means were supplied for their support. As the grant of places for life therefore had such a direct tendency to deprive the crown of the power of punishing weak or wicked, and of rewarding its meritorious servants, the motion for the address should have his warmest support.

Mr. *Perceval*, had felt so anxious to be present at the discussion of this question, that he had delayed accepting the office which, but for the notice given by the honourable gentleman the preceding night, he should, ere this, have held. He thought it his duty by his presence to take care that if the house thought fit to address his majesty, it should be on accurate statements, and that no uncertain rumours should usurp the place of facts. He could not for a moment suppose, whatever might be the motives of his hon. and learned friend, that the present motion proceeded from any personal ill-will towards himself, because, in the whole of his intercourse with his learned friend, he was not conscious of a single circumstance from which such ill-will could arise. It was unquestionably true, that he had received an offer from his majesty of the chancellorship of the exchequer, accompanied with a grant of the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster for life; and that, but for his learned friend's notice, he should at that moment have been in possession of both those situations; his learned friend, therefore, was not chargeable with surprise in bringing forward his motion at so short a notice, as otherwise the season of it would have gone by. He was not in the house the preceding evening; but understanding that such a notice had been given, instead of approaching his sovereign for the purpose of receiving his appointment to office, he had approached him with a request that the appointment might not take place on that day, that he might have an opportunity of addressing the house on the subject; and still more, that his majesty might not be fettered, in consequence of any advice that the house might think proper to offer him. This request was accompanied with an assurance, as his majesty had been pleased to think that he could be an useful servant, that, whatever might be the pleasure of his majesty in consequence of any address from the house of commons, although it should deprive him of the duchy of Lancaster, formerly offered, it would not in the slightest degree abate his wish to serve his majesty. Unquestionably, though in the first instance he should not have felt justified in neglecting his duty to his family by quitting a lucrative profession without the prospect of something like compensation, yet when he found his majesty thought his services might be advantageous to the interest of the country, and when he saw the crisis in which that country was placed, he felt it no longer to be a matter of option with him, but that whatever might be the consequences to himself, his sovereign should command the utmost exertion of his humble abilities. With respect to the two precedents alluded to by his learned friend, he would not compare himself with the object of either, but that lord Ashburton should be allowed, without notice, to accept for life the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, impressed on him the belief that no parliamentary objection existed against such an appointment. Lord Ashburton was taken out of the profession of the law by an administration professedly of pure Whig principles, that of lord Rockingham; and the grant to him of the duchy of Lancaster was afterwards confirmed to him under the administration of a near relative of the noble lord opposite (the marquis of Lansdowne). Lord Ashburton was a man with whom it would certainly be presumptuous for him to compare himself, but his majesty might think proper at different times to reward services done to different branches of the constitution. The most distinguished service of that learned lord was the famous resolution proposed by him in the house of commons, "that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." Such a person having received that appointment, under such an administration, had led him to think that the present motion would not have been seconded or supported by the representatives of the Whig principles in that house, and that it would not have received the countenance of an administration whose first act had been, not merely to advise the king to any due exercise of his prerogative, but to introduce into parliament a measure, by which a noble lord was enabled to hold two situations constitutionally incompatible with each other. The arguments of the hon. gentlemen opposite were applicable against every grant of an office for life, as well as his own; they were applicable to that exception from the practice so loudly boasted by the late administration, of withholding reversionary grants, in which the chancellor, to reward the private meritorious services of an individual, had procured for him the reversion for life of a lucrative situation. Surely, if the clerk of a barrister was not an improper person on whom to confer such a grant, it seemed extraordinary that he (Mr. Perceval) should be considered so. Although he acquitted his learned friend of any improper intentions, he should leave it to the house to consider, whether this motion arose from any large and general view of the subject, or whether it was not directed solely against him; he did not mean to say personally, but from his being supposed to have facilitated the arrangements for a new administration. It would therefore be a serious subject for the consideration of the house, whether in the present state and crisis of the country, and when all the circumstances connected with the new arrangement were before them, when they recollected that the object of forming a new administration was to preserve the establishments of the country, and perhaps the religion of it, whether they would be disposed to throw any difficulties in the way of his majesty in forming a new administration, when he conceived that in so doing he was only labouring to preserve the constitution of the country. Having said thus much, he thought that he ought to leave the subject to the discretion and judgment of the house, and that as it particularly related to himself he should withdraw, after having put the house in possession of his sentiments; but before he withdrew, he should repeat, that whatever might be their determination on the subject of the duchy of Lancaster, and whatever sacrifices he might be called upon to make, no services that he could be called upon to render to his majesty should in the present situation of affairs be withheld.—Mr. Perceval then made his bow, and left the house.

Mr. *Plumer* rose merely to vindicate himself from the charge that was yesterday brought against him, of making a statement in that house on the mere authority of an idle rumour. It appeared now, from what had fallen from the right hon. and learned gent. that his statement had been perfectly correct, and that if it had not been for the notice taken of it last night in the house, the business would have gone too far to remedy it, and the right hon. gent. would have now been in the possession of the two places. He did not pretend to deny the merit of the right hon. gent., or mean any thing personal against him, but he had a great objection to the principle of giving a great place for life, merely as an inducement to a person to accept of an office in the service of the country, the emoluments of which had hitherto been considered a sufficient compensation.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, that if he had not been so personally alluded to by the right hon. and learned gent. he did not think he should have troubled the house with any observations upon the present question. He was ready to join perfectly with the hon.

gent. who had brought forward this motion, in disclaiming any thing like personal hostility or personal reflection upon the right hon. and learned gent. who was the most immediately interested in the present motion; and he had no hesitation in stating, that if the salary annexed to the situation of chancellor of the exchequer was not sufficient (and he believed it was not), he should have no objection to granting such an augmentation to it, as would afford a reasonable and proper compensation for the services which might be expected from the right hon. gent. But although he certainly did object to a place for life being given to that gentleman, in order to induce him to accept the situation; yet as he had not before said a word upon the subject, he did not know how the right hon. gent. had discovered that he so warmly supported the motion. He thought it was also somewhat strange that he should be charged with acting inconsistently, or in a manner disrespectful to the memory of his near relation, (the marquis of Lansdown) if he was not to be bound completely by those precedents of the year 1762, or 1783. He thought there was a great difference between the cases cited and the present; but if there was not, he should not think it quite fair to charge him with inconsistency, if he should hold a different opinion. That relation, so near and dear to him, (the marquis of Lansdown, his father) had abundant claims upon his love and respect, without adverting to the case of lord Ashburton. But, however sincerely he was bound to respect his opinions and his memory, there were no ties of relationship, or private affection and respect, which could prevent him in that house from expressing his own opinion on any subject that came before them for discussion. The case of lord Lechmere he conceived to be quite distinct and separate from the present: as to the case of lord Ashburton, it must be recollected that the place of the duchy of Lancaster was not given him as an inducement to take another place, but as a means of supporting the dignity of the peerage to which he had been raised, not only on account of his great merits, but for the service and assistance he could render as a law lord. Lord Ashburton was then looked up to by every body as the fittest successor to lord Mansfield as Chief Justice of the King's Bench, which was the highest object of legal ambition. His majesty had been advised to confer the peerage upon him, and that he should not want suitable means of supporting its dignity until the Chief Justiceship should be vacant, this place was conferred upon him. This was a case, which, he conceived, was totally different from the present. If the salary of the chancellor of the exchequer were not sufficient, it might be recollected, that there were a great number of other offices which might be given as a reward for services, when those services should have been actually performed; but he objected to the giving away the means of rewarding great services, merely to induce persons to become members of an administration. He considered that it was a most serious and unconstitutional attack on the most important prerogatives of the crown, to deprive it of all power and means of rewarding great public services, by taking the best places and gifts that it was in the power of the crown to bestow, before any of those services had been performed. He thought that the crown ought not to have been advised to limit its powers and prerogatives in this manner. Upon the subject of the alienation of crown lands, it had been always observed, that in whatever proportion the crown gave away to individuals its possessions and its right, in that proportion it became weaker, and it was the same with respect to lucrative offices. If they were all given away directly or in reversion to one set of ministers, the crown left itself without that patronage and power of rewarding great services, which it ought to possess. A recent and very remarkable case had occurred some years ago in corroboration of this opinion. On an arrangement that was then proposed, this very place was offered to lord Sidmouth, who had rendered considerable service during his long and meritorious discharge of his duties as Speaker. Lord Sidmouth declined it, and said he could not bring himself to be the instrument of alienating from the crown the means of rewarding greater public services than he had as yet been able to perform. It was not as a testimony in favour of lord Sidmouth that he mentioned this, for the noble lord required no such testimony of his disinterested conduct; but he mentioned it merely for the information of those members who were not previously acquainted with the circumstance. The principle upon which lord Sidmouth refused it applied with much greater strength to the present case; besides, it was known, that there was a committee of the house now constituted, for the express purpose of considering what useless and sinecure offices might be abolished; and as it was possible that the committee might consider this to be among the number, he thought that it should not be thus disposed of, in a manner contrary to all usage, before the opinion of the committee was pronounced upon it.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* could not help expressing his surprise at the manner in which this motion was supported, and his astonishment at the hon. and learned quarter whence it originated. When he recollected that the hon. and learned gent. who brought forward the motion was acquainted with the talents, integrity, and disinterestedness of his right hon. friend—(Here there was a continued cry of hear! hear! mixed with laughter.)—A more honourable, a more liberal, a more independent, and a more disinterested character never existed—(hear! hear!)—He would go farther, and say, that if his right hon. and learned friend accepted of both places, he would make a large sacrifice by abandoning his professional pursuits in return. He should like to know, then, whence arose the surprise of hon. gentlemen opposite, when the word disinterestedness was mentioned? It could be from personal motives only. He was surprised that the noble lord who had lately left his majesty's councils, should throw any embarrassment in the way of the new administration, when that embarrassment tended to impede the usual exercise of the prerogative of the crown. The value of the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster did not exceed 2000l. per annum; and was this too large an equivalent for the fruits of his right hon. friend's professional exertions? He further contended, that the grant of the place in question for life was an usual grant (hear! hear! from the opposition). Well, if it was not an usual grant, he was at least warranted in saying, that it was not an unprecedented one. He maintained that there was no difference between the present case and that of lord Ashburton, although it had been attempted to set up some kind of distinction. There had much been said during a late debate, as to the economy of the late administration with respect to the grant of reversions; he had since inquired into it, and had found, that three reversions only fell within the power of the late administration, and that of those three they had already granted two [here several members of the late administration distinctly said, "state them, state them."] Perhaps, upon recollection, he was not quite warranted in the conclusion he had drawn; one of the two he had alluded to was, he believed, upon consideration, not the grant of a reversion. He had also understood from the noble lord (H. Petty) that lord Ashburton was to keep the place in question for life, besides that of Chief Justice of the Court of the King's Bench (a general cry of no! no!); perhaps he was mistaken, he might have misunderstood the noble lord; but if he did not misunderstand him in another point, he could not abstain from expressing his surprise as to that point. The noble lord had talked of the committee of finance, as entitled to inquire into the state and utility of the office now in question. The noble lord ought to have known, that that office belonged to his majesty's privy purse, and therefore could not possibly come under the cognizance of that committee. Before he sat down he could not help expressing his surprize, that the noble lord (Howick) had fixed upon to-morrow for a certain important explanation, when that noble lord must have been aware, that the leading persons most interested in the discussion, and who had their story to tell, must by that time have vacated their seats by accepting the new appointments.

Mr. *Sharpe* said, that if he were to judge from the specimen just given to the house, he should not expect that the new administration would be good at making convincing speeches. He could not help seriously expressing his surprise at the assertion of the hon gent. who spoke last, that there was no difference between the present case and that of lord Ashburton. It was painful to him to enter into any personal comparison, but he hoped the house would acquit him of any invidious motive. Mr. Dunning was indisputably at the head of his profession. He was shut out from the great emoluments of such a situation, by being advanced to the upper house. As to the right hon. gent. in question; the least he could say, was that that right hon. gent. certainly was not at the head of his profession. He (Mr. Sharpe) had repeatedly in the course of not a very short life, discharged the duties of a juror, and yet it had been his great misfortune never once to have had his understanding enlightened by the professional exertions of the right hon. gent. He would go farther, for the truth was, that the abilities of the right hon. gent. were not known until he had got into an official situation. It might be asked, why did he enter into this unpleasant comparison? because it was of importance to that house and to the country, to know what was the real extent of the professional sacrifices made by the right hon. gent. He had the honour to be a member of the finance committee above stairs so often alluded to; and when he saw that one of the first steps of the new administration was to grasp at so considerable a sinecure at the same time that he saw them so far descend as to endeavour to justify themselves by recrimination, it would make him more cautious, and encourage him to prosecute his labours with greater diligence, in order that the report might be made before that premature extinction which he foresaw was intended for the present parliament. The hon. gent. concluded with expressing his intire concurrence in the motion.

Mr. *Montague* rose, to contradict, substantially and directly, the statement made by the hon. gentleman who had just sat down, as far as that statement related to the professional eminence of his right hon. friend. The hon. mover knew well that eminence; and he contended that his right hon. friend must lose considerably by his present appointment, that is, he would give up more than he would receive. He contended, upon the word of a gentleman, that such was the fact. His right hon. friend had made even a greater sacrifice; he had given up the post of attorney general, to which he had an undisputed claim. Was he to receive no equivalent for the loss of eight or ten thousand pounds a year? Gentlemen might laugh, but he was anxious to convince fair men only; he was anxious that his arguments should weigh with fair men only, and he was free to say that gentlemen on the opposite side were not fair, nor disposed to be so (a general cry of order! order!)

Lord *Howick* spoke to order. It was extremely irregular to impute unfairness to any member.

Mr. *Montague*, in continuation, said, that he was willing to make every apology; he begged pardon of the house for any temporary inadvertence; he could assure them that it was not intentional. He begged of the house to consider the case of his right hon. friend, obliged to turn his back on his profession, with a numerous family and absolute distress before him, if he was not to be recompensed: besides that, it would be peculiarly distressing, as affecting the arrangements making by his majesty, arrangements rendered necessary by the dereliction of those very men (here several gentlemen rose to order!)

The *Speaker* said, that as the house had already admitted statements not immediately connected with the question now before it, it was hard for him, during the remainder of the debate, precisely to determine the exact limits of order. The house had suffered the debate to take a turn, which it was not for him to change; as to any expressions of a disorderly nature, he should be prepared to detect and resist them.

Lord *Howick* did not think the hon gent. when he was interrupted actually out of order, but he much feared, that the hon. member, had he not been then interrupted, was hurrying into that which would have called for serious animadversion.

Mr. *Montague*, in continuation, said, that if a member did not intend to be disorderly, whatever expressions might have fallen from him, that member was not to be put down by clamour. He addressed himself to the independent members of that house, and to their attention did he particularly address himself (another cry of order, order! chair, chair!).

The *Speaker* wished the honourable member to recollect, that in the language of that house no such distinction between its members was recognised.

Mr. *Montague*, in continuation, again apologised, stating, that the distinction he meant was between those seeking for places and pensions, and those who were not candidates for either. He himself was one of the latter, for he never had nor never would solicit a place, though he had been so long in habits of the strictest intimacy with a great and leading statesman. He should conclude with stating, that had it not been for the unseasonable interruptions he had met with, he should not have been upon his legs so long.

Mr. *Henry Thornton* said he could not give his vote on this occasion without requesting to be indulged in a few words to qualify it. No man entertained a higher opinion of the right honourable gentleman, who was the subject of the present debate, than he did; and therefore, in supporting the present question, he wished to be considered more as giving a declaratory vote upon general principles, than as intending any opposition to the arrangement made; he voted merely upon a dry abstract principle, and not at all from party motives. It was his opinion that places usually held under the crown during pleasure ought not to be granted for life. Whether, as a member of the Committee of Finance, and having breathed so long the air of that committee, he came down to the house now to give his vote with greater strictness than usual, he would not pretend to determine; but his vote was certainly the result of his conviction upon the subject.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, he should not have risen to trouble the house, but for the purpose of making an observation, in answer to some allusions made to him by an honourable member who spoke early in the debate (Mr. Plumer), in respect to what he had said last night. The honourable member, it was true, had last night stated, what turned out to be founded in fact, as proved by the declaration of a right honourable gentleman this evening (Mr. Perceval), but when he did state the circumstance, he avowed no other ground than rumour, unsupported by any authentic reference. Adverting to the comparisons which had been made by gentlemen on the other side of the house, between the case now under consideration, and those of lord Ashburton and lord Lechmere, he thought there was very little difference. But he could not refrain from some observations upon the conduct of those honourable gentlemen themselves, when they were taking credit for so much purity and disinterestedness. He would ask, how they could reconcile with those assumptions, the indecency of pressing upon that house on their first accession to office, and at nine o'clock at night, two successive stages of a bill for enabling the noble lord at the head of the late administration (lord Grenville) to hold as a sinecure the office of Auditor of the Exchequer, with large emoluments annexed, and the duties of which were to be done by another; and this at the same time that another noble lord at the head of the family enjoyed the Tellership of the Exchequer with emoluments almost incalculable? How could they reconcile with this boasted purity the extraordinary increase made in the salary of First Lord of the Admiralty, lately enjoyed by another branch of that noble family, and this not avowed to parliament in an open manly way, but effected by a secret fund? How could that right honourable gentleman reconcile to his purity the calling on the house for 3000l. for the expences of further continuing the commission of naval enquiry, and not say a word about his own salary? With respect to the Committee of Finance, for which those honourable gentlemen took so much credit to themselves, so far from their having the merit to originate the measure, it was rather forced upon them by the patriotism of his honourable friend opposite to him (Mr. Biddulph); but when the late ministers found the measure was too popular to be resisted, the noble lord (Petty) adopted it, and claimed that as his own, which he had no right to arrogate. The honourable gentlemen boasted much of their economical arrangements; but what had they done for the country in effect? They had indeed appointed commissioners of accounts without number; but what had these effected? The West India Commissioners, who had been so long appointed, at large salaries, had not even yet sailed upon their mission; and as to the army accounts, nothing appeared to have been effected there. Such had been the conduct of these patrons of reform! In short, he apprehended that whenever those honourable gentlemen should come to state what they really had done, their explanation would be something like what occurred between general Stanhope and general Walpole upon a former occasion, namely, nothing better than mutual reproach and mutual recrimination. Those men were the fathers of the house of commons at that day, and the house, in pity to their nakedness, turned their backs upon them, and so he hoped they would do upon these honourable gentlemen.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that it was not the first time he had observed in the honourable gentleman who had just sat down an eagerness to attack the late administration and its friends, though certainly the present, like every former attempt, evinced rather an avidity to attack than a power to be offensive. He was glad, however, to see in the present attack something like a philosophical neutrality, and that as the late administration had had the misfortune of the honourable gentleman's opposition, so the present would be now likely to come in for its due share. The honourable gentleman had said a great deal about independence, and had congratulated himself in an angry tone upon his having no place under any government. He (Mr. Sheridan) could only say, that he was no divulger of private secrets; but he might make some allusion to a certain public message, which he had been deputed to deliver to a right honourable friend, now no more (Mr. Fox) at the formation of the late administration. He was sure the honourable gentleman perfectly understood him (a general laugh). He was rather inclined to believe, from the nature of that message, that the honourable gentleman, notwithstanding his present acrimony, might then have been completely dulcified towards that terrible administration he had been so much of late in the habit of condemning; aye, and disinterestedly condemning too; or disin*terest*edly, if such pronunciation better suited the taste of the honourable gentleman, whether classical or vulgar. It was unnecessary to explain more. He believed the honourable gentleman perfectly understood him.——The honourable gentleman had arraigned the late ministry for having abandoned their public professions. Having made such a charge, the onus of the proof lay with the honourable gentleman; and he (Mr. Sheridan) defied him to produce any instance in which the late ministers had for a moment shrunk from the principles which they had professed, not merely on their coming into power, but during the continuance of that power. They were denied the credit of the committee of finance. Did they not support it, and encourage it to the utmost of their power? What had been the principle of that committee? Economy; and what had been the avowed principle of the late ministers? Economy. Was he called on for an instance? He would instance the reduction of the staff; he would instance the barrack department; he would instance the reduction of the department of the commissariat. He would ask the honourable gentleman, if his noble friend near him (lord H. Petty) did not pledge himself at the outset of his administration, to the adoption of every practicable plan of reform and retrenchment in the public expenditure, and if he had not followed up that pledge to the last moment of his official authority? the honourable gentleman wished to deprive his noble friend of all claim to the merit of originating the committee of finance, and to attribute the whole to another honourable gentleman (Mr. Biddulph) from whose merit it was by no means his wish to detract; but he would say, that his noble friend, in adopting that measure with a view of giving it greater extension, by no means wished to deprive the honourable gentleman, who first proposed it, of the credit of originality; but surely his noble friend was entitled to the praise of having promptly adopted the suggestion for the advantage of the public, indifferent from whom it might proceed. Would that honourable gentleman, who was himself a member of that committee. [Here lord Henry Petty suggested to Mr. Sheridan, that the honourable member (Mr. Johnstone) was not a member of that committee; Mr. Sheridan answered loudly, "I am very glad of it," which occasioned a considerable laugh]. He would ask, then, of that honourable gentleman who was not a member of the committee, and might be therefore more impartial, whether the late ministers were not upon this ground particularly entitled to the acknowledgments of the country? Did it appear that there had been any shuffling, or any ministerial balloting in the formation of that committee; was there any obtrusion of minister's friends? He appealed to the chairman himself of that committee, to the honourable gentleman (Mr. Biddulph) with whom the motion that led to the creation of that committee had originated, if such practices had been resorted to. An allusion had been made to the increase of salary in the office of first lord of the admiralty. The salary was confessed to be shamefully low. A noble lord (Melville) whose conduct since had been the subject of such general animadversion, on the same appointment, received, in addition, a considerable salary, levied by the illegal interception of the revenue of Scotland, which salary the noble lord still held though deprived of his place, in virtue of which he originally held it. If, therefore, the charges brought by the honourable gentleman were not to be better founded than those he had already adduced, he (Mr. Sheridan) wished that the honourable gentleman would secure to himself the office of charger general against the late administration and all their friends.—He desired now to pay some attention to the speech of another hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) who had been pleased to charge gentlemen on his side of the house with deriding his arguments, because they could not answer them; the hon. gentleman might, however, have had the politeness to wait a little, and try whether they were able to answer him or not, before he made the assertion. The hon. member had saved them the necessity, by offering them no arguments to answer: and as to every thing else, he had so fully answered himself throughout his speech, that it would be superfluous to answer him any farther. Some comparisons had been made between the case now under discussion, and those of lord Ashburton and lord Lechmere; and some comparisons had also been drawn between the characters and merits of those noble lords, and the right hon. gentleman now the subject of the debate. It was not his province to go into a scrutiny upon merits, and no man more highly esteemed than he did the parliamentary talents of the right hon. gentleman; and therefore he thought the advice to his majesty, of placing him on the opposite bench, was wisely given. He could not enter into a comparison of the number of briefs, fees, and motions which fell to the professional lot of the right hon. gentleman, and which he was to abandon for his new office. But he (Mr. Sheridan), whose lot it was to vindicate his majesty's new ministers from the indiscreet zeal of some of their friends, must beg to observe, that they must be strange friends indeed who could advise the right hon. gentleman to give up his certain professional emoluments of 8 or 10,000l. a year, as alledged, to accept a place of 2,000l. in the experiment to become a tolerable chancellor of the exchequer. It was a sacrifice which the house did not wish the right hon. gentleman to make, but rather that he would keep both his emoluments and his profession; and to those who gave him a contrary counsel, well might he exclaim, "Oh, save me from my friends, I can myself take care of my enemies!" with respect to the comparison made between the right hon. gentleman and lord Ashburton, the cases were totally different. That gentleman, when Mr. Dunning, was at the top of a profession, of which he was the ornament, when he was called up to the house of peers without a place; and if the duchy of Lancaster had not been assigned him, he must have had for his support a pension from the public purse. He, however, accepted the situation for life, on the condition of relinquishing it, so soon as the great object of his professional views was open, namely, the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench; but, notwithstanding the sneers which had been cast this night upon that noble lord, in allusion to his parliamentary conduct, in bringing forward a resolution, "that the influence of the crown had "increased, was increasing, and ought to "be diminished," he thought the circumstance highly honourable to his character, and such as ought not to deprive him of the favour of his sovereign, for only wishing to curb that increasing influence of the ministers of the crown, which added nothing to the comforts, the honour, or the authority of the monarch. And he thought the crown more faithfully and honourably served by the men, such as him, who brought forward this resolution, and that they were more truly the supporters of the constitutional prerogatives of the sovereign, than the men who could advise the measure now in debate. It was extremely painful to him to make any comparisons that might be thought to wear an invidious aspect to the right. hon. gentleman, but he recollected that ever since he was a member of that house he was mostly in office. He had been Attorney General under Mr. Pitt, and Solicitor General under lord Sidmouth; and here he begged leave to pay his tribute of praise to the upright, pure, and honourable conduct of that noble lord, as it had been explained this night, when under the administration of Mr. Pitt, he might have had the place for life, which it was now in contemplation to confer upon the new chancellor of the exchequer, had his honourable scruples permitted him to become the instrument of limitation to the prerogative and constitutional influence of his royal master. During the short period of the learned gentleman's opposition, the air of this side of the house did not seem to agree with him, and he was now got back to the balmy and blissful atmosphere of the Treasury Bench.—The honourable member had asked, will you deprive his majesty of the learned gentleman's services in that office for which he had been thought qualified? Now really he was of opinion, that if gentlemen on the opposite side possessed any thing at all, they were swarming with chancellors of the exchequer, (a laugh.) Even a noble lord and a gallant general had lately proposed their plans of finance to the house; why not make either of them chancellors of the exchequer? Why not make the gallant general attorney-general? (a laugh.)—Among all their financiers, not one could be found to fill the office, but a gentleman who, though a very frequent speaker in the house, had never, to his knowledge, uttered one word on the subject of finance in his life.

Mr. *Johnstone*, in explanation, stated that he neither had nor would have applied to the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down for the purpose of procuring him any appointment upon the occasion alluded to, and for two reasons, the first, that he knew, if he had applied, the right honourable gentleman was too much engaged in providing for himself and his family, to attend to any agency for others; and secondly, because if he had requested the right honourable gentleman to undertake the commission, he was pretty sure that, although he might promise, he would have been very apt to forget it. Now the fact was, upon the case referred to by the right honourable gentleman, simply no more than this. After stating to the right honourable gentleman the substance of some conversations which he had with an illustrious person, now no more, (Mr. Fox) he did communicate to that right honourable gentleman, and authorize him to mention his readiness to accept of any office to which no salary should be attached, and in which he might be able to make himself useful. He remembered that he particularly mentioned Indian affairs, from his knowledge of which he stated to the right honourable gentleman his opinion that he should be able to render some service to his country. In offering to accept a situation in the conduct of those affairs without any emolument for his services, he hoped he was making a proposition which should not expose him to censure, or to the suspicion of any unworthy motives.

Mr. *Sheridan*, in explanation, expressed an unwillingness to fix any imputation on the honourable gentleman. As some persons wished for emoluments, so others wished for honour or patronage. It was not for him to say, of what description the honourable gentleman's ambition was. With respect to the charge of his (Mr. Sheridan) being busy in providing for himself and his family, the fact was, that his right hon. friend, who was now unhappily no more (Mr. Fox), thought, that after a service, he hoped not unmeritorious, of twenty-seven years in parliament, some provision for life ought to be made for him. It had happened rather singularly, that his right honourable friend had intimated, that the office that had been so much spoken of that night, the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, should be appropriated to that provision; but, on consulting with his colleagues, his right honourable friend found that they had formed a determination not to grant for life this office, or any other, usually held during pleasure. On being informed of this determination, he entreated his right honourable friend by no means to press the matter, and thus he remained without a provision for life, and this office was reserved for the disposal of the new ministers.

Mr. *Simeon* thought the right of granting the office in question for life ought not to be much exercised. He thought it wrong, however, to adopt a general restriction with a view to a particular case. He regretted that the question should now be brought forward to prevent the formation of a new administration. He wished the late administration to have remained in place. But the new administration were better than none, and therefore he was unwilling to see its formation impeded. If the crown had the power of granting the office for life to lord Lechmere and lord Ashburton, it had also the power of granting it in the present case, and who had a right to interfere with the discretion of the crown in the exercise of that power?

Mr. *Fuller* said, he should be always forward to support the just exercise of his majesty's prerogative; but he confessed that he must disapprove of the manner in which it was understood that this prerogative was now about to be applied, and therefore he would support this motion. For the sake of the king's own interest he would support this motion; because he did not like the idea of his majesty's giving away places for life. On the contrary, he would advise him to keep such places subject to his disposal, for those men who served him. He would recommend to the king to keep the key of the oat-chest himself, and not give it to others; for he might rely upon it, that if he did not retain the power of serving those men, they would not serve him. It would be much better for his majesty that all places for life were converted into places during pleasure than to allow any increase of the former. This he said with a view to the king's own interest; for he regarded his majesty much, for his firm attachment to the constitution. He declared, that in his opinion the names of George the Third, Nelson, and William Pitt, ought to be engraven on the hearts of all Englishmen, for the noble services they had rendered to their country; for having in fact been the saviours of our glorious constitution. As to the right honourable gentleman to whom this motion was understood particularly to refer, he declared that he could see no reasonable objection to him, compared with those who preceded him in the office to which he was said to be appointed, especially when he considered how young the man was who held that office in the late administration.

Mr. *Wilberforce* had the honour, he said, to have been very long acquainted with the principles and character of the right honourable gentleman to whom this motion was understood more immediately to refer, and he sincerely believed him a man of the highest disinterestedness and public spirit. With this impression strongly upon his mind, his opinion must be, that that right honourable gentleman himself would have come forward to render this debate unnecessary, if it were not that, from the manner in which a notice of the motion had been given, the remarks which had been made the preceding night, and other circumstances, such a proceeding might appear the effect of intimidation, than which nothing, he was persuaded, was less likely to have effect upon the mind of that right honourable gentleman. However, the motion was such as he could not hesitate to support.

The *Master of the Rolls* having had no opportunity of inquiring fully into the merits of the general proposition which this motion involved, could not think himself justified in voting for its adoption. There were, in his opinion, a variety of topics, which ought to be fully investigated before such a motion was acceded to. There were many places held for life which ought to be converted into places during pleasure, and, *vice versa*, there were also many places, the tenure of which ought to be left entirely to the discretion of his majesty, and of which nature the place to which this motion was understood to refer might be one; the house surely would not venture to decide without any enquiry or deliberation whatever. If the case were determined in the very hasty manner proposed, he was rather afraid that the public would not give the house credit for acting dispassionately, in being actuated by the motives which the advocates professed to have in view; for it would be very naturally asked, if such motives prevailed, why should a question of this nature be brought forward in a hurry? When the honourable gentlemen who supported this motion reprobated the practice of granting for life such a place as it particularly alluded to, did they feel that they were reflecting on the conduct of the marquis of Rockingham and Mr. Fox, in 1782, and that it was a corrupt act, so to grant the same place to lord Ashburton? But his main objection to this motion at present, the learned gentleman stated to be this, that it took up a broad and general question upon mere personal grounds; and this he the more regretted, because his right honourable friend to whom it alluded, was certainly one who gave up, it was notorious, a very high and lucrative situation in his profession, for the purpose of serving his sovereign and his country in another department, by which act he certainly ought not to be allowed to suffer any loss: but taking a view of the proposition under discussion, upon general grounds, he would appeal to the candour and good sense of the house, whether if a case of universally acknowledged merit should arise, to which a place of this nature ought to be given for life, the house should so limit the prerogative as to prevent his majesty from granting it; whether if a case, for instance, such as that of lord Ashburton should occur the day following, the house itself would not regret the imposition of such a restraint? He would therefore put it to the house, whether it would not be extremely rash to adopt a resolution of this nature, restraining the legitimate prerogative of the crown, without any inquiry or deliberation as to its tendency and probable consequences?

Lord *Howick*, denied the right hon. and learned gentleman's assertion, that this motion went to impose any improper restraint upon the royal prerogative, or that it could in any degree be considered an innovation or invasion of that prerogative. For, in point of fact, what did it propose? Why, nothing more than this, that a place should not be granted for life, which had been heretofore held only during pleasure. He was not at present disposed to enter into a discussion as to the extent of the king's prerogative; but this he had no difficulty in saying, that this prerogative did not authorise the grant of places for life, which had been heretofore held during pleasure. This motion, therefore, only proposed to advise his majesty not to do that which according to law he was not warranted in doing. The conduct towards the judges, in the reign of William the Third, had no reference whatever to the case now under consideration. If, indeed, the crown could grant places of this nature for life, why not by and by grant the chancellorship of the exchequer itself, or the lord chancellorship for life? A case of the latter having been so appointed had no doubt occurred in the person of Wolsey. But, what were the remarks of lord Coke upon that subject? Why, that the principle of such an appointment was utterly objectionable, that it was not legal to grant those places for life which it had been heretofore usual to hold during pleasure. Such, then, was the object of this motion. It proposed only to declare the law to the crown, in order that no deviation from it should take place. With regard to the precedents referred to in the course of the debate, he had not had time to look into all the proceedings upon them; but in the case of lord Ashburton, he believed that the propriety of the grant made to that noble lord was at that time much disputed, and, in his opinion, very justly. For, much as he respected the merits of that great man, he certainly should not have voted for such a measure, as he could not think it was a legal grant. To the memory and character of the marquis of Rockingham, although he was too young to have had the happiness of any acquaintance with him, no one could be more willing than he was to pay the utmost tribute of respect. Towards another distinguished member (lord Lansdowne) of that administration under which that grant took place, he felt both respect and gratitude, for to that noble lord he owed much personal kindness. But still he could not express any approbation of the grant they thought proper to sanction, either upon the grounds of constitutional principle or expediency. The right honourable and learned gentleman seemed to allude to some instances of persons being rewarded by pensions for quitting the lucrative profession of the law to engage in politics. He really never heard of any such instance. [the case of lord Grantley was mentioned across the table.] But, resumed the noble lord, that case does not apply; for that noble lord, who was Speaker of the house of commons, was placed in a situation where legal knowledge was essential to the performance of his duty, and that knowledge augmented his title to the liberality of provision. Lord Ashburton, too, filled an high office in the house of lords, and was a cabinet minister. In both the cases the noble lords alluded to were not taken out of their profession, properly speaking. But such was not the case with the right honourable gentleman referred to in the present debate. He did not mean to speak of that right honourable gentleman with any personal disrespect; but certainly he could not compare his pretensions with those of Mr. Dunning. No, they were not to be placed on the same footing, and therefore the analogy contended for could not hold. But, if the arrangement were to make the right honourable gentleman lord chancellor, he should have no objection, neither should he object to see him occupy any of the high legal offices in that house for which his abilities and habits so peculiarly fitted him; but when he saw him leaving his profession for the purpose of pursuing finance, he could not help feeling some surprise, and something more when it was proposed to give the right honourable gentleman a bonus for this singular transfer. Upon this point, however, he did not mean to say more, for indeed it was unnecessary after the admirable speech of his right honourable friend (Mr. Sheridan), who very justly observed, that of all the other departments, that of chancellor of the exchequer was the one for which the right honourable gentleman seemed to be least qualified. If, however, the right honourable gentleman chose to pursue the career of politics in preference to the career of the law, he must take it with all its risks. It had been, the noble lord observed, ascribed to the party with whom he had the honour to act, that they pretended to comprehend all the talents of the country. If they had ever imagined themselves to be so, it would have been a most arrogant presumption indeed; but they always disclaimed any such pretensions, although it suited the purpose of newspaper libellers to persist in repeating the charge; a charge, indeed, which he, for one, took occasion, as often as opportunity served, to repel. But, without arrogating any extraordinary degree of talents to those with whom he was connected; without attempting any contrast with their opponents, he would ask, what estimate was to be formed of the ability of those honourable gentlemen who felt obliged to go to the law for a chancellor of the exchequer, and to offer him a premium for accepting the office? On this head little remained to be added to what the house had heard from an honourable member (Mr. Sharp), who had afforded such an evidence of talent, in this his first essay, as held out the most flattering promise of future eminence.—With regard to the assertion, that only one reversion had fallen in since the late administration came into power, he could assure the house, that this was a mistake, for there was a very considerable reversion which fell in in an island, and another indeed in an office over which he presided, which he did not think proper to dispose of. Now, surely the disposition made by the lord chancellor of a particular reversion in that noble lord's gift could not be cited as an instance to contradict the assertion he advanced on a former evening relative to the general conduct of the late ministers upon the subject of reversions. The fact of the reversion alluded to in the lord chancellor's gift was not classed by the report of the committee of finance in the list of public reversions, but was always considered as a private place, subject to the sole controul of the officer by whom it had in this instance been disposed of.—Adverting to the observation of an honourable gentleman on the other side (Mr. Sturges Bourne) that he ought not to bring forward on the following day the explanation of which he had given notice, in the absence of those who were acquainted with and competent to answer him upon the subject of that explanation, the noble lord stated, that he was glad those gentlemen were absent; for, said he, it is one which I should hold it to be rather indelicate to canvass. I shall confine myself to a statement of the facts, which are so much misrepresented that I should feel it to be highly improper to suffer such misrepresentations to be further circulated, and particularly so to leave such misrepresentations to operate during the holidays. To this resolution I am the more determined, and the necessity of an early explanation appears the more obvious, from a letter which was shewn me in a newspaper of this morning addressed to lord Grenville and myself. In this letter some extracts from the minutes of the council are inserted, which serve to shew that the writer had seen our minutes; but he has so garbled them as to give a false colour to the whole transaction. I will appeal, then, to the candour of those who hear me, whether I should allow such misrepresentation to go unanswered; whether by postponing the answer, I should suffer the misrepresentation to do mischief; whether it be not more becoming in me to state here, in the proper constitutional place, the real circumstances of the case; or, whether the honourable gentleman would have me condescend to answer the writer in a newspaper? I shall upon this explanation trust to the candour of the house, and to the justice of my country, for the vindication of that line of conduct, which in concert with my colleagues, I have felt it my duty to pursue.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne*, in explanation, said, he had expressed some surprise that the noble lord should think of bringing forward his explanation in the absence of those who alone could know on that side of the house, the circumstances to which the noble lord would have to advert. The noble lord would not suppose, surely, that he had any thing to do with the publication alluded to by the noble lord. He assured him he knew nothing of it.

General *Graham* supported the motion. He had for many years acted with Mr. Pitt, and generally of course with the gentlemen on the other side, particularly during the last parliament, when such proceedings had taken place against a noble viscount, to whom he had the honour to be related (lord Melville,) as were by their violence and injustice a disgrace to the Journals of the house. He regretted sincerely the dismissal of the late administration, and particularly as they were succeeded by men who from their conduct in abandoning the government on the death of Mr. Pitt, from acknowledged incapacity to conduct it, left that on record which furnished an evidence of their present presumption.—The question being then loudly called for, a division took place: when there appeared for the address 208; against it 115; majority 93. While the supporters of the address were in the lobby, order was called, and lord Howick addressed them as follows:—Gentlemen; I understand, that it is intended to propose to morrow, that the house should at its rising adjourn for a much longer time than is usual at this period of the session, or than I think consistent with the present state of affairs, or with my views of the public interest. The adjournment which is to be proposed is to next Monday fortnight. It is my intention, on the grounds I have mentioned, to oppose that motion, and to propose by way of amendment, unless, as I hope, it may be proposed by somebody else, that no longer adjournment should take place than till Monday se'nnight at farthest. As there will certainly be a division upon this question, and in all probability an early one, I hope Gentlemen will feel the propriety of a full and early attendance.—(a loud cry of hear, hear.) On the re-admission of strangers, we found that the address had been ordered to be carried up by such members of that house who were of his Majesty's privy council.

[MR. PALMER'S PETITION.] A petition of John Palmer Esq. of the city of Bath was brought up, and read; setting forth, "that the petitioner having, in common with other subjects of this kingdom experienced great inconvenience from the tedious, irregular, and insecure mode of correspondence by the General Post, and having had frequent occasions to remark great defects in the establishments of the Post Office, which had become a matter of universal complaint, he was induced to give much serious consideration to a grievance of such magnitude, and was ultimately convinced that improvements might be made so as not only to effect a more speedy, regular, and secure conveyance for letters throughout the Kingdom, but likewise be the means of providing the same advantages for property and travellers, and at the same time of creating and supporting a gradual, and ultimately a very considerable, increase to the revenue, derivable from the Post Office, which, instead of keeping pace with the increasing commerce and opulence of the country, had (in consequence of the defects before alluded to) been long in a state of stagnation, if not of actual decrease; and that in the spring of 1782, the petitioner having arranged the general outline of his proposed reform, and connected with it such an increased rate of postage, with a restriction on franking, as appeared adviseable at the commencement, he communicated the same to the right honourable William Pitt, the then chancellor of his Majesty's exchequer, who immediately conceived so favourable an opinion of the benefit to be obtained for the country if the plan could be effected, that he gave the petitioner every encouragement to proceed, and requested him without delay to procure all possible information on a subject of so much importance, and to spare no pains in bringing the proposed arrangements into such a state as would enable and justify a trial of the scheme; and that, in consequence of these directions, the petitioner, after making some requisite arrangements in regard to the extensive commercial and other concerns in which he was at that time engaged, travelled over a great part of the kingdom, for the purpose of collecting further information on the subject, the different Postmasters having previously received orders from the treasury to answer his inquiries; and that, during the petitioner's absence, the administration was changed, but the new administration being equally desirous of encouraging and effecting the plan, sent the outline to the general post Office for inspection, and it was returned with voluminous objections from the superior officers, who asserted, that the post office establishment had, after the fullest consideration and every possible exertion, been brought to the most perfect state of improvement, not only as to expedition and safety, but in the interior departments, and that any attempt to alter it would be ruinous to the correspondence and commerce of the country, and if any ignorant projector were suffered to interfere for such a purpose, he ought to be made responsible, as far as might be, for the consequences; and that, although some of these objections appeared well founded, it was evident that others arose from prejudice and self-interest; but the petitioner was directed to answer them in detail, which he had scarcely done before the administration was again changed; and Mr. Pitt, on his return to office, received further decided objections from the post office, which were followed up by such a determined opposition and outcry against the plan as to create a combination amongst the inn-keepers and coach-masters on the roads, and by rendering them unwilling to convey the mails on the terms proposed threatened to destroy the whole of the arrangements made by the petitioner preparatory to the trial; this, together with the complicated nature and construction of the posts, which his plan would totally disarrange, and which he must of course completely new model, gave full employment to his mind, and cause for serious reflection and anxiety; and that the petitioner had first taken up the idea of reform as a very simple one, and easy to be accomplished, but as he was imperceptibly led on in the pursuit of his favourite object, the new and accumulated dangers and obstacles which opened upon him at every step, together with the inveterate opposition he experienced from the General Post Office, from which he had been led to expect by government every assistance, convinced him that he had involved himself in almost inextricable difficulties; it had completely possessed his mind, and he had pursued it through different changes of administration for above two years; he had incurred great expence; the various concerns he had been engaged in had been neglected to his great loss, and he found that he had no alternative now left, but either to abandon the plan, to return to safety, and dedicate his future life to the recovery and improvement of his various private concerns, or to make the sacrifice of abandoning those altogether, and adhere to his plan, and to the chance of acquiring a great fortune for himself and family by its success, as Mr. Allen had done before him by his improvements of the posts; he submitted therefore these circumstances and his situation to Mr. Pitt, and the necessity of immediately settling the terms which were to determine his choice, and that to the justice of this the minister directly assented, and assured the petitioner, that if he would give in his proposals for compensation so that the promised advantages could but be secured, and the agreement be made fair and safe for the public, whatever fortune the petitioner might derive from it, there would be no hesitation on his part to close with it, and to satisfy his mind as to his future prospects; and that, in consequence of this assurance, the petitioner informed Mr. Pitt, through the present Bishop of Lincoln, his then secretary, that he would undertake the proposed reform at his own risk and expence, on condition that he should be entitled to receive, during his life, two and an half per centum on the future increased revenue of the Post Office beyond the present nett profits, provided his plan succeeded, but not a shilling otherwise; and that with this proposal the petitioner delivered in a statement of the Post Office revenue, from a very early period, by which it appeared, that, at the expiration of two centuries from its establishment, it had reached only to £150,000 per annum; and, to mark more strongly the profits he expected to derive from his plan, as well as the powers necessary to carry it into execution, he likewise gave in a narrative of Mr. Allen's transactions and agreement with government in 1720, relative to his farm of the cross posts, which were improved gradually, and at different periods, during upwards of 42 years, till he died (after the accumulation of a very large fortune, and his having received upwards of £12,000 per annum for many years, as a reward for his services, and during the whole time retained the absolute and independent controul of that branch of the Post Office); and that, in reply to this offer, the petitioner was informed by Mr. Pitt, through his secretary, "that the proposal was thought fair, and would be fully complied with, provided the plan succeeded;" and that the agreement having been thus acceded to, the petitioner proceeded to make his plan more perfect, and prepare for the trial; and Mr. Pitt, in every conversation previous to such trial, constantly expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the fairness and moderation of the terms, and the benefit to be derived to the public if the plan could but be successfully carried into execution; and that in the autumn of 1784, after two years of incessant labour and anxiety, the plan was tried on the Western road, and succeeded beyond the promise held out by the petitioner, who had nevertheless afterwards to encounter a renewal of hostilities and impediments from the Post Office, which obliged him to apply for the protection of the Lords of the Treasury, who immediately saw the necessity of their interference, and issued a peremptory order for the purpose; but the mischief had so far been done, that a considerable delay took place before the trials could be made upon the other roads; and that Mr. Pitt, being of opinion that the repeated impediments and opposition experienced from the Post Office rendered it absolutely requisite that the petitioner should hold some ostensible official situation, the better to enable him to forward the establishment of his plan, and prevent further obstructions, proposed that he should be appointed surveyor and comptroller general, with a salary of £1,500 per annum, which should be accepted in lieu of per centage on any part of the Post Office revenue within £240,000, being £90,000 above the amount at that time; and of course the proposed salary was considerably less than the per centage would have amounted to; but the petitioner consented to this proposed modification of his original agreement, rather than start obstacles on his part, and particularly as it was intimated that, in case any accident should happen to the petitioner after effecting the plan, but before he had an opportunity of making a suitable provision for his family, there could be no doubt but that government would take such an event into consideration; and that in the autumn of 1785, when the plan had been carried into effect on many of the roads in the kingdom, and arrangements made for its further extension, a draft of the petitioner's intended appointment was prepared at the Treasury, agreeably to the modified terms, being a grant from his majesty, appointing the petitioner surveyor, and comptroller general of the Post Office during his life, with authority to suspend any of the officers and servants belonging thereto, and granting him in consideration of his good and faithful services for the advancement of the revenue, and the advantage of the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom, as well by way of reward of such services, as to encourage him to continue his exertions for furthering the same, a clear salary of £1,500, together with £2. 10*s*. per cent on the increased post revenue, according to the modification before stated; and that when a draft of this proposed appointment was laid before the then attorney general, he was of opinion that an act of parliament would be requisite to enable the minister to carry the agreement made with the petitioner into execution, as the Post-Office Act of the 9th of Queen Anne merely authorises appointments under the postmaster general, and in consequence of this obstacle the intended grant was suspended till the requisite act could be obtained; and that during this delay, the petitioner not having sufficient authority vested in him to forward and protect his plan, it got into great irregularity, owing to the neglect of the contractors, who had been induced to believe that he was unsupported by government, and that as the plan had to encounter fresh objections and memorials from the Post Office, it must necessarily be given up; therefore being disheartened by these apprehensions, as well as by the severity of the winter, and influenced by the advice and threats of those who were adverse to the plan, a combination was entered into, and bonds under heavy penalties executed among many of the coachmasters as well as postmasters, not only to decline any mail-coach contracts, but to oppose them wherever attempted to be established; and that in this situation the petitioner found that unless he immediately obtained some official powers, the plan must sink, and all his labour, anxiety, and expence be lost; and therefore, after representing his apprehensions to the minister, and consenting to postpone the completion of his agreement, till the requisite arrangements could be made respecting it, a limited appointment was in August, 1786, directed to be granted him by the postmaster general, under which he might be enabled to forward his plan, but with an assurance from Mr Pitt, that the full benefit of his agreement should be ultimately secured to him, and he at the same time obtained a warrant for a part of his expences, not having till then received a shilling either for himself or his numerous agents, although more than four years had elapsed since the commencement of the business, as he was determined to adhere strictly to his proposal, that the plan should be proved efficient and beneficial to the public, before he would accept any remuneration whatever; and that having obtained this limited appointment, the petitioner without loss of time went into Scotland in order to arrange the posts of that kingdom, and afterwards to Paris for the purpose of establishing a daily packet and post connection between France and this country, so that he was not able to return to London till October, 1787; and that early in 1788 he was requested to go to Ireland, in order to settle regulations respecting the establishment of mail-coaches in that kingdom, and likewise for the forming better communications by packets between the northern and southern parts of that country, and the English ports; and that although the petitioner had during these intervals, in his frequent communications with Mr. Pitt, the most positive assurances, that after effecting these further arrangements the agreement made with him should be no longer delayed, but settled to his entire satisfaction, yet, on his return, he had the mortification to encounter further impediments from the Post Office; and he therefore most earnestly and warmly pressed the minister to carry his agreement with him into immediate execution, and by granting him the promised powers put an end to these hostile attacks from the office, so injurious both to himself and the public; and that Mr. Pitt acknowledged the necessity as well as justice of this demand, and his anxious wish to comply with it; and at last observed, "That it would be a great satisfaction to his mind, and more fully authorise and justify the agreement with the public, if sanctioned by the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, after their full investigation into the whole of the proceedings." Unexpected and distressing as this further procrastination was, the proposal appeared so candid and proper that the petitioner could not but consent to it; and that in 1788 the Commissioners of Inquiry made their Report as to the Post Office; and stated, with respect to the petitioner, "That he had performed his agreement with government far beyond his promise, not only as to expedition and safety, but at £20,000 per annum less than was proposed; and that he had accomplished his object in despite of numerous difficulties, and a most powerful opposition, and every obstruction that could be thrown in his way by the officers of the General Post Office; and therefore the commissioners declared the petitioner justly entitled to his specified compensation, being a very small part of that increased revenue which his integrity, activity, and zeal, had created, exclusive of the convenience and numerous collateral advantages which the country at large, and more particularly the commercial part of it, derived from his exertions;" and that, after this examination and decision by the commissioners, the petitioner, at the end of December 1788, wrote to the minister, requesting him to fulfil his original agreement, stating at the same time that he had various other plans which he conceived of the greatest consequence to the correspondence of the kingdom and particularly of the metropolis and its neighbourhood, which waited this final adjustment to enable him to carry into execution: and that further delays now arose from the peculiar and unfortunate circumstances which occurred at that time, and the consequent embarrassments of government, and at last from the difficulties the petitioner experienced in his pecuniary concerns; wearied out with these continued mortifying and vexatious delays, to which he saw no probable end, and against which, or to compel the performance of his agreement, he had no legal remedy, he, at the earnest desire of the minister, consented to continue further to act with the limited and uncertain powers he hitherto had done, but under the strongest assurances on the part of Mr. Pitt, "that there should be no future interference with his regulations from the General Post Office, and that he should feel himself equally protected and advantaged in all respects as if possessed of the intended Patent Grant of 1785, and that he might be assured his agreement was equally valid as if sanctioned by an act of parliament; and that soon after a new appointment was sent to him, and he was paid, after seven years delay, the whole arrears of the salary and per centage to that time, and agreeably to his modified agreement of 1785, but he was allowed nothing for his time previous to the commencement of the plan in August 1714, or for his subsequent great expences in England, or even in France or Ireland, nor was there any mentioned reversion of the situation for any of his family, as he was led to expect in the modification of his agreement in 1785, but he was told he must look to an ample recompence for all this in the great and increasing advantages of his per centages; and that however convenient the petitioner found this sum for the settlement of his pecuniary difficulties, in consequence of his attention to this business, and whatever pleasure he felt at the arrears, according to his modified agreement, being thus honourably discharged, yet he never failed expressing his dissatisfaction at the Patent Appointment of 1785 not being yet granted to him, or his original agreement not being fulfilled, and his fears and apprehensions of the consequences both to the public, his plan, and to himself; and that for some little time after this, however, the petitioner proceeded uninterruptedly, and to his satisfaction; but it being soon known at the Post Office that he had no legal authority, independent of the Postmaster General, the old opposition and intrigues revived, and were pursued for a considerable time, or at intervals, in a manner that might naturally be expected where prejudice was so deeply rooted, and power in the exercise of persons so completely at variance with each other, and whose ideas of business, and the mode of conducting it, were so different; and that the former unwarrantable conduct to defeat the plan on one side, and unavoidably so to protect it on the other were again resorted to; on every occasion which the petitioner conceived of importance to his plan, or the revenue, he acted in the best manner he could for its advantage, and to alarm and deter the office from interfering in its conduct; and, confiding in the spirit of his original agreement, he uniformly denied at such times the postmaster-general over him, asserted his agreement, and appealed to the minister, which generally produced a temporary cessation to this harrassing and injurious interference with his regulations, and he was frequently assured some line or other should be drawn, or some effectual measure adopted, to put an end to it; and that at last the postmaster general suspended the petitioner, in March 1792, for disobedience of their orders, under this nominal appointment, which he had been compelled to act with to the best of his judgment, and independent of the postmaster general; for, had he not done so on every occasion he thought necessary, and according to the powers described in the patent appointment drawn up in 1785, and assured to him, by the minister, he never could have carried his plan into execution, or the public been in the enjoyment of its advantages; and that after various remonstrances and answers between the postmaster-general and himself at the Board of Treasury, and with which, on the part of the petitioner, the minister expressed himself satisfied, he was compelled to leave the conduct of his plan to the office, as was originally intended, after he should have perfectly established it, but, of course, considered that he was not to be prejudiced in the profits arising from his agreement; and he intimated to the minister, that he still was ready to proceed to further great and extensive improvements, of material importance to the public convenience and the revenue, if granted the requisite powers promised him; and that, some time after this declaration a warrant was sent to the post office for the payment of the petitioner's arrears (according to his modified agreement in 1785) to April 1793; and the Board of Treasury gave him notice that they had settled an allowance of £3000 per ann. on him for his life, in compensation for his services; and that to this the petitioner declared, as he invariably had done, that he should consider himself extremely ill treated if he was paid in any degree short of his actual agreement; that Mr. Pitt had a right, if he thought proper, and as might suit his political convenience, to dispense with his services, but he could not in justice dispense with the engagements he had entered into with the petitioner; and that, in December 1794, after the usual period had elapsed of making up the annual accounts at the General Post Offices, the petitioner sent a memorial to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, stating his agreement, and requiring Post Offices accounts to April 1794, and the payment of the balance of salary and per centage due to him beyond the sum he had been paid (of £3000). In August, 1795, after various applications and waiting eight months, he received an answer, stating, that their lordships were of opinion that the sum of £3000 per annum for his life was a just and full compensation for the services he had rendered, and that they did not think themselves justified on the part of the public to make any addition to that allowance; and that, in January 1796, (being shortly after the next meeting of parliament) the petitioner having advised with his counsel in the further steps necessary to be taken in this harrassing business, presented to the Board of Treasury a remonstrance to their answer, and proposed, that if their lordships conceived themselves unable to perform the agreement made with him, an application might be made to parliament on the subject, when the agreement, as well as his merits and his conduct, might be fully investigated; and that although an answer was promised in time for the petitioner to make such appeal, he did not receive it till the dissolution of parliament was determined on, and he had to wait the meeting of the new one in the following year, when a committee of the house was appointed "To consider of the agreements made with the petitioner for the reform and improvement of the Post Office and its revenue, and to inquire into the causes of his suspension, and report to the house the evidence received;" and that, in May 1797, the committee, after being occupied above five weeks on the subject, reported to the house the evidence received, which was ordered to be printed, and fully proved the agreement made with the petitioner as before stated. —Ordered to lie upon the table.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, March 26.

[Commerce of the Country]. Lord *Auckland* called the attention of the house to a practice, which, from a sense of duty, he had so often pursued, in bringing forward, for the information of parliament, such annual accounts as were connected with any office that he had happened to fill. He was more especially induced to this, as he had resigned a few days ago the presidency of the committee of council for trade, an office of great importance and responsibility, which no prudent man would undertake or hold, unless he felt that he could have the confidence and co-operation of a strong and enlightened government. He was proud to believe that he had possessed the unreserved confidence of a government entitled to those epithets. The efficient offices of that government had been filled by individuals of eminent talents, well suited to their respective departments. They had been aided in their councils by colleagues equally distinguished. They had stood high in the opinion of parliament, and in the esteem and respect of foreign countries. In closing this description he felt a want of language to express what was due to the character of his honourable friend (lord Grenville); to the integrity, wisdom, and energy, of his mind; to his indefatigable zeal in the discharge of his public duties; to his solicitude for the interests, security, and prosperity of the empire. It was fair to attribute to such an administration some part of the wonderful increase which had taken place in our manufactures, commerce, and navigation, in the course of the last year. The papers for which he would now move would exhibit proofs of that increase far beyond all expectation and example.—The comparative account of imports would shew that the total value, exclusive of prize goods, and of the India and China trade, had been,

For the year 1804 - - -	£22,016,000
——— ——— 1805 - - -	23,130,000
——— ——— 1806 - - -	24,358,000

Their lordships would be aware that a large proportion of those imports consists of materials of manufacture, such as flax, hemp, hides, iron, wood, yarn, dying goods, wool, and cotton; or of necessary consumption, such as, wine, spirits, oils, fish, fruit, and grain.—The comparative value of British produce and manufacture exported from Great Britain for the same period, had been,

For year ending Jan. 5, 1805	£23,935,000
——— ——— ——— ——— 1806	25,004,000
——— ——— ——— ——— 1807	27,403,000

And here it might be material to remark, that a similar account for the year 1794 had amounted only to 16,725,000l. He would not enter into the details, but would only observe that in the last year, ending the 5th of January 1807, there had been a great increase in the export of cottons, hardware, and woollen goods. He had also seen, with much satisfaction, and their lordships would find, that the prosperity of Scotland had kept pace with that of England. Such had been the effects of British energy, under an enlightened and provident government! Such was the actual predicament of the British empire, which our unprincipled and implacable enemy had vainly hoped to reduce to a bankruptcy, both of finance and of commerce. As to the bankruptcy in finance, his noble friend (lord Grenville) had shewn, and had proved, to the conviction, and benefit, of his successors in office, and to his countrymen, that new taxes are no longer necessary, even for a prolonged war on the actual state of expenditure. As to any failure in commerce, the accounts now to be produced would give a splendid exhibition of imports and exports, far beyond what it had ever been in any period of peace or of war.—Having said, in the opening of his speech, that he had enjoyed the full confidence of the late ministers, he requested permission to explain that in one great and essential point he had differed from them radically and most decidedly. His noble friend had been apprized in an early stage of the business, that it was his intention to oppose even the very limited measure which had been made the cause, or occasion, of the change of government; but having stated that dissent, he never felt, he never could feel, that alarm and anxiety which others feel, or pretend to feel, for what they call the safety of the church. It had happened to him only two years ago to be the teller on the catholic question, when their lordships divided 178 to 49. He knew too well the consistency and honour of their lordships minds to have the smallest particle of doubt, that the principles which prevailed in 1805 would equally prevail in 1807. He sincerely lamented the misunderstanding and its consequences, which threatened to place this great empire in a state of divisions, weakness, and distractions, ill suited to the circumstances of the war, and to the tendency and unexampled dangers of the times on which we are thrown. Lord Auckland concluded by moving for several accounts of the official and real imports into and exports from Great Britain, for nine years, ending the 5th January, 1807; and also for comparative accounts of British shipping for the same period.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* said, he did not rise to controvert the statements of the noble lord, but merely to observe, that the grounds of such a statement proved the administration of which the noble lord formed a part, did not succeed to the government of a ruined country, or to dilapidated resources.—The question on the noble lord's motion was put, and the accounts ordered accordingly.

[Change of Administration.] Lord Hawkesbury moved, that the house at its rising do adjourn to Wednesday sen'night.

Lord *Grenville* immediately rose, and called the attention of their lordships to the subject of which he had given notice yesterday. The principal points of his lordship's speech, which occupied upwards of three hours in the delivery, were to the following effect.—I do not mean to offer any objection to the motion which has just been made; but I rise for the purpose of stating, as your lordships all know it is competent for me on this question to do, the circumstances which have led to the present situation of public affairs. I mean to explain, as far as I am acquainted with them, the causes which have brought about the change which has taken place in his majesty's councils. It is now six years since the members of a former administration, of which I formed a part, thought it their duty, under similar circumstances, to ask permission of his majesty to withdraw from their situations. This determination they carried into execution without communicating through any channel to the public the grounds which had induced them to take that step. I participated fully in the motives of forbearance on which that conduct was founded. I am far from now regretting that the change did take place in that manner. But it must be in the recollection of all your lordships, that the motives of the persons who composed the administration to which I have alluded, were made the subject of much comment, and were greatly misrepresented in consequence of that forbearance to which they adhered. On the present occasion, then, when a change of administration has taken place, not by resignation, but in consequence of the exercise of the royal prerogative, it is natural that I, who know the misrepresentations which occurred in a former instance, should wish to avoid similar imputations, by making to your lordships, and thro' you to the country, a full explanation of all the circumstances which have given rise to the existing situation of public affairs. But I have still a much stronger claim to your lordships indulgence in making this statement. It has happened that a libellous publication has already appeared, containing a false and garbled representation of the circumstances to which I allude; and here let me ask the noble lords on the other side, whether they can point out any period of the history of this country in which it ever happened that such a publication was made? I speak of the publication of the minutes of advice given to his majesty by his late ministers. That advice was given to his majesty in writing, and though it was proper that the paper should be transferred to the persons who succeeded to the administration, in order that they might know the grounds upon which their predecessors were dismissed, it was a very extraordinary proceeding in those persons to authorize its publication. If they thought it a fit document for public discussion, either in or out of parliament, there were two ways in which they might have proceeded, in order to promote a constitutional investigation. They might have come down to parliament and stated, that improper advice had been given to the crown, and upon that statement moved an address to his majesty for the production of the paper; or they might have adopted another course. If they found upon their accession to the government, that evil counsels had been given, they might have advised his majesty to lay those counsels before parliament, in order that those from whom they proceeded might receive the punishment they merited. But will the noble lords on the opposite side vindicate the publication of a paper of this important nature in the manner it has taken place? I must again ask them whether they can refer to any instance, in the history of the country in which any similar publication had, from party views or any other motive, ever been made? Under these circumstances, however, I could not refrain from desiring to lay before your lordships the truth of the case on this important subject, which had, in consequence of the publication I have noticed, become the subject of conversation and misrepresentation in every coffee-house. For this purpose, I was induced to ask leave of his majesty to make the statement I am about to lay before your lordships; for without that permission, I should not, most anxiously as I desired to explain every circumstance connected with the important transactions that have taken place, have taken this opportunity of addressing your lordships. But my application to his majesty was received with all that kindness and tenderness to the feelings of others for which his royal mind is so eminently distinguished, and I shall ever entertain the strongest sense of gratitude for the benevolent condescension with which the permission I solicited was granted. Having now stated the grounds on which I think it will appear that an explanation on my part was indispensably called for, it scarcely can be necessary for me to assure your lordships, that whatever I may say in addressing you will be accompanied with every feeling of respect which is due to the sovereign of these realms. I have, my lords, no complaint to make; I have only to state what is necessary for the vindication of my own character.—At the period of the change of administration, to which I have already referred, your lordships know that a great and illustrious statesman, (Mr. Pitt), to whom I never can allude but with sentiments of the most unfeigned respect, was at the head of his majesty's government. My lords, in the year 1801, it was the opinion of that illustrious statesman in which opinion I completely concurred, that large further concessions should be made to the catholics of Ireland. It was then thought expedient that a measure for that purpose should be proposed to parliament. That proposed measure not meeting with his majesty's approbation, the consequence was the resignation of the then ministers. The result was different in the present case, for reasons which I shall presently state. I at that period thought it my duty to resign, and chearfully sacrifice all those personal considerations which may be supposed to attach to the situation of one of his majesty's ministers. My lords, I will sacrifice those considerations over and over again, upon the same principle. It is undoubtedly true, that no pledge was given to the catholics of Ireland that further concessions to them should be one of the results of the union; their consent was undoubtedly not purchased by any such promise. It is well known, however, from the speeches in parliament, upon the great question of the union, and we know that what is said in parliament, somehow or other becomes known to the public, that the understanding upon the subject certainly was, that further concessions to the catholics of Ireland, might, and ought to be a measure consequent upon the union. That such a measure was not only politic and expedient, but absolutely necessary, was the opinion, as I have already stated, of that great and illustrious statesman, Mr. Pitt; it was also the opinion of his great and illustrious rival, Mr. Fox. These eminent statesmen concurred in opinion in three great measures of policy, the establishment of the sinking fund, the abolition of the African slave trade, and the necessity of further concessions to the catholics of Ireland. The first of these measures was adopted on its first proposition; the second, the abolition of the African slave trade, met with much, in my opinion, mistaken opposition, but has at length been carried. The third, that of a system of conciliation and kindness to the catholics of Ireland, remains yet to be carried into execution; but it rests upon grounds of such unavoidable necessity, that I think it is impossible for any man, after weighing on the one hand the objections which have been urged against it, and on the other the advantages which must inevitably flow from it, to resist the coming to this conclusion, that it is a measure which, for the welfare of the country, ought to be speedily adopted. It was in this view that on a former occasion I sacrificed my situation in the government; and that sacrifice I was ready to make again, being convinced that four millions of our fellow subjects in Ireland are to be governed by conciliation and kindness, and not by persecution. In consequence of circumstances which occurred in the situation of public affairs, which it is not necessary here to restate, overtures were repeatedly made to me to take a part in his majesty's councils. My answer to all such overtures was, that my sovereign might always command my services in any frame of government which might be formed, but at the same time I always explicitly declared, that I never would forego my right to state my sentiments on this question in parliament, whenever any occasion should occur which might call for such a statement. A time arrived when the Roman catholics of Ireland thought fit to represent to parliament the state of their grievances. They did me the honour to apply to me to present their Petition. [See vol. 4, p. 97.] I felt that application, my lords, to be an honour, because it was a proof of the opinion those persons entertained of my conduct and sincerity. I complied with their wishes. But here, my lords, it is proper that I should correct a misapprehension which has very generally prevailed on this subject. It is not true, as has been frequently asserted, that the consent of the Roman catholics of Ireland to the union was purchased in consequence of any promise made to them of a measure of complete conciliation; but it is certain, from the debates that took place on the Union, that it was understood that the catholic question should be fully considered, and on this ground I considered myself bound to bring their claims before your lordships. The result of the application which was made to parliament is well known. The majority against the measure, large as it was, could not be considered as precluding its revival at a future period, or as imposing any pledge on parliament not to accede to the catholic claims to the full extent in which they were then made. In a few months after I had the honour to make the application, the result of which I have mentioned, the country had the misfortune to lose the great statesman who was at the head of the existing administration. His majesty was then pleased to think that, under the circumstances in which the country was placed, I might be of use to him and to the public, and directed me to assist in forming a new government. I did form one, which, from the materials of which it was composed, and the principles on which its members agreed to act together, appeared to me best calculated for promoting the interests of the country. The sentiments of most of the persons who became members of this administration, upon the catholic question, were well known from their public declarations, and particularly in consequence of the discussion which had recently taken place on the subject. When, therefore, we were called to the councils of our sovereign, no man could suppose that we were called in any other manner than that in which ministers ought constitutionally to discharge their duty; namely, to give on all proper occasions to his majesty, conformably to the oath we had taken, full, fair, and upright counsel, and not to withhold that advice from interest, affection or any other motive. I do not make this assertion, my lords, from my own recollection only. Within these few days my sovereign has declared it to be conformable to his recollection also, and authorized me to confirm this statement, not from myself only, but from him. After what had recently happened, it will not be supposed that it could be the desire of the late administration to press the catholic question, or to revive any measure known to be painful to the feelings of a great personage, to whom every respect is due, unless the pressure of unavoidable necessity compelled us to bring it forward. We flattered ourselves, therefore, that from the character of the persons to whom the government of Ireland was entrusted, many causes of dissatisfaction in the people of that country would be diminished. The manner in which the noble person at the head of that government (the duke of Bedford) executed the laws, and the just but conciliating spirit of his administration, gave us reason to hope that the unanimity so much desired in the sister kingdom might at last be accomplished. We had but one wish, the welfare and security of the whole empire; and, by knitting together the hearts of all his majesty's subjects, we cherished the hope that this great object might be attained. We were induced to pursue this conduct, as well because we knew the agitation of the subject might prove painful in a high quarter, as because the recent decision of parliament had rendered it very unlikely that it could be carried, while it was probable that it would revive animosities. One of the first objects of the late administration, therefore, was to prevent, if possible, the revival of the Catholic question. In the first session of parliament our endeavours were successful; but the state of Ireland during the last year was not so satisfactory; disturbances had broken out in several districts, disturbances of that nature which this measure was particularly calculated to prevent. These commotions were, however, composed by the ordinary exercise of the civil administration of the country. Such was the love of justice and lenity which distinguished the noble duke at the head of the government of Ireland, that he carefully avoided resorting to any extraordinary measures in repressing these disturbances, and his system of conciliation had proved succesful. At the time these events occurred in Ireland, the attention of his majesty's government in this country was anxiously directed to the means of raising a great military force, which the total destruction of the power of Prussia had rendered more than ever necessary for the security of the British Empire. No measure could be so well calculated to promote that end as one which would induce the superabundant population of Ireland to enter into the army and navy, and for such a proceeding the great earl of Chatham had set an important example, when, in order to remove the disaffection of the Highlands of Scotland, then nearly in the same situation as Ireland now was, he held out inducements for the population of those districts to enlist in the army. With regard to the state of Ireland, until the wealthy yeomanry could be interested, by having opportunities of providing for the younger branches of their families, similar to those afforded to the same description of persons in this country, it was in vain to expect that they would exert their influence in recruiting for the army. Besides, those persons who have the charge of religious instruction in that country, will never, with any zeal, encourage men to enter into a service where the exercise of their worship is not protected by law. It was to remove these difficulties that the measure which had been lately withdrawn in the house of commons was introduced to the consideration of parliament. With regard to the general question, I hesitate not to declare it to be my opinion, that the Roman Catholics, by pushing forward their petition at the present moment, have acted highly injurious to their own interests, and to the interests of the empire at large. It was therefore my anxious wish, as well as that of those who acted with me, to devise some means by which the discussion of the general question in parliament might have been prevented, and nothing appeared to us better calculated for that purpose than the bill, which was intended to give to all the subjects of his majesty the right of holding every description of military employment. About fourteen years ago, the parliament of Ireland opened to the Roman catholics the army, with the exclusion only of the rank of commander in chief, master-general of the ordnance, and general of the staff. With these exceptions, his majesty was enabled to give commissions in the army to all his catholic subjects in Ireland; and there was no doubt, from the construction of the act, that it opened to them the navy also, in so far as the authority of the Irish parliament could extend to that service. As this act, however, could not extend to the catholics in Great Britain, it operated as an obstruction to the removal of the military force from the one country to the other. So absurd, so incongruous a state of law, never existed in any nation in the world. Instead of asking why it is not put an end to, the question ought rather to be, how it is possible that it could have existed so long? In such a state of things, was it to be wondered that we should endeavour to apply a remedy, and when we were to propose to the catholics in every part of the empire to enter into the army or the navy, we resolved not to make that proposition upon a narrow principle, but to call them to a liberal system of service, and to open to them every rank. Here, however, another point arose, which it was necessary to meet fairly. In the year 1778 the Irish parliament thought proper to open to the Protestant dissenters in Ireland, not only the navy and the army, but all employments whatever. Therefore in 1795, when it fell to the lot of my noble friend, who was then at the head of the Irish government, to propose the admission of the catholics into the army and the navy, he had no occasion to enter into any consideration as to the situation of the dissenters. In England, however, the case is different; here dissenters are excluded from all public employments unless they take a sacramental test, which is contrary to the principles of their religious faith. If we had adopted the Irish act of 1793 in this country, the catholics would have been admitted to offices from which the protestants were excluded. Let me ask your lordships, whether such a measure would not have awakened the attention of the protestant dissenters? And what answer could you have given to them, if they asked you to explain the reason of the distinction made between them and the catholics? Regarding the question, then, under all those points of view, I was induced to form the decided opinion that the measure to be submitted to parliament in the form of an act, should, after reciting the danger to which the empire was exposed, also recite the remedy by which all hearts and hands might be united in warding off every attempt of the inveterate foe of this country. I am aware that much may be expected to be said on the manner in which the measure was brought forward. In the first place it may be observed, that it is the duty of all members of parliament to propose those measures which they may conceive to be conducive to the welfare of the country. In the like manner it is the duty of the members of government to submit to his majesty such measures as they may think calculated to promote the interests of the public. If his majesty should not approve of any measure they may suggest, they have then to chuse whether they will abandon that measure, or tender their resignation to their sovereign. I need not tell you, my lords, that in the recent instance which has occurred of this difference of opinion, the former course was that which was adopted. In the other case, in 1801, when a similar measure was proposed to the king, and disapproved by him, the administration of that day thought proper to resign. In the present case, however, the same result was brought about in a different manner. The measure was withdrawn, and it was intended to suffer it to drop entirely; but his majesty had, in the mean time, thought fit to appoint a new administration. I shall, my lords, endeavour to state as briefly as possible the circumstances which gave rise to this event. A misapprehension of the nature and extent of the measure proposed appears to have taken place, and the statement of that misapprehension comes from a quarter to which I give the most implicit credit. In the explanation I am about to make, I only wish to shew that I, and those with whom I acted, had reason to suppose that the nature of the measure was fully understood, which, from my heart and soul, I am convinced it was not. I only mean to justify our characters by stating the reasons which induced us to suppose that no misapprehension existed. In doing this, my lords, it will be necessary for me to recapitulate the different stages of the proceedings which took place. The draft of the Bill was laid before the king for his approbation. That draft contained a recital of the Irish Act with the restriction. It then proposed that the services of catholics should be received without any restriction, and no condition required but the taking of the oath of allegiance. When this draft was submitted to his Majesty, I thought I had done every thing on the subject which my duty required of me. Afterwards, however, I learned that difficulties were stated, and that there was a repugnance in his majesty's mind to the measure. A written answer to this effect was received by his majesty's servants, and to which a representation was returned. I am sure, my lords, there is no man into whose hands that representation may have fallen, but must regard it as a most dutiful and respectful address, such as was fit to be presented to the best of sovereigns by his servants. On that representation his majesty was pleased to give orders that the bill might be submitted to parliament. A dispatch was immediately sent to Ireland, in order that his majesty's consent having been obtained, it might be communicated to the catholics. At the conference which took place in consequence of this proceeding between the government of Ireland and certain persons, who possess great influence with the catholic body, a question was asked, whether the rank of general of the staff, and other employments, from which the catholics were excluded by the act of 1793, were to be laid open to them? The answer given on the part of his majesty's government in Ireland was, that from the words of the dispatch they understood that the catholics were to be allowed to hold every rank in the army and the navy. The lord lieutenant's dispatch, containing the account of this conference, was, as all such dispatches are, communicated to his majesty, and by him returned without any comment. In answer to it, another dispatch was sent to Ireland, for the purpose of giving full information of the nature of the measure to the catholics, which was also laid before his majesty. This dispatch contained copies of the clauses of the bill, and a remark was subjoined, that these clauses laid open the army and navy to the Roman catholics, and enabled the lord lieutenant to answer the question, which had been put on that point in the affirmative. After all that I have stated has taken place, what must be the feelings of men who read in libellous publications assertions openly made of their having deceived his majesty. For God's sake, my lords, let us stand clear of this foul calumny. Let us not be unjustly accused, I will not say of deceiving our amiable and benevolent sovereign, but of obtaining from any man by fraudulent means, his consent to a measure which he disapproved. I have stated what was the understanding of my colleagues on this subject, and, in particular, of a noble viscount, who had a principal share in all the transactions; and a man of a more refined and punctilious sense of honour than lord Howick does not exist. It fell to the lot of that noble lord to receive those official directions which he understood authorised him to submit the measure to the consideration of parliament. Here, indeed, a difference of opinion arose between the person to whom the question was addressed and the person who asked it, as to the impression which the answer ought to have produced. This much, however, I can say, that the person who asked the question came away with the impression that the permission solicited was granted. I was waiting almost at the door of the chamber in which the conference took place, and I witnessed the effect of the recent impression on the mind of lord Howick. He stated to me, that he had obtained permission to introduce the bill. On my entering into the chamber immediately after, I forbore to allude to what was considered a delicate subject, and not a word was said to me respecting the conference which had just taken place with lord Howick. This conversation occurred on Wednesday the 4th of March: on the Thursday or Friday following, with that perspicuity which is peculiar to him, lord Howick explained to the house of commons the nature of the measure proposed to be adopted. The speech of that noble lord soon became the subject of public conversation, for we know, my lords, that the speeches of members of parliament on important occasions do, by some means or other, get abroad; but, notwithstanding the publicity of that speech, it was not until the Wednesday following that I was informed of any objection having arisen to the measure. On that day we were for the first time informed, that the impression which we supposed to have been so well founded, had been formed erroneously. This naturally gave rise to an anxious desire for explanation on our part; and here permit me to observe, that while they who know nothing of what passed, presume to say that we have been guilty of fraud and concealment, his majesty, who knows all that did take place, has the goodness to declare, that the difference which has arisen was only a difference on principle, and that all that had passed, on every occasion, was strictly honourable. This, my lords, is a declaration of great importance to me, were it only to prove the sentiments which prevail in the royal breast; but how much more important is it to me when it serves at the same time to repel the foul calumny with which I have been assailed. In this situation of affairs we adopted a resolution, which, of all these transactions, I confess it would be for me the most difficult to justify, and which nothing but the mistaken impression which we had fallen into could excuse. We determined to withdraw the bill. On the Friday I intimated to his majesty the sacrifice we had resolved to make. At first we intended to reduce the bill to the same provisions as the Irish bill of 1793; but, upon examination, we found that impracticable, as it would then have appeared in a shape to which unanswerable objections would have been made. We then informed his majesty, that we were determined to make a still more complete sacrifice, and to drop the bill altogether. Perhaps it may be thought that we went too far, but after the mistake which had occurred, it was our wish to accommodate, as much as possible, our actions to his majesty's feelings. But when we did allow the bill to fall to the ground, though we did not mean to propose any other measures than those which his majesty approved, we thought it necessary to reserve to ourselves the right of stating our opinion of the great benefits which we were persuaded might be derived from pursuing a different line of policy—of openly avowing these sentiments in the event of the catholic petition being presented—and of submitting to his majesty from time to time, *for his decision*, such measures as we might think it adviseable to propose. I have placed an emphasis on these words, "for his decision," because you will perceive, my lords, that they are left out in the publication to which I have alluded, evidently for the purpose of making it appear that we meant to force upon his majesty measures contrary to his feelings and his conscience.—I come now, my lords, to state a circumstance which placed his majesty's government in a situation in which it was impossible it could stand, as it would have been divested of all constitutional responsibility. The answer to the representation made to his majesty, expressed regret that such a difference of opinion should have arisen, and required a written declaration that we should propose no farther concessions to the catholics. After all that had passed, a more painful situation could not have arisen. I beg of you, my lords, to consider what are the duties of the king's ministers, and what is the nature of the functions they have to discharge. It is their duty to advise the king, and to give, without favour or affection, that counsel which they think best for the country. What, then, would be the situation of any set of men who should bind themselves by oath to discharge this important office, and at the same time bind themselves by a written promise not to discharge it? If they meant to adhere to the written promise rather than to their oath, they would resolve to advise their sovereign always according to his wishes, but never according to his interests. In no very remote period it may be necessary, for the security of a principal part of the empire, to repeat the advice which has been recently given to his majesty, for the enemy has already pretty plainly shewn against what part of the united kingdom his first attempt will be directed. But I wish to look at this subject in a still larger and more important point of view than even the safety of Ireland, if that be possible. Will the British constitution exist if ministers give a pledge of the nature of that which has been described? And before this question be answered, let it be recollected, that as such a pledge was required of the ministers who have retired, upon every fair construction it must have been given by those who have come into office. If calamities should befal the other part of the united kingdom, and those ministers should be asked why certain advice respecting its situation was not given, they must answer, that they have given a pledge not to take that subject into their consideration; that Ireland was a corner which had been cut out of the map of the empire they received into their keeping. If this doctrine, my lords, prevails, the corner stone of our constitution, namely, the maxim that the king can do no wrong, and that his ministers only are responsible, is completely gone. If an opinion should prevail in parliament that ministers ought to have given certain advice, and they should state that they had entered into a pledge not to give it, consider, my lords, where the responsibility then must fall. We should then return to principles which must sap the foundation of the monarchy, to those, I had almost said, diabolical principles, by which the king of this country was once brought to answer to his parliament, and considered responsible for all the transactions of the government. Those who best know me, my lords, can declare, that when I came into the service of my sovereign, it was not a matter of enjoyment, but of duty, and I am now relieved from it, at a time when the difficulties of executing that duty are still of great magnitude. Let not those who have succeeded us imagine that they have succeeded to an easy task. We did not succeed to "a bed of roses," neither have we left "a bed of roses." My noble friend (lord Auckland), has stated to your lordships the growing prosperity of the commerce of the country, which was received with a sort of taunt from a noble lord on the other side. The commerce and the finances of the country we have left somewhat better than we found them. Our foreign relations we have left in a better state than we found them. Let me, however, call the serious and anxious attention of noble lords on the other side to the state of Ireland. If persecution for the sake of differences in religious opinions are again to be revived in this country, can there be a question that it will produce the most dreadful dissentions? and if, my lords, the system acted upon in Ireland by the noble duke who represents his majesty in that country, or the noble lord in the blue ribbon (the earl of Hardwicke) his predecessor, is to be reversed, and a system of persecution, coercion and restraint to be substituted, no human being can foresee the incalculable mischiefs that will result from such a system. When we know that our enemy has fixed upon one point of the British dominions where he thinks invasion practicable, and that that point is Ireland, surely it requires more than ordinary care, more than ordinary measures, to remove the causes of all those unhappy dissentions which have given rise to this hope of the enemy, and which have given rise in that country to those insurrections which have produced such dreadful effects. If they do not consider the state of Ireland with these views, the greatest danger may result to the interests of the empire.

Lord *Sidmouth* expressed his regret that any thing should have occurred that should render it necessary to state these transactions, and, as it were, raise an issue between the sovereign and his servants. But the necessity having occurred, and garbled and fallacious statements having been made, nothing remained but to request his majesty to allow them to state the whole affair exactly as it took place. This permission had been given, and his noble friend near him had done his duty, in placing the matter in its proper light. But, what he was most particularly anxious to press upon the house, was this, that there was a real misunderstanding on this business from the beginning, because many persons might be disposed to think it rather extraordinary that there could have been such a misunderstanding. The noble viscount proceeded to state, that from the discussions which took place on this subject, at which he himself had been present, he had understood that there was no intention to extend the measure further than it was carried by the Irish act of 1793. It appeared to him absurd that an officer in the army in Ireland should be liable to a penalty, if holding the same office in this country. Another step followed, which was, that if the privileges of the act of 1793, were to be extended in this country to the Irish catholics, the British catholics ought to be included. But others, however, understood it otherwise. Lord Howick and his noble friend understood it otherwise, and Mr. Elliot had his doubts, and declined giving any answer to Mr. O'Conner, one of the Irish catholics, who questioned him on that subject, till the doubt should be removed. He then put the question to his noble friend, and learned that it was intended to enable the catholics to become major-generals on the staff, or commanders in chief. That was not, however, the principle of the Irish act of 1793. The dispatch sent to his majesty did not contain any thing that must necessarily imply that the measure would go beyond that of 1793. For though it contained the words, "any military commissions whatsoever;" yet these might not be understood as covering the staff appointments; and what might further tend to lead his majesty to think so was, that these alterations were to be introduced as clauses in the mutiny bill. And what serves further to shew, that the words "military commissions" might readily be understood as not including the staff appointments, was that the words "and appointments" were considered as necessary in the bill. Their lordships would feel, therefore, that the misconception might very naturally have arisen. At a subsequent period dispatches had been sent to his majesty, and ministers had attended him: what passed on these occasions he could not take upon him to say. That the impression of lord Howick was, that his majesty had consented to carry the measure further than that of 1793, he had no doubt. But their lordships, looking at the misconception that had prevailed at the beginning in the cabinet, and he appealed for this to the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, their lordships looking at this would not, he trusted, think it extraordinary that under the particular circumstances of this case there should have been a misconception.—As to the subject of toleration, he should be glad to see any one who would go further in that respect than himself; but he always had, and always would make a distinction between toleration and power. Every subject had a right to toleration; but power was only given as a trust by the supreme power, which ought to withhold it where the granting of it would be attended with danger. He had always opposed any minute concessions, in point of power, to the catholics, as highly dangerous, because these would not remove their discontents, and might bring destruction on the church establishment. When he had entered into power, he had distinctly stated that he would not compromise his sentiments on this subject, as he thought they were essential to the preservation of our constitution. He would not enter upon this topic at present, but he thought that we ought to stop at the point where the union left us; and while he abhorred as much as any man the raising an outcry on account of religious differences, yet he felt what was due to the constitution and the church establishment of the country. That was the principle on which he acted. He knew that his opinions clashed with those of the wisest and best men whom this country had ever produced, but on this point he had judged for himself, and he could allow no human authority to controul the conviction of his mind. When he came into an administration which, he would say, had most unfortunately for the country been dissolved, his opinions were known. He had distinctly stated these opinions, and that no consideration could induce him to compromise them. He lamented that this difference should have occurred between his majesty and his late servants; but he was satisfied, and he hoped their lordships were satisfied, that there had been an evident misconception on the part of his majesty with regard to the extent to which the bill was carried.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he had never heard the noble viscount with more real satisfaction, than during the speech which he had just finished, because he perceived that his noble friend had not abandoned those principles upon which they had formerly acted. When this measure had been brought forward, he felt considerable satisfaction that his noble friend was a member of administration, because he was convinced that the country had in him in the cabinet a security against the attempt to break down the church establishment. He was fully sensible of the delicacy of the question before the house; he felt the delicacy of the discussion when a question was at issue between a subject and his sovereign. It was not for him to decide whether or not this discussion could have been avoided. Much had been said by the noble baron and the noble viscount of the publications that had taken place on this subject. Of these he knew nothing, and felt as much regret as any person that such statements should have found their way to the public. But he must observe, that previous to his having any knowledge of the transaction, there had been many rumours in circulation, directly contrary to the fact, and proved to be so by the statement of the noble baron himself, which had proceeded, no doubt, from individuals not connected with his majesty's government. Under these circumstances, he had thought it his duty to request the permission of his sovereign, after notice of the noble baron's intention had been given, to communicate the whole circumstances of the case to his friends, in order, that if this discussion should unfortunately come on, they might be prepared to meet it, and to state on the part of his majesty, what were those principles, both with regard to the honour of the crown and the interests of the empire, that had induced him to adopt the course which he had taken. The catholic subject was not a new one. It had often been under consideration, and had, about two years since, after the most ample discussion in both houses of parliament, been decided upon by the largest majorities ever known, considering the character and talents of the persons who had brought it forward. The noble baron had stated what would be the effect of the measure, both as to its immediate result, and with reference to its future consequences; but he should beg leave to state what had been the feelings of that illustrious person (Mr. Pitt), whose virtues, character, and unrivalled abilities, were universally admired, beloved, and revered, but who unfortunately was then no more, upon this subject. When that distinguished person had come last into office, though he had before withdrawn from his public situation in consequence of this measure, yet knowing the honest conscientious principles that prevailed against it, principles which ought to be upheld in any quarter, but still more in that exalted quarter in which they existed, he had, not in consequence of any pledge demanded of him, but voluntarily, engaged not to bring forward the question. He stated this as a fact known to himself, and not as a reproach to the noble baron; he stated merely what had been the opinion and feeling upon this subject of so high an authority, for which the noble baron must entertain as sincere a respect as himself. He had less difficulty in stating this, because he had always differed from his late right hon. friend upon this question. He agreed entirely with the noble viscount, that if the policy pursued should not be steady on this head, they would be continually fomenting troubles and discontents. Whilst he was ready to admit that no ordinary law should be unchangeable, there were fundamental laws which ought not to be altered, except upon the utmost pressing necessity. The right of petition, the trial by jury, and the independence of the judges, were fundamental principles of the constitution, and a protestant government and establishment were equally so. The same changes that might be wise with respect to other laws, were not to be applied to fundamental laws. They might alter the constitution of the army, the establishment of the navy, the regulations of the revenue, or, as they were at that time in the course of doing, the administration of justice; but if any such change were to be carried into effect with respect to the national establishment, it would overthrow the constitution. This doctrine might be termed bigotry: but he should prefer to any new lights, the bigotry of 1688, which had effected the revolution, and established the liberties of this country on the most solid foundation. Before he should comment upon what had been stated by the noble baron, he begged to say a few words upon the subject of the particular measure that had led to the present circumstances. He could not conceive any practical good that could result from it. He had differed with the noble lords opposite on the catholic claims, and on that subject he could understand their arguments; but it was otherwise with respect to this measure. Had they any reason to think that this measure would have satisfied the catholics, or, that having obtained this, they would not equally desire every thing else? This measure was to give them the sword, but to refuse them every thing beside; and yet he had never conversed with any person upon the subject, who would not rather grant to the catholics what his majesty's ministers by this measure refused them, and refuse what they granted. He was adverse to the measure, because it would grant what was dangerous to give, and what was not calculated to give satisfaction, or to produce content.—He came next to consider the misunderstanding that had taken place upon the subject. In observing upon this part of the statement of the noble baron, and in supplying some particulars which had been omitted by him, he did not feel any inclination to detract from the credit due to the noble baron's statement, or to give a partial colour to the case. If he should be guilty of any inaccuracy, the noble baron would, he trusted, correct him; for in the observations which he proposed to make, he was actuated by a desire of promoting the honour of the crown, the dignity of the king, and, with reference to themselves, of discharging a most scrupulous duty. The noble baron had accurately stated that the measure had originated in the dispatch from the Irish government. That dispatch had been laid before his majesty, and upon an attentive perusal of the contents of that dispatch, he was of the opinion of his noble friend, that all that was desired in the dispatch was the extension of the provisions of the Irish act generally: this was the impression upon his mind on reading the dispatch, and the same impressions seemed to have been felt by Mr. Elliot, who, when asked by the catholic deputies, whether the measure was to remove the limitations of the Irish act, declined an explicit answer, till he should refer the question to the British government. His majesty had, in the first instance, unequivocally and strongly declared his disapprobation of the measure. In consequence of this disapprobation, a long cabinet minute had been laid before his majesty, detailing, in an able manner, the reasons for the adoption of the measure, with a view to induce him to retract his objection, and to consent to a measure of a limited nature. It was impossible, therefore, that either the noble viscount, or the noble and learned lord, could have supposed that the measure was to go further than to make the provisions of the Irish act general. A doubt might indeed have been felt, and he had entertained that feeling, whether the measure was only to include Irish catholics or the catholics of the empire. But upon a more attentive perusal of the minute, he was convinced that it had been proposed to extend the provisions of the measure to the catholics of the empire. He stated this to prove, that by every argument which had been used to obtain his majesty's consent to the measure, it was clear that the bill proposed was only to extend the provisions of the Irish bill. His majesty was assured, that it was only the same measure to which he had consented in 1793, and that the present measure was only intended to carry into effect that act, according to the principle upon which it had been enacted. That principle had been to give to the catholics the privilege of holding certain commissions in the army, at the same time reserving others; and if the principle of the act of 1793 were to have been the principle of the proposed measure, he contended that the reservation formed as much a part of that principle, as the admission of certain commissions. This opinion he felt more strongly, from the manner in which the measure had been brought forward, so different from that which had been first proposed. It had been at first intended to carry the principle into effect, by the introduction of clauses for that purpose; but when it was determined on to carry the measure farther than was at first proposed, it was found that a clause in the mutiny bill could not make that law general, which had been before limited, and therefore a separate bill had been thought necessary. The result of all he had stated was, that no proposition could be clearer than that the first object was only to make the Irish act of 1793 the general law of the empire. How the misapprehension upon the subject arose it was not for him to decide, and certainly he would be the last man in such a case to assert or suspect that the misapprehension was wilful on either side. He had, however, authority to state, that on the 3d of March a communication had been made to his majesty on the subject, and on the 4th lord Howick had an audience of his majesty at the Queen's Palace. At this interview his majesty had stated his objections to the measure, but he was ready to admit that the noble lord had felt convinced in his own mind; that nothing had fallen from the august personage during his audience that precluded him from opening the measure as he had done to parliament. When, however, the misapprehension that had taken place had been more explicitly stated, the noble baron, and the noble viscount, and the other members of the cabinet, had considered the subject in a long consultation, to ascertain whether the bill could be modified so as to answer the purpose for which it had been intended; the result of which was, that they thought it better to drop the bill altogether, with some observations, of which he proposed to take some notice before he should sit down. In withdrawing the bill, it appeared that they had made two reserves; first, that they should be at liberty to declare their opinions on the general policy of the measure; as well on the withdrawing the bill, as on the event of the catholic petition being presented. The second reserve was, that as a government they should be at liberty to bring the subject from time to time under his majesty's consideration, by recommending such measures as they might deem proper to be adopted. Where any individual consents to give up any measure, he had no doubt a right to propose conditions; but in this case there were two parties, and though the ministers had a right to propose conditions, the situation of his majesty was not to be forgotten. He should not say that they had not conscientiously proposed these reserves, but he asked their lordships to consider what would have been the situation of the king, if he had acceded to the proposition? What would have been the effect of such an assent, but to divide the unity of the executive? Would it not be to destroy the constitution, one of the wise maxims of which was, that the king could do no wrong, thereby casting a veil over his sacred character? Would it not have the effect of casting the whole odium upon his majesty of resisting the measure, and of giving the whole popularity to his ministers? Was his majesty to wait until the time should arrive, when his ministers might think it convenient to bring the question again forward with more prospect of effect? He was not aware of any other alternative his majesty had when they had refused to withdraw their statement, or to make any promise respecting the future, but that which he had adopted. The noble baron's opinion had certainly been known to his majesty on this subject, but his majesty could not know when he might think fit to bring the matter forward, or whether his opinion upon it might not have derived additional strength from the decision upon the question by the greatest majorities that had ever been known upon any public question. But when they had given up their half measure, it was rather extraordinary that they should reserve the power of bringing forward the whole question. All that he had authority to state on the part of his majesty was, that the measure which had been brought in was widely different from that which had been sanctioned by his majesty, at first proposed. He could distinctly state, with reference to this subject, that until he had been called upon, in conjunction with his noble and learned friend (lord Eldon), by his majesty, he was ignorant of this transaction. But having been so called upon by his sovereign, he should have shrunk from his duty, if he had not yielded obedience to his commands. He was fully aware of the weight that was to be derived from the support of all the great interests that had given their countenance to the late administration; he was sensible of the splendid talents of the noble baron, and of the great energies that were necessary for the government in the present crisis; but he should have shrunk from his duty, if he had not been ready, at the call of his majesty, to come forward on a question, which he had thought necessary for upholding the dignity of the crown, for maintaining the interests of the country, and for supporting the public establishments, which he looked upon as intimately connected with the prosperity of the empire.

Lord *Moira* was adverse to the idea of being at issue with his sovereign, but a correct explanation of the transaction was rendered peculiarly necessary on account of the false and scandalous view of it which had been published by persons who must have had access to the minutes of the privy council, of which garbled extracts had been given in order to mislead the public. His noble friend had given that explanation with all that precision, justness, and delicacy, that might naturally have been expected from him. The noble secretary had laboured hard to prove that there had been a misconception on this point. This had not been denied; but he had not touched on the pledges that had been required, and which t was found impossible to give. The reser-ation was this: that under different circum-tances his majesty's servants might think t their duty to bring the situation of the ca-holics again under his consideration, and urely it was not difficult to conceive an exigency in which this might be their duty. Occasions might occur in which this might be absolutely necessary for the salvation of he country; and his majesty's servants would be guilty of a crime, if they should bind themselves by any pledge that should force them to conceal the situation of Ire-and under all possible circumstances. This was not a spontaneous measure on the part of his majesty's servants. They could not, from a regard to their oaths, state all the pressure that compelled them to propose it. But it was impossible not to see what mischiefs might arise from the fomenting of religious differences in Ireland. The noble viscount near him said, that toleration did not extend to power. But his view of toleration extended a great deal further. His notion of toleration was, that no one ought unnecessarily to be deprived of the benefits of the constitution. The noble secretary talked of fundamental laws. It was true there must be fundamental laws, but at the same time it was part of their duty to modify those laws, so as to apply to circumstances as they might arise. The catholic population of Ireland ought to give at least 100,000 soldiers to our disposable force, and under the present circumstances, this was a motive certainly to open the army for them. Had he himself, or any other, laid the catholic petition on the table of that house, he would have said, that it would have been extremely impolitic at present to agitate the question; but the bill was a very different thing. It would have served, perhaps, to keep off this very petition; it would have afforded an useful vent for the population of Ireland, and removed many from the scene of discontent, while it would, in a great measure, have taken away the cause. It had been said, that the catholics were not to be entrusted with power; and yet you had entrusted them with power, for a catholic might be colonel of a regiment, and had all the opportunity of rendering the men disaffected, and doing a great part of the mischief that was apprehended from him if he was so inclined. But there was no such inclination; and, in fact, those notions carried us back two centuries. Then, indeed, there might be grounds for apprehension, and these restrictions might be necessary. But now the case was totally altered. This was the time to prevent the occurrence of the dangers that might result from a strict adherence to these disqualifications. When the danger actually came, the remedy would be far too late. He again disclaimed what was one of the ideas most foreign to his mind, that of being at issue with his sovereign. He was fully sensible of the many favours he had received at the hands of his sovereign; and was grateful for those acts of royal munificence of which he had been the object: he was most sincerely impressed with the conviction on his mind, that his majesty had acted as he had done from the most truly conscientious feeling as to the propriety of the case, when he was graciously pleased to express his disapprobation of the measure. But, at the same time, he must, in duty to his colleagues and himself, declare, that he was convinced that they discharged a most important duty to their country, to their sovereign, and to the constitution of the empire, as well as to their own character, when they withheld their names from a paper of such a nature as that which was then the object of their lordships' discussion.

Lord *Melville* expressed his satisfaction that the discussion had been entered into, and he wished that every person from one end of the island to the other, should be informed of the true state of the question. An illustrious person, now no more (Mr. Pitt), had been alluded to; he joined from the very bottom of his heart in all the praises which had been bestowed on him; and so ardent was his attachment to the opinions of that great man, that he wished to make them the polar star of his life. He would now advert to a part of the conduct of that eminent character. When that distinguished man retired from office in 1800, he had an opinion, that the passing of the catholic question was indispensable. But, on weighing that question more maturely in retirement, and coupling it with the consideration of the honourable, unalterable, and conscientious repugnance of his sovereign, he altered that opinion, and determined never again to press his sovereign on a question, to which he was so conscientiously and invincibly averse. This determination was formed long before Mr. Pitt returned to office, and was communicated to his majesty long before that period, accompanied with Mr. Pitt's assurance to adhere to it equally, whether he should be in or out of office. On this principle Mr. Pitt came into office in 1804. He would ask the noble baron who had opened this discussion, on the other side, whether, if the offer that had been made to him at that time to come into office with Mr. Pitt had been in other respects so agreeable as to have induced him to accept it, he would have insisted on the right of stating his opinions in favour of this catholic measure? The consideration of the question was at all times a consideration of expediency, which should be weighed maturely; but though the oath of office bound each of his majesty's counsellors to advise him to the best of his judgment and discretion in all such cases, there were other considerations also that ought to be included. The conduct of the late ministers, with respect to the bill they had brought forward, was subject to the imputation, that they had either brought it forward lightly, without sufficient occasion, or without sufficient grounds: or, if they had sufficient grounds in bringing it forward, they surrendered it in disregard of their oath of office, which binds them in all cases to give advice to the best of their judgment. As to the pledge demanded by his majesty that he should not be again troubled on this question, that arose from the reservation with which the measure then before parliament was given up. It was one thing to retain former opinions, as individual members of parliament, and another thing to state those opinions as members of parliament in the situation of ministers of the crown, with all the weight and influence annexed to that station. Was it for his majesty to expose himself to be constantly disturbed on a matter, with respect to the refusal of which he had already formed a clear, distinct, honourable, unalterable, and conscientious determination? He did not blame the late ministers for their adherence to their own opinions, but they ought to allow the sovereign whom they praised so much some right to maintain his opinion; and after their attempt to make the conditions that had been stated to him, it was not surprising that he wished to secure himself by requiring a corresponding pledge from them. If any of the disastrous cases which had been supposed with respect to Ireland should arise, it would be an awkward thing indeed if any of his majesty's ministers should be in the situation to get up and say to his majesty, all this has happened by your adhering to your own opinions, and not to my advice. He disliked those suppositions of disastrous cases, those prophecies of ill, thrown out on this occasion by noble lords on the other side, for those who made such prophecies had always a disposition to realise them, or at least a wish to see them realised. If men in office held opinions different from those of their sovereign, he did not say they ought to give their opinions up; but if the sovereign could find other servants who would undertake to conduct the government, without requiring this sacrifice, he had certainly the right to appoint and make use of them. These persons might think, that by pursuing other conciliatory measures with respect to Ireland, (for this was not the only conciliatory measure, and none but conciliatory measures would be pursued) that part of the empire might be well and kindly governed without this sacrifice. From the whole of the statement made, he thought that the late ministers, upon their own shewing, had been properly dismissed, after that which they had proposed to his majesty had put him under the necessity of seeking relief from others, who thought, like him, that the measure under consideration ought not to be granted without an essential necessity. This proceeding of his majesty, and the acquiescence of those who were now his majesty's servants, was justified by the conduct of those, who, though first holding the measure so essential as to be induced to bring it forward, afterwards thought it so little essential as to concede it to the sovereign, at the same time that they made it a point of duty to maintain their own opinions generally, independent of the sovereign's wishes.

Lord *Grenville*, in answer to the question of the noble viscount, whether he had reserved to himself his own opinion, upon the subject of the Catholics, to act upon it, notwithstanding what he knew to be the opinion of his majesty upon that subject; answered, that he told Mr. Pitt, when solicited by him to take part in the administration before the last, that no consideration under Heaven should induce him to go into the service of the king, although he would join Mr. Pitt as soon as he would any other man—that no consideration under Heaven should induce him to take part in any government upon earth, without reserving his own opinion upon this subject.

Lord *Holland* thought it unnecessary now to discuss either the bill lately before the other house, or the Catholic question; the real question was, the cause for the dismissal of his majesty's late ministers, and the situation in which his majesty's present ministers were placed on the catholic question. He was ready at any time to vindicate the conduct and the principles of himself and his olleagues; and in answer to the question sked by the noble secretary of state, as to hat occasion there was at this time to throw pen the staff of the army, and the commis-ons of the navy, to that class of subjects? e would answer, that the awful and perilous tuation of the empire rendered it necessary o conciliate the attachment, and unite the nergies and affections of all classes of his ajesty's subjects for our common defence. he noble secretary had said, it was not ne-essary, as the catholics already manned our egiments and fleets, and we should by this easure obtain no addition of their numbers; ut little did that man know of human na-ure, or of soldiers' feelings, who conceived at the spirit of an army was not to be ma-erially affected by any proscription, or hu-iliating distinction attached to any particu-r class of casts or nations which composed ; or who imagined that it was no daunt to e ardour or skill of the soldier to tell him you never can by any possibility rise to a igh situation in the army." It was to the bandonment of this principle that we might mpute the superior skill the French officers ad so long maintained, and we should look o the effect of the same policy in the Rus-an armies, now fighting the battles of this ountry and of Europe against the common nemy, in Poland, where the Roman catholic eligion was the established one. The high-st posts in the Russian army were open to erit, regardless of sect; by which means e French could not tempt the Polish ca-olic to rebellion, because they had no ad-antage to offer in the way of rank, or pre-rment, which was not already open to him nder his own government. However ghtly other ministers had broken their ledges to the catholics, he and his colleagues ere not in the habit of giving pledges with-ut the intention of performing them: so either could they reconcile themselves to e expedient policy now recommended by e noble viscount. They thought the bill roposed a measure at once much less grating the royal feelings, and calculated to conci-ate the catholics, and to prevent the dis-ussion of the petition they were preparing o bring forward. The noble lord then pro-eeded to vindicate the conduct of himself nd his colleagues, in declining to bind emselves by a pledge to refrain in future om giving any advice to his majesty which ey thought it their duty to give, either up-n this or upon any other topic, as a pledge olatory to the constitution, to their duty, nd to their oaths; and he declared that, if their successors had accepted their places under any such restriction, they had abandoned their duty, and with it the security of the most vulnerable part of the empire.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* alluded to an observation, which had been made by some noble lord on the other side in the course of the debate. It had been said, if the bill was necessary, why should it have been withdrawn. In answer to this, he said, first, that, though he should now consider it to be as necessary as it was before, yet that something might have been fairly conceded to the wishes of the sovereign, and to his opinion as to the circumstances of the times. But still he would not hesitate to say, that if a promise such as had been alluded to were given, the persons who entered into such a compromise as involved the breach of a great constitutional principle, would deserve to lose their heads.

Lord *Hawkesbury* explained, by denying that the present ministers had bound themselves by any such pledge: he said, if his majesty's late ministers thought their own opinions right, they did right to support them; and if they found those opinions positively resisted by his majesty, it was their duty to resign their situations.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* rose to explain the principles that were in the contemplation of government, in 1801, respecting any further concessions to the catholics; which, he said, were nothing more than to pass a bill in the English parliament, adopting the same principle as the bill passed by the Irish parliament, for throwing open the subordinate ranks of the army, under that of staff officers, to catholics; and without which the Irish bill would have no operation out of Ireland. It could have no operation whatever in respect to the navy. Farther than this he never could consent to go. He was well aware, that the impossibility of rising to all the advantages of the military profession must considerably damp the ardour of an officer; and though he could see no great objection, nor mischief, from giving to Catholic officers staff-rank in any other country than Ireland, yet there he conceived it exceedingly dangerous, and nothing could ever shake his opinion upon this point. The Irish parliament never would have consented to such a measure, and this parliament would do well to pause before they ventured to carry concession so much farther than the parliament who well understood the subject.

The *Lord Chancellor* (Erskine) said, he considered the subject of the Catholic Question as completely irrelevant as any other whatever, to the late change in his majesty's councils, although it happened to be the subject which led to such a conjuncture. Although a member of the late government, he was decidedly adverse to the measure, and should not have advised it, because he did not see the political necessity for it which had induced the great majority of his colleagues to recommend it to his majesty, yet he thought they were highly commendable, and only doing their duty in giving his majesty such advice as they in their conscience thought just; as well as in declining to be bound by any pledge to refrain from giving to their sovereign upon this, or any subject, such advice as they conceived to be just. The firmness with which his majesty had maintained his own conscientious opinions, by resisting the bill in the extent to which it went, had also his respectful approbation; but he must say, that his colleagues did right in declining to be bound never again to advise the measure under any possible pressure of circumstances. At the moment when his majesty's late ministers relinquished the bill, in concession to his majesty's scruples, they stood in the same situation as upon their first accession to office. They knew his majesty's feelings. His majesty was aware that their sentiments were in favour of the concession. But their dereliction of the measure at that time, in deference to the royal opinion, was a tacit pledge that they would not again press it, unless under some extraordinary circumstances, which might render it more urgently necessary. Had it pleased his majesty then to await for this experience in the conduct of his ministers, and to see if they again endeavoured to press forward the measure, or submit it to parliament; and if they did it contrary to his majesty's wishes, they would have merited dismissal. The right of his majesty to change his ministers no man could deny; but to have remained in power, or accept office upon any such condition as the pledge alluded to, was, in his opinion, contrary to every principle of ministerial duty, and directly in violation of the constitution. Had the business ended with the abandonment of the bill, by the late administration, the catholics would only have to say, they had been abandoned by their friends, and would have still cherished the hope of being more fortunate at some future period. But by the dismissal of those friends from the councils of their sovereign, for no other reason than their declining to pledge themselves never again, under any circumstances, to allude to the question, or any thing connected with it upon his majesty's mind, they would be taught to consider, that the principle just declared by the noble earl, of never granting any farther concession to the catholics, was to be a part of the system of government: what the result of such conviction would be, he did not wish even to conjecture.—The question for adjournment to Wednesday se'ennight was then put and agreed to.

The Marquis of *Stafford* then rose, and gave notice of his intention to bring forward a question on that day, upon the subject of the dismissal of his majesty's late ministers, and moved, that their lordships be summoned for that day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, March 26.

[MINUTES.]—Sir J. Newport brought in two bills, the one for amending the act of last session relative to the Provision for the Poor in Ireland, and the other for authorising Commissioners in the superior Courts of Law in Ireland, to administer Oaths in the absence of the Judges.—Mr. Sheridan brought in a bill for the erection of a Bridge across the Thames, at or near Southampton-street, to the Surrey side of the River. They were each read a first time.—Mr. Robson complained that several papers, &c. relative to the Barrack Department, which had been ordered to be printed four months ago had not yet reached the members of that house. The country had sustained considerable loss by such delays. He asked what benefit it could be to the house that papers were ordered to be printed for the use of the members, if they were to be suffered to remain for such a length of time in the printer's hands? And gave notice of a motion relative to the production of papers in that department, shortly after the ensuing recess.—Sir S. Romilly brought in a bill to make the Freehold Property of Tradesmen dying intestate liable to prosecutions for the recovery of their debts, which was read a first time.—The Treasurer of the Navy's Office Regulation bill, and the Sicilian Prize bill were read a third time and passed.—New writs were moved for the election of members to serve in parliament, for Northampton, in the room of the right hon. Spencer Perceval, who since his election had accepted of the office of Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall during pleasure; for Buckingham, in the room of the Marquis of Titchfield, who had accepted the office of one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high treasurer of England; for Haslemere, in the room of the right hon. Charles Long, who had accepted the office of one of the joint paymasters of his majesty's forces; for Beeralston, in the room of the right hon. lord Louvaine, who had accepted the office of one of the commissioners for the affairs of India, with a salary; for the county of Edinburgh, in the room of the right hon. R. Dundas, who had accepted the office of president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India; for Monmouth, in the room of the right hon. lord Charles Somerset, who had accepted the office of one of the joint paymasters of his majesty's forces.

[CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION.] Mr. Huskisson moved that the house at its rising do adjourn to Wednesday sen'night. Upon which,

Lord *Howick* rose, and spoke as follows: Sir, upon the motion which has just been made by the hon. gent. for an adjournment during the period which is usually allowed for a recess, at this season of the year, I trust it will not be thought irrelevant to the subject, if I take this opportunity of giving to the house that explanation of which I yesterday gave notice. It is of the utmost importance to myself and to my colleagues, that the circumstances which have led to the recent change of his majesty's ministers may be fully understood. It is of importance to the house, and to the public, that they may be enabled to form a proper estimate and opinion of the character and conduct of those persons to whom the administration of public affairs was so lately entrusted, and truly to appreciate all the circumstances of that situation, in which, in consequence of that change, the country is now placed. It is of importance to the house, in the decision of the question now stated from the chair, inasmuch as the propriety of an adjournment, of a longer or a shorter duration, may depend upon the necessity of adopting some measures, at the earliest possible period, to avert the conesequences of the extraordinary events which have taken place. To myself personally, every feeling both of duty and of honour renders it of the highest importance, that I should, as soon as possible, convince the house that my conduct has not been such as to make them repent of the kind indulgence which I have experienced from them. Undoubtedly, sir, every moment's delay, in which my conduct may be a matter of doubt with those from whom I have received, together with my colleagues, such distinguished support, has been exceedingly painful to me; yet conceiving it to be my duty, I have abstained from saying any thing upon this subject till that moment arrived, when it was no longer necessary to be silent; when his majesty has declared his intention of placing the administration of affairs in other hands. I now therefore, having received his majesty's permission to do so, am at liberty to state, without a breach of duty, those circumstances which I am most anxious should be fully understood by the public. Desirous, however, as I may be to take the earliest possible moment to make this statement, and sensible that in justice to our own characters it can no longer be delayed, I confess I feel in common with those, who expressed that opinion last night, considerable regret that I am under the necessity of doing so in the absence of those persons, whose presence some may think requisite, to watch the accuracy of my statement. I am sure the hon. gent. (Mr. Sturges Bourne) who made some observations to this effect last night, will not charge me with intending to state any thing to the house which I do not myself believe to be strictly correct; the hon. gent. might, without any injurious suspicion of me, be of opinion, that the natural partiality with which men are apt to view their own conduct, required the presence of other persons, possessed of all the facts, and capable of correcting any unintentional errors, which this cause might produce. I am as anxious as any man that these persons should be present upon such an occasion, and I hope that this matter will yet be discussed at some future time, upon some motion proposed to this house, which may give an opportunity of making a restatement, if restatement should be necessary, but at all events of examining and sifting every part of the details which I am this day about to lay before you.—Sir, it is neither in my nature nor in my habits to shrink from the examination of any man: but I felt myself reduced to this alternative, either to submit to have the public mind prejudiced by false reports and misrepresentations, supported by partial extracts from confidential papers; or in the absence of the persons alluded to, to take this early opportunity of entering into the discussion. I am convinced that a fair, candid, and correct statement is the only antidote to such wilful misrepresentation; and that this is the only mode, consistent with my character, and with my duty as a member of parliament, in which I could lay before the public a fair exposition of every part of my conduct. Under such circumstances it was impossible for me, in justice to myself and my colleagues—nay, in justice to the public itself, which might be misled by such deception, it was impossible for me to suffer so long a period of time to elapse as might intervene before the new ministers could resume their seats in the house. Sir, in doing so however, upon the present occasion, their absence will have this effect, that I shall as much as possible confine myself to a mere statement of the facts, and abstain as far as I can from every thing that can provoke discussion; I shall state only what I conceive to be necessary for my own vindication, avoiding every thing like argument, and leaving all such points to that future discussion, which at an early day, after the holidays, I trust will take place; when an opportunity will be afforded of stating to the house every thing that may be material upon the subject.—Sir, having premised thus much, I shall proceed to lay before the house the statement which I have promised. When the late administration was formed, there were included in it many members whose opinions and principles, with respect to what is called the Catholic Question, were generally known; they had been very recently manifested to the public, in the most authentic of all ways, by their speeches and their votes in parliament. I am sure there did not exist in any quarter an expectation or suspicion that those persons, whose characters were so well known, could be induced, for the sake of office or emolument, to abandon any of the opinions and principles which they had so solemnly expressed and avowed. In point of fact, no condition inconsistent with the freest exercise of their judgment was proposed to them, nor did they come into the government subject to any such stipulation, which if it had been exacted from them, they would have found it incumbent upon them, in honour and in duty, then, as now, to decline. At the same time, however, that I state this with respect to their opinions and principles, I will not attempt to deny, that great difficulties were known to stand in the way of further concessions to the catholics of England and Ireland. And as his majesty's late ministers came into administration totally unfettered upon all subjects, I can speak for every individual among them, that they had a sincere and anxious desire, while they conducted the government in conformity to their own principles, and with the best wishes for the interests of the state, to avoid, if possible, every thing that was repugnant to any of those feelings and opinions, which, upon every motive of duty, affection, and attachment, they were most bound to respect. Sir, these were the principles upon which those who composed the last administration came into power: their opinions upon the catholic question were well known; but they hoped, by a prudent, lenient, and conciliatory system of government, to keep that question for some time at rest: and, for a considerable period, their hopes and expectations were flattered with every appearance of success. However, sir, towards the latter end of the last year, there did occur circumstances in the west of Ireland, which increased all the anxiety, with which, from their first introduction to office, they had directed their attention to that country: a most valuable, but, I am afraid I must add, the most vulnerable part of the British dominions. The disturbances, which towards the end of last year reigned in the west, engaged our most anxious deliberations, and although we were urged by many persons, who are fonder of the policy of force than I am, to resort to measures of extraordinary severity; although, on the second day * of the present session, we were eagerly pressed by an hon. and learned gent., who was impatient for rigour, and could not wait for the determination of his majesty's ministers; yet, to effect the reduction of that spirit which prevailed in Ireland, we determined

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* Upon the report of the Address, 20th December last, Mr. Perceval, among other observations, urged these: "No mention had been made of the state of Ireland. He trusted that this silence might be ascribed to the total want of foundation for the alarming rumours that had reached this country. Ministers must unquestionably be the judges how far the usual prerogatives of the crown were sufficient to suppress insurrection or rebellion, in whatever quarter it might appear; the decision rested with them: he only begged them to consider, that the protraction of the necessary day of punishment was not mercy; and the delay which allowed insurrection to proceed, until it became impossible to quell it without a considerable shedding of blood, was not kindness. He hoped that the omission of any notice of the situation of the sister island, was occasioned by the absence of any necessity for an extraordinary exertion of the law. Should such a necessity unfortunately arise, and should ministers call on the house for an enlargement of the executive power, he could assure them that they should meet with no opposition on his part to any proper measure of vigour, which they might think it expedient to propose."—See vol. 8, p. 87.

to confide in an active exertion of the known powers of the law; and, thank God, our hopes in this respect were realized, without recurring to those severities, which less politic and more intemperate advisers had wished to recommend. But, sir, after these occurrences, it became necessary to look more immediately to measures, that might tend to conciliate and tranquillize that country. Several measures were in contemplation, and, among them that which I had the honour of lately introducing into this house appeared to be one of the most obvious. It seemed calculated to prove highly beneficial to the empire at large, as well as to Ireland itself. It was expected to afford the means of recruiting our naval and military force, so necessary at the present moment to be carried to the utmost extent, by facilitating the introduction of those persons into the service, who are at present in a great measure excluded, by what I must call the ill-understood policy of the existing laws. The bill which I brought in for this purpose has been improperly termed the Catholic bill; for it included dissenters from the established church of every description. We certainly expected from it that it would contribute essentially to the tranquillity of Ireland, by holding out to the gentlemen of that country the prospect of rising in the army and navy, and thus diffusing motives of attachment towards this country among the people in general: at the same time that it would afford a vent to the superabundant population, and draw from the very sources of discontent the means of strength and security. These were the motives which induced the king's ministers to propose that measure. I do not know that it is necessary for me to state, and yet the arts which have been practised may render it useful to state, that, in bringing forward this measure, their intention was not to invade but to strengthen the securities of the established church itself. If I estimate rightly in what those securities consist, I think they are interwoven with the security and existence of the empire. Can the one be safe if the other be in danger? And are not the necessary means for the defence of the empire, the best security for its religious establishments? If ever Ireland should be exposed (which God avert!) to a successful invasion of the enemy, I call upon those who accuse us of endangering the establishments, to reflect what must then be the fate of our church and the protestant religion.— Sir, while this measure was under consideration, accounts were received from Ireland, transmitted by the lord lieutenant (dated 4th Feb.), of a disposition manifested by the catholics to prosecute, by a petition to parliament, those claims, which they had so recently urged in a former session. Notwithstanding the known opinions which I and some of my colleagues hold in favour of those claims, we were persuaded, that the agitation of the question at this time was not likely to be attended with advantage; and so far as our private advice and influence could extend, it was used to dissuade the catholics from the attempt. The knowledge, however, of their intention, was an additional inducement in recommending the measure which we had already in contemplation. We hoped, though it was offered in no view of compromise, that it might prevent the agitation of that very question, by affording satisfaction to the catholics of Ireland in general; at the same time that we considered it as recommended by every principle of policy. We trusted that this limited measure of concession might be brought forward without encountering those objections, which were involved in the general question of what is commonly called emancipation. In reverting to the Irish act of parliament, passed in the year 1793, and observing the incongruity which subsists in the law of the united kingdom, we could not overlook the pledge explicitly given at that time by the lord chancellor of Ireland, and by the secretary of Ireland (lord Clare and lord Buckinghamshire), that a similar law, to allow the admission of catholics both into the army and navy, should be introduced in England. This pledge to the catholics is recorded in the secretary of state's office, in a dispatch from Mr. Hobart, now lord Buckinghamshire. We considered it, therefore, not more a measure of general policy than an act of good faith and consistency; and we did hope, that upon all these grounds we should be able to obtain for them that boon which had been promised them upon a former occasion, under the authority of government, and that the proposal would meet with that general approbation from all parties, to which it seemed to us so well entitled. It was upon all these grounds proposed to his majesty, and a detailed dispatch was written and sent to the lord lieutenant of Ireland (a document which I wish I could lay before the house upon the present occasion) stating much better than I have been stating them, all the reasons which induced us to propose this measure—the draft of this dispatch was previously sent, accompanied by a cabinet minute (dated 9th February), to his majesty. To that first proposal his majesty expressed a strong dissent; and upon receiving the answer from his majesty, the cabinet again deliberated upon it, and again made a respectful representation (dated 10th February) to his majesty, as to the grounds upon which they thought it expedient as a point of general policy, principle, and good faith. To that representation came back an answer from his majesty, expressing still considerable reluctance, but, however, signifying his consent. I say, Sir, that that answer conveyed a reluctant, but a positive assent. Under that high sanction and authority the dispatch was sent to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and soon after a meeting was held of the catholics, with Mr. Elliot, the principal secretary, and the lord chancellor, in which it was stated (abstaining from every thing that related to the petition), that this measure was to be introduced into the Mutiny bill.—Some discussion arose upon it, and a question was put to Mr. Elliot by one of the catholic deputies, Mr. O'Connor, whether the proposed measure went the length of including the admission of catholics into all ranks of the army, or whether it was to be limited by the restrictions of the Irish act. Mr. Elliot's answer was, in the words of the dispatch, that it was proposed to enable his majesty to confer on any of his subjects any military commission whatever. There can be no question, however, that Mr. Elliot had conceived doubts as to the extent of the measure, that he expressed himself doubtfully, and that his answer was reported as doubtful to a meeting of the catholics; but it was at the same time declared by the deputies who attended this conference, that they understood it to be the intention of government, that staff appointments in the army, which had been excepted in the Irish act, should be opened to them. The dispatches, stating what had passed at these meetings, the question put, and the answer given with respect to the extent of the measure, as well as the understanding which the catholics had conceived of it, were regularly submitted to his majesty; and no dissatisfaction or uneasiness was expressed in consequence of what was thus brought under his view. I am bound to say, however, that it has since appeared that the measure had not been distinctly understood; not only his majesty, but some members of the cabinet, had not been fully aware of its extent; and I must confess, that I had not myself sufficiently attended to the distinction between it and the Irish act. When this appeared, it became the subject of a new deliberation, in which an objection was stated by a respectable member of the cabinet (the lord president) to any concession beyond the Irish act. A majority, however, concurred in recommending the measure in the form in which it was afterwards introduced; but as doubts had arisen, and an apprehension was entertained that it might have been misunderstood by his majesty, it was determined to bring the matter distinctly under his royal observation, by a second dispatch to the lord lieutenant, clearly stating its full extent.—And here I must state, that some distinctions ought to be taken between the duties of ministers and those of private members of parliament. I conceive that a minister may, as an individual member of parliament, introduce measures for which the authority of government is not at all pledged; I could adduce instances of this in the administration of the late Mr. Pitt. The house will at once recollect the motion for a reform in parliament, and that for the abolition of the slave trade: both these motions were introduced by him as an individual member of parliament, without the responsibility of government being attached to them. Sir, during the short period that I have had the honour of holding a situation under his majesty, I and my noble colleague have, in the same manner, brought forward successfully the measure of the abolition of the slave trade, to which I shall look with satisfaction for the remainder of my days. But, sir, where a measure arising out of various causes which have engaged the attention of his majesty's confidential servants, is to be brought forward with the authority of government, the measure itself, as well as the case to which it applies, ought undoubtedly to be first submitted to his majesty. I certainly feel that I ought not to have introduced a measure of this description without the sanction of that authority; and I should think myself reprehensible in the highest degree, and deserving all the censure that is endeavoured to be cast upon me, if I had proposed this bill to parliament without believing that I had his majesty's consent.—Sir, I have stated that a doubt arose as to the understanding of the extent of this bill; it was therefore determined (lord Spencer at that time being absent on account of his health) that I should write a dispatch to the lord lieutenant, enclosing the clauses intended to be introduced into the Mutiny bill, stating distinctly that they were in conformity with the general words of the dispatch which had been sent on the 12th of February last, marking expressly that the catholics were to be admitted to hold any commission or appointment whatever; and observing that a confirmation was thus given of Mr. Elliot's answer to the catholic deputies. This dispatch, so expressed for the purpose of removing all doubts, and inclosing, as I have already stated, the intended clauses, was sent down by me, on Monday night, the 2d of March, to his majesty. This dispatch, having been perused by his majesty, came back from Windsor on the following morning, without a word of comment or objection; and with this sanction I acted, as in the course of my official business I had been uniformly accustomed to do—I immediately forwarded it to the lord lieutenant.—Sir, at this time the committee on the Mutiny bill was, I believe, appointed for the Wednesday; but objections had been started to the enactment of the proposed measure by clauses in that bill: it was therefore, upon reconsideration, determined to introduce a separate bill. On Wednesday, the 4th of March, the dispatch which I have just mentioned having been previously sent to the lord lieutenant, I attended at the levee at St. James's, and had an audience with his majesty upon the business of my office; after that was over his majesty was graciously pleased to ask me what was the business appointed for that day in the house. I stated to his majesty that the committee on the Mutiny bill stood as the order of the day, and explained to him the nature of the change that had taken place in the mode of proceeding, and the reasons which had induced the introduction of a separate bill: the king afterwards asked me whether the separate bill, intended to be brought forward was not the same as the Irish act of parliament? I stated to him the circumstances in which they differed; to which I added, that I apprehended it had been already explained to his majesty in the last dispatch which had been submitted to him. I also stated the reasons why I conceived the measure, in the extent to which it was intended to be carried, to be of the utmost importance to the welfare and security of the government of the country. And here, sir, I must acknowledge, that his majesty, upon that occasion, did express a general dislike and disapprobation of the measure. I mean to state every thing frankly, but I did understand that conversation to conclude by words giving a consent, a reluctant consent, I admit; or, perhaps, it would be more correctly stated as not withdrawing the consent which had been originally given. I conceived, therefore, that I still had sufficient authority, as a member of the government, for the introduction of the bill. I stated to my lord Grenville, immediately on coming out of the closet, what had passed there; his opinion upon that statement was the same as mine, and we were confirmed in our belief that his majesty did not intend to signify any absolute objection to the introduction of the bill, from the total silence which he observed upon this subject in the audience which lord Grenville afterwards had. His majesty did not say one word to lord Grenville, the leading member of the administration, upon a measure which, it now appears, had the misfortune of being exposed to his most decided opposition. Under these impressions, on the next day, or the day after, I introduced the bill into parliament: the motives which had produced it, the extent to which it went, were fully explained; not only were the arguments on which those persons relied who had proposed the measure, stated at some length, but the objections to them were urged with no inconsiderable vehemence. We know, sir, that debates in this house, though they cannot consistently with our orders be published, do find their way out of doors, and attract, particularly on any interesting subject, general observation. They, probably, do not excite the weakest interest in those whose concern for the public welfare is the greatest. But, sir, though this degree of publicity was now given to the measure, and though it could not be misunderstood, during a whole week which subsequently elapsed, I remained in complete ignorance, and without the slightest suspicion of the very serious, and, as it has appeared, insurmountable objections, which have since been made to it. Objections had, undoubtedly, been stated by one of my colleagues (lord Sidmouth), for whom I have great respect, upon the first clearing up of the misunderstanding which had prevailed with respect to the extent of the bill: these objections, during the interval of which I have been speaking, assumed a more decided form, and he offered his resignation in consequence of them; but though, after the introduction of the bill, I had communication with his majesty in the course of my official duty on other subjects, I had no reason till the Wednesday following, when I was absent both from this house and from my usual attendance on his majesty, on account of the death of a near relation, to believe that any extension whatever of the proposed measure, beyond the provisions of the Irish act, had been found absolutely irreconcilable with his principles and his feelings. On that day (Wednesday, March the 11th), his majesty stated to lord Grenville his decided objection, and referred, as having before signified this objection, to the conversation with which he had honoured me on the preceding Wednesday. I certainly had not so understood his majesty. If I had, I need not say that I should have found myself bound by every motive of interest and duty to submit so important a circumstance to the consideration of my colleagues before I moved for leave to bring in the bill. But, sir, it would have been most unbecoming in me, even if I could have entertained such a suspicion, to insinuate a doubt of the royal word. We were convinced that the king had been misunderstood by me, and as I had been placed in the unfortunate situation of introducing the bill under this misapprehension, I thought it my duty to suspend any further proceedings upon it, till I should have had an opportunity of explaining to his majesty the circumstances of my conduct. I accordingly on the night of Thursday the 12th proposed to the house to postpone the second reading of the bill to a farther day, and at the same time requested an audience of his majesty, which he was graciously pleased to honour me with on the following morning. Upon laying before his majesty the reasons which had induced me to believe that I was not as his minister acting in opposition to his royal pleasure; he was pleased to express his conviction that what had happened had arisen from an erroneous conception on my part, but acquitted me most graciously, but most unequivocally, of any intentional disregard of his opinions. From that moment it became a matter of the most anxious consideration to his majesty's ministers how they might best repair the effects of the misunderstanding which had taken place; they immediately applied their attention to the means of reducing the new bill to the standard of the Irish act, in the hope that they might be able still to carry it forward as an useful public measure under the sanction of his majesty's consent. But when we came to examine the objections that had been made to it, they were found to affect the measure in so considerable a degree, that, upon a full consideration of the subject, we were convinced there could be no hope of correcting the bill in such a manner as to relieve it from the objections that prevailed against it, and at the same time leave it in a state in which it would be likely to attain those ends which his majesty's late ministers had in view when it was originally proposed.—In this situation, sir, after anxiously weighing all the circumstances of the case, we determined—(I should here explain that the representations which were made in this stage of the proceedings were confined to those members of the cabinet who had concurred in opinion upon the measure to its full extent,) we determined, however painful the sacrifice might personally be, to abandon the bill altogether. It was, I say, a most painful sacrifice of personal feeling to public duty; a sacrifice which nothing short of a conviction that the measure had been introduced under a misunderstanding into this house, could have induced me to make; a sacrifice dictated only by a desire of doing what, under circumstances of such embarrassment, we conceived, after the most anxious deliberation, to be most consistent with our respect to our sovereign, and with the obligations imposed on us in the double capacity of members of the administration and of the legislature. In this situation we determined to make a sacrifice, which in any case where personal feelings and public duties come in competition with each other, I hope I shall never hesitate to make. It was, however, I repeat, a great and painful sacrifice; and in making it, it was necessary that we should take care not to place ourselves in a situation in which we might be made incapable of rendering hereafter any useful service to the public. The circumstances which occurred rendered the measures to be taken, with a view to the future security and peace of Ireland, a consideration of greater delicacy and difficulty than ever. Our public duty and our private honour made it indispensable that we should be free and unfettered on this point of our necessary deliberations. Circumstances had occurred in an early period of these transactions, and had been more strongly manifested during this latter period of the discussion, which implied a restriction on this important subject; and we found it necessary not only to reserve to ourselves the power of explaining to parliament our conduct with respect to the bill we had consented to withdraw; and of declaring in parliament individually the opinions which we hold with respect to the catholic claims, in the possible event of a discussion of their petition; but also to state it as essential to our own characters, as well as to the public interest, that the deference which we had felt it our duty to shew, on this occasion, to the opinions and feelings expressed by his majesty, should not be understood as restraining us from submitting, from time to time, as it was our duty, for his Majesty's decision, such measures respecting that part of the united kingdom, as the course of circumstances should appear to require; accompanied with an humble assurance, that in discharging that and every other part of our duty, so long as his majesty should think fit to honour us with his confidence, nothing should be omitted on our part, which could best testify our invariable and respectful attachment to his majesty, and our sincere and anxious concern for his majesty's personal ease and comfort, and for the prosperity and honour of his majesty's government. This part of our proceeding has been most improperly misrepresented to the public. It has been stated in that mutilated publication to which I have already alluded, as if we had reserved to ourselves the power of bringing this particular measure again before parliament; and the important words "*for your majesty's decision,*" as well as the concluding paragraphs, are in that extract omitted, purposely to give a false colour to the proceeding. Not only was the respectful statement which we made in writing to his majesty, accompanied with our declaration of our sincere and anxious desire to consult, on all occasions, his majesty's personal ease and comfort; but it was distinctly stated personally, both by my lord Grenville and myself, that it would be our constant wish and endeavour to keep from him, as much as possible, all subjects which might be distressing to his mind. I appeal then with confidence to the house, on the purity of the motives by which we were actuated, on the deference and respect shewn, to the utmost limit of our public duty, to his majesty's personal feelings and opinions.—But was it necessary to make the reserve which I have stated, and which, in consequence of the foullest misrepresentation, has been the object of such severe censure? I beg the house to consider the situation in which we were placed. The bill already introduced, and received with apparent favour by the house, was to be withdrawn. Was it not necessary that, in withdrawing it, I should, in justice to myself, endeavour to shew that it had not been lightly and wantonly proposed? Could I do so without some reference to the arguments, by which I had originally supported it, and which I will not now repeat? Was it not necessary then that I should be allowed to declare the grounds upon which an opinion, that I could not renounce, had been formed? But this, it is said, was placing my opinion in opposition to that of my royal master, and exposing him to any odium which might attach on a personal opposition to the measure. I will not examine this charge as applicable to a member of parliament; I will consider it only as affecting the conduct of the king's minister: and in this latter view I think it may be admitted, that under the particular circumstances of the case, after the prejudice and alarm which had been excited, and with a view to the consequences likely to arise from a public agitation of the question, public reasons, in no degree reflecting on his majesty, might have been assigned for withdrawing the bill; at the same time that I might, with all the respect due from a minister of the crown, and with the freedom of a member of parliament, have endeavoured to explain to the satisfaction of the house the reasons which had influenced my conduct. Sir, I do not believe that there is one member of right feeling in the house, who will deny that this course was necessary to the support of my consistency and honour; and I feel equally confident in asserting, that it was in no degree inconsistent with my duty as a minister of the crown. But it was necessary that we should look beyond the conduct to be pursued in withdrawing the bill. The Catholic petition, it now seemed certain, would be sent over to parliament. It was to be apprehended, that the discussion upon it would be urged with increased rather than diminished earnestness, in consequence of the disappointment likely to be felt from the failure of the bill which had been proposed. With this prospect before us, what were we to do? Were we to determine to renounce our former opinions? Were we, which would have been no less disgraceful, to observe the expected discussion in perfect silence? No, Sir; neither of these things could, I think, be expected of us. There was only then a third line of conduct to which we could look, and that was a free declaration of our sentiments on this important question. Those of his majesty's ministers who agreed in general on this important question might adopt a different line of conduct, with respect to any discussion on the petition. Some might think themselves acting best for the general interest by supporting a previous question; others might feel themselves bound to support the prayer of the petition if urged in proper and respectful terms. But a free declaration of their opinions was equally necessary from all; and with this necessity before us, I ask the house, whether we could, in justice to ourselves, or in fairness to his majesty, in the situation to which things were then brought, omit humbly submitting to him the view we entertained of the conduct which it would be requisite for us to hold. If a doubt is entertained upon this question, let me put it the other way. Suppose that the bill had been abandoned after the discussion, and in the manner that I have stated. Suppose, that, having so engaged to abandon it, we had gone to the two houses of parliament, and without any previous intimation to his majesty, both in withdrawing the bill, and afterwards on the introduction of the petition, supported the opinions upon the Catholic question which we are known to hold. If we had done this, I desire to know what would have been the charge made against us, by those who now accuse us of an unfair and disrespectful proceeding towards that sovereign, whom, on account of his high situation and his personal virtues, we are equally bound to revere.—We took therefore that course which appeared to us to be most fair and honourable. Our reasons were respectfully stated to his majesty, and we claimed a right to pronounce our opinions in parliament on the occasions already stated, and also to submit for his majesty's decision, from time to time, such advice respecting Ireland, as the course of circumstances and the interests of the empire should require. This I am sure, in point of fairness, cannot be reprehended; and it was equally supported by motives of personal respect and public duty to our sovereign and to our country.—A minute written with this view, and expressed in the most respectful language, was accordingly sent to his majesty. The royal answer expressed satisfaction at our determination to withdraw the bill, in deference to the king's opinions. It expressed some dissatisfaction, that we should feel it necessary as individuals to express our opinions both on withdrawing the bill, and in any discussion which might take place on the petition. But the latter part of our statement it required us absolutely to withdraw, declaring that his majesty could never consent to any concessions to the catholics which we might in future propose to him; and demanding from us a positive assurance, which, as explained by the whole context of what was required of us, went not only to the question of concessions to the catholics, but to all measures connected with it.—Sir, I am fully convinced that the motives and opinions, as far as they were personal motives and opinions, which dictated that demand on the part of his majesty, were of the purest nature. I have been but a short time in the service of his majesty; but I have had many opportunities of observing his gracious and benevolent intentions towards his people, of his affection for them, and his desire to promote their happiness and welfare. As far as he was personally concerned (I say nothing of those who may have advised him), as far as his majesty was personally concerned, I am sure he was actuated by the most conscientious motives, and the most honourable feelings. But with such a requisition, sir, we found it impossible to comply, consistently with any idea we entertained of duty or of honour. We felt it incumbent on us most respectfully and humbly, but most explicitly, to represent to his majesty, that those intrusted with administration were bound by every obligation to submit to his majesty, without reserve, the best advice they could frame, to meet the various exigencies and dangers of the times; and that the present formidable situation of Ireland required a repeated consideration of every fresh circumstance that might occur. We submitted, that in forbearing to urge any farther, while we continued in his majesty's service, the measure that had been proposed to parliament, we had gone to the utmost limits of our public duty; that we considered it would be criminal in us to bind ourselves to withhold from his majesty, under all the circumstances that might arise, the counsels that might appear to us indispensably necessary; and that it was not possible for us, consistently with our sense of our obligations as the king's sworn counsellors, to give assurances which would impose upon us a restraint, incompatible with the faithful discharge of our most important duty. The consequence was, that the next day, his majesty, certainly with the most gracious and kind expressions with regard to every other part of our conduct, communicated to us his intention to look out for other ministers. On the day after, we heard that other persons, not then in the number of his majesty's servants, had been sent for; and I was authorised a few days afterwards, in consequence of a request which I made, to declare to the house that it was his majesty's intention to form a

New Administration. On Tuesday last, his majesty signified to us his pleasure, that we should, on the following day, deliver up our seals of office; we accordingly did so.—This, sir, is the history of the whole transaction. I have not referred to any papers to support my statement; but I do wish, and am extremely anxious, that all the documents that can be furnished may meet the public eye not in an improper, mutilated, or partial state. I shall be most happy, if his majesty is graciously pleased to give permission to his new servants to produce every paper that has passed upon the subject, in order that they may undergo the fullest examination in this house. I trust it will appear from those papers, that the statement I have made is correct in all its parts; and if that statement be correct, that the house will be satisfied upon the following points; first, that it was not without strong inducements of public interest that we proposed this measure originally to his majesty; secondly, that whatever misunderstanding may unfortunately have arisen, we did not propose it to parliament without a firm persuasion that it had his majesty's sanction; thirdly, that when that misunderstanding was discovered, we went to the utmost limits of our duty in conceding the measure upon which that misunderstanding had arisen; and, fourthly, that in addition to that concession, under the peculiar circumstances in which we were placed, the respectful request that we submitted to his majesty, to allow us the liberty to explain our opinions and conduct upon the particular measure, accompanied, as it was, by a declaration of our wish to consult his personal ease and comfort, was not wantonly pressed upon his majesty, but from motives of duty and respect; and that the reserve we made as to the freedom of our future advice, was indispensable to our character and situation, as ministers of the crown and as servants of the public.—These, sir, are therefore the points which I wish the house to understand. This statement, which, though at some length, is after all perhaps too cursorily given, is that which I have wished to lay before the house and the public. I shall be ready now or at any future time, to go more fully into it whenever it shall be required of me.—Sir, I shall conclude by declaring that I feel no disposition to complain. I am sure, as I have already stated, that there can be but one feeling and one opinion of the gracious kindness of his majesty, with respect to every class and description of his subjects; and so far from being a party to join in any thing that might lessen that attachment due to a virtuous sovereign from an affectionate and grateful people, no man can be more anxious than I am to promote and secure it to the utmost of my power. I should indeed be most ungrateful if I could be actuated by a different feeling; for I have had, during the short period of my services, repeated marks of his majesty's royal approbation; and I have the comfort and satisfaction, in retiring from office, to be able to state, upon the authority of his majesty's own gracious assurance, that, till this difference occurred, his majesty has been satisfied, that, however deficient I may have been in ability, I have constantly endeavoured, diligently and faithfully, to discharge my duty to him and to the public.—Sir, I stated in the outset that I would abstain from every thing like argument upon the subject. Upon the subject of the assurance required of us, I have, therefore, without discussing it as to its principle or its tendency, stated little more, than that I felt it to be a requisition, to which I could not subscribe consistently with my honour or my duty. I should indeed think it not only unconstitutional but highly criminal in any minister who could accept of or retain power subject to such a restraint. With that opinion, therefore, his majesty's late ministers were compelled respectfully but decidedly to declare, that it was a stipulation which they could not enter into, without forfeiting their own esteem, and inasmuch as it must fetter and confine them in the exercise of their judgments, on those points on which they ought to be most free, without depriving them of the character of useful and honourable servants to their king and their country.—Here, sir, I shall for the present leave my conduct to the candid consideration of the house and of the public. I should be anxious, however, if any thing should arise out of this that could induce any gentleman to think it a proper subject for a motion, when those persons return to their seats, whose presence at the discussion is considered to be necessary, that the question should be taken up with as little delay as possible. I am therefore desirous that the adjournment should be short, and I had hoped that Monday se'nnight, by which day the new writs may with ease be returned, would have been proposed for our meeting again; but the difference of two days is so small, that I do not feel disposed to press it. I shall therefore consent to the motion, stating only, that I shall be most anxious that the discussion may take place on the earliest possible day after the house shall have concluded its recess.

Mr *Huskisson* said a few words in vindication of himself from the suspicion of being in any way concerned in the partial misrepresentation and suppression of the minutes of the cabinet. Besides, he thought that these minutes might have been very innocently communicated to others, who appear certainly to have made a very improper use of that communication.

Mr. *Fuller* rose, to ask the noble lord if the Slave Trade Abolition bill had been introduced into that house by the persons composing the late administration, in their individual capacities as members of parliament, or in their collective character of the government.

Lord *Howick* replied, that the bill in question had been introduced by certain of his colleagues and himself, in their individual capacity of members of parliament.

Mr *Fuller* wished to put another question to the noble lord: were the seals delivered up by the late ministers on Tuesday last?

Lord *Howick.* I have only to repeat what has been already stated, that his majesty required the seals of office on Tuesday: they were delivered in on yesterday morning.

Mr *Brand* gave notice that he would, on Thursday fortnight, move certain Resolutions expressive of his opinion of the conduct of the late administration, and of the grounds upon which his majesty had been advised to dismiss his late servants.

General *Loftus* rose to make two observations on what had fallen from the noble lord (Howick): first, in respect to the act of 1793, and what passed at that time in Ireland. The noble lord said that the Government of that day had pledged itself to carry into effect the boon granted to the Irish Catholics to England. The noble lord was mistaken; something only was held out, that possibly this boon might at a future day be extended to Great Britain, nothing more; there was no pledge whatever. Besides, all that was granted to the Irish Catholics was the holding commissions in the army to a certain rank. But the noble lord's proposition went much farther; it extended to the highest ranks in the army—commander in chief, masters general of the ordnance, generals on the staff; these were not in the Irish act of 1793.—He must make another observation on what the noble lord advanced in respect to the state of Ireland; for the noble lord gave as a reason for the introducing the catholic bill, the alarming state of Ireland. The hon. general said he had often heard allusions made by gentlemen now on that side of the house, in respect to the state of Ireland, allusions which tended more to inflame the public mind, and to inculcate fancied notions of distress, which in fact did not exist, rather than to soften or relieve any distress, if it had existed. He wished, before gentlemen quitted that house for the holidays, that they should know the real situation of the great body of the people in Ireland, for the fact was, they were already emancipated; the peasantry, the lower class—nay, the middle classes, were in the same state of that description of persons in England; there was not an iota of difference between the richest members tenants of that house and his own or any gentleman's tenants in Ireland: they had 10s. freeholds; could vote for members of parliament; could sit on Juries; could hold the commission of the peace, and every office (except those of the lord chancellor and the Judges, commander in chief, and general on the staff) was open to the Irish at this moment. So that in fact, the great body of the people had nothing to complain of, nothing to gain by the noble lord's measure, nor did they care or think about it. These were matters of fact not generally understood or known by the English gentlemen, and therefore he thought it right that the house should not separate without these observations.—It was then ordered that the House should at its rising adjourn to Wednesday the 8th of April.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, April 8.

[Minutes.] The house met pursuant to adjournment. About twenty peers were sworn in, and took their places. An interval then succeeded of apparently much suspense, when it was expected that the order of the day would be moved for the marquis of Stafford's motion respecting the recent change of administration. After some consultation, however, between lords Holland, Grenville, Stafford, &c.

The Marquis of *Stafford* rose and said, that in consequence of the indisposition of many noble lords, who were anxious to attend the debate upon the motion of which he had given notice for that day, he was desirous to afford every accommodation in his power for their attendance. In that persuasion of the existing circumstances respecting these noble persons, he should move, that the order of the day for taking that motion into consideration that day be discharged, and that a new order be made for the entertaining the same motion on Monday next; and that their lordships be accordingly summoned for that day. Ordered.

The *Lord Chancellor* (Eldon), who this day took his seat on the woolsack for the first time since his recent appointment, rose to make some observations on the probable impracticability that the report of the bill on the Scotch Judicature, could be ready before Tuesday; on that day it might be settled what situation was to be occupied by the Scotch judges during the present discussion. Until that decision took place, he was of opinion that the report on the bill could not well be proceeded on. He should therefore move, that the report be taken into consideration on Wednesday next. Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April 8.

[Minutes.] The house met pursuant to adjournment. About thirty new members were sworn, and took their seats.—The new ministers also took their seats on the treasury bench.—New writs were ordered for the borough of West Looe, in the room of James Buller, esq, who had accepted the office of one of the lords of the admiralty; for the borough of Weymouth, in the room of sir James Pulteney, who had accepted the office of secretary at war; for Dorchester, in the room of the hon Cropley Ashley, who had accepted the office of clerk of the ordnance; for Liskeard, in the room of the hon. W. Elliot, who had accepted the office of one of the lords of the treasury; for the borough of Haslemere, in the room of R. Ward, esq. and for the county of Dumfries, in the room of the hon. W. Hope, who had accepted the offices of lords of the admiralty.—Mr. Vansittart, chairman of the Shrewsbury election committee, reported, that general Ferguson had been absent from that committee for some days, on account of illness. Dr. Scott proved the fact of the general's illness, and he was excused for his said absence.—Sir John Newport brought in the Irish Loan bill, which was read a first time. —The Irish malt and spirit duty bill was read a third time and passed; as was also the Irish office fees bill.—Lord G. Thynne informed the house, from the bar, that his majesty had been waited upon with the address of the 25th of March, praying his majesty not to grant any office during life, which was not usually so granted, and that his majesty had been pleased to return the following gracious answer:—"His majesty "acquaints his faithful Commons, that he "will take the subject of their Address into "his most serious consideration; and thinks "it proper, at the same time, to inform "them, that he has thought it fit to provide, "that in a grant now to be made of the "office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the office shall be conferred only "during his royal pleasure.—His majesty "assures his faithful commons, that in the "execution of the powers with which he "is intrusted by law to grant certain offices "for life, as in the exercise of all the prerogatives of his crown, his conduct will at "all times be governed by an anxious attention to the public interest and welfare."

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, April 9.

[Minutes.] The royal assent was given by commission to the royal family annuity bill, and the Irish paper duty bill. The commissioners were the lord chancellor, lord Aylesford, and lord Walsingham.—The treasuryship of the navy regulation bill, naval prizes bill, Irish malt duty bill, and Irish revenue regulation bill, were received from the commons, and read a first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, April 9.

[Minutes.]—Sir W. Curtis presented a petition from the London Clergy, incorporated by the title of the president and fellows of Sion College, within the city of London, setting forth, "That the petitioners have learnt that a bill has been for some time, and is now, depending in Parliament, for enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects in his naval and military forces, in the manner therein mentioned; and the petitioners feel it their duty to express their serious apprehensions of the dangers likely to arise from the said bill if carried into a law; and they conceive this measure to afford a most formidable precedent of departing in a leading and important instance, from the principles of our constitution in church and state, as asserted in the ever-memorable Bill of Rights, the basis of our laws and liberties; and that the oaths and declarations provided in that bill, and preceding and subsequent acts of parliament, are not more than sufficient for the preservation of the church establishment against the attempts of those, whose principles ever have been, and ever must remain, in direct hostility to it; and that the petitioners, instructed by all experience, apprehend that those who have ever abused power when they have possessed it, to the purposes of founding their own dominion on the destruction of the civil and religious liberties of mankind, and the true principles of Christian toleration, would be inclined, if circumstances permitted, to pursue the same conduct; and that placing military trusts and commands in the hands of persons so disposed, would enable them to extort any other concession they might be induced to demand, and furnish them with a powerful instrument to carry on their projects with effect, to the utter ruin of our happy constitution in church and state, which must stand or fall together; and therefore praying, that the above-mentioned bill may not pass into a law, and that the house, in its wisdom, will be pleased to maintain and preserve inviolate those laws, which experience has proved to be the best safeguards of our national happiness and security, and under Divine Providence, the firmest support of the title of our beloved monarch and his august family to the throne of this united kingdom."—Ordered to lie upon the table.——Lord Folkestone presented a petition from Wm. Drake, setting forth, "That the petitioner, to his extreme grief and mortification, was declared by the house to have been guilty of wilful falsehood and gross prevarication in the evidence given by him before the house, on a Petition of James Paull, esq. relative to the Westminster election, and was thereupon by the order of the house, on the 18th of March. committed to Newgate, where he has ever since remained; and that it appears, from returns made to the house, that the petitioner for many years served in his majesty's navy, and was wounded in such service, so as to occasion the loss of his leg, and that the petitioner has a wife and child, altogether dependant on him for support, who, in consequence of his imprisonment, are in great distress; and the death of his father since his imprisonment has been productive of additional calamity to him; and that the petitioner is most sincerely sorry at having incurred the displeasure of the house, and intreats the clemency of the house to be extended towards him and his family, who, if his imprisonment should be continued, will be in a state truly deplorable; and therefore praying, that the house will be pleased to take his situation into its consideration, and to order that he may be discharged from his confinement, or to grant to him such other relief as in its humanity it shall think fit."—The petition having been read, the Speaker said it was his duty to call the attention of the house to the substance of this petition. It had been hitherto customary, when persons committed under such circumstances as those in which the petitioner stood, solicited from that house an exercise of its benevolence in their favour, by ordering their liberation, that they should at least confess the crime for which they stood committed, thereby acknowledging the justice of the sentence, and expressing their contrition. But the petition just now read contained no such acknowledgment.—The petition was allowed to remain on the table, without any further observation.

[Change of Administration.] Mr. *Brand* rose for the purpose of bringing forward his promised motion, and addressed the house as follows:—I rise, sir, to submit to the house a few observations on a subject of great national importance, and involving in it questions of the most serious constitutional consideration. And in doing so, sir, I cannot help expressing my sincere regret that a duty of such moment had not devolved upon some member more competent to discharge it than the humble individual who, in his zeal for the constitution, was heedless of the difficulties his inferiority must in such an undertaking have to contend against. But, sir, however inadequate I may prove, I have to conjure the house not to attribute the feebleness of the advocate to the weakness of the cause, but rather be disposed to conclude that, as a becoming sense of the greatness of the question and of the tribunal fills me with dismay, so should the indulgence of this house contribute to remove it. Sir, I could have wished to have staid those foul calumnies that presumed with equal ignorance and malice to prejudge and to condemn the motives that influenced the conduct of his majesty's late servants, so far as that conduct related to the unfortunate misunderstanding that led to their dismissal; and this, sir, not upon the principle of preferring any one ministry, or of adhering to any one party, but upon the great and unshaken conviction, that the unrestricted prepagation of such slanders, however gross or false, tend in an alarming degree to vitiate the public mind, and thus to assail political integrity in its very source; for they have but empty notions of our greatness as a people, who do not understand that public virtue is national security. I repeat, therefore, sir, that I wish such slanders had been staid, at least until the ingenuous, manly, and luminous statement of the noble lord (Howick) had gone abroad, and rendered them contemptible and harmless. Sir, that statement enabled me to form a clear and satisfactory opinion of the conduct of the late ministers, immediately previous to their departure from power; and, as I consider the question upon that part of their conduct as involving great constitutional principles, I have foregone my original intention of going at large into the general merits of their administration; and shall confine myself to a brief consideration of that conduct which has been the subject of so much discussion, and to the principles by which it appears to have been regulated. I presume then, sir, I will not be thought to have stated a very hazardous proposition, when I assert, that if the law has taken responsibility from the executive, it has secured the people by attaching that responsibility to the servants of the crown. Independent then of all constitutional considerations, I would ask, is it consistent with common sense or common justice to exact a written pledge restrictive of the free exercise of judgment, from those men who are alone to be responsible? Is it reasonable to expect that men should pledge themselves to act contrary to the dictates of their own judgment, when they only can suffer and be punished for that conduct of which they disapprove? But sir, when considered in a constitutional point of view, the question is only less absurd, because it is more alarming. If the crown is not responsible, and if the servants of the crown are allowed to pledge themselves to the executive, what becomes of that responsibility which is in itself the best preservative of the constitution. If the king is not responsible by law, and his ministers are not responsible by virtue of certain initiatory pledges, I would ask, where is the people's security against the evils of bad government? Far be it from me to question the exercise of the prerogative; the king has an undoubted right to appoint his own servants, to select his own counsellors, to advance his ministers to dignities, or to dismiss them from his service—but I maintain that the king has not a right to restrict the range of their advice, or to controul the free exercise of their judgments. Honest men, who truly understood the public good, who were loyal to their king, and just to their country, could not listen for a moment to any pledge that went to restrain them from offering such advice as they from time to time might in their consciences think it necessary to propose. But such men were not to be compared with those political adventurers who, in their eager pursuit of power and emolument, were not ashamed, while they pledged themselves to the crown, to proffer their invalid security to a deluded people. Sir, upon the responsibility of the king's servants there can be, in the house, but one opinion, and though I do not at all think it necessary to obtrude longer upon your valuable time, by attempting to demonstrate constitutional principles that may be so justly termed axiomatic; yet, when I consider how intimately the sacred duty of a privy counsellor is involved in the present question, I cannot abstain, taking it in this point of view, from submitting to you one further observation. The duty of a privy counsellor, as stated by Lord Coke, requires him to advise "generally in all things that may be to the king's honour and behoof, and to the good of his realms, lordships and subjects, without partiality or exception of persons, not leaving or eschewing so to do for affection, love, meed, doubt, or dread of any person or persons." This, sir, in my humble opinion, brings the question within the narrowest compass. Could the late ministers, consistently with the oath they had taken as privy counsellors, have subscribed the pledge required of them? Here, then, sir, will I leave it to the house. I shall not now enter into a detail of the conduct of the late administration; in my review of it, I find nothing to censure, and much to applaud. It is not for me, sir, to remind this house of their services; it is not for me to tell this house that that administration, in the hour of their dismissal, possessed the entire confidence of parliament. I have now, sir, only to thank the house for their indulgence, and to move, "That it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown, to restrain themselves by any pledge expressed or implied, from offering to the king any advice, which the course of circumstances may render necessary for the welfare and security of any part of his majesty's extensive empire."

Mr. *Lambe* rose to second the motion of his hon. friend, from which at no time could he refuse to withhold his support; but which at the present moment he thought a question of vital importance to the constitution; and had his speech even been less clear, eloquent, and satisfactory, he (Mr. L.) should not have ventured to obtrude at length upon the indulgence of the house: for though the subject was of the first magnitude, yet he thought the spirit of the question lay within a very narrow compass. The rumours of an intended change of administration, and which so much agitated the public mind, he for one most deeply lamented to find realized; more especially as their dismissal was said to be in consequence of their declining to abdicate a right, or rather a duty, so important as that of advising their sovereign in all public matters to the best of their judgment and consciences. He was seriously concerned to see removed from the councils of their sovereign, the men who were such able props to the constitution, at a moment when their services were so necessary: and he thought that the house would be wanting to its own dignity, if it deferred to express its opinion upon such a subject. He was glad, however, that the period of adjournment gave the house time to reflect calmly and deliberately upon the subject; to impress them with the necessity of adopting some resolution, expressive of their sentiments; and he therefore trusted, the one now proposed by his hon. friend, would be carried by a larger majority, and be adopted in a more decided manner, than any question which had ever been brought before that house. The constitution of this realm required that the king, in exercising the functions of government, should take the advice of the two great councils of the nation, the houses of lords and commons. But the slow progress as well as publicity of their deliberations would, in many instances, destroy that secrecy, and interfere with that promptitude and dispatch, so often necessary to the success of the measures of the government. It had been adopted as a principle coeval with the constitution, that the right and duty of both houses to advise the sovereign, might be deputed to a selection from the members of both houses, chosen by his majesty as his privy councillors, by whose advice every act of the government was supposed to be guided; and thus, as far as was possible in a human institution, to give to the free government of England all the advantages of secrecy and dispatch which belong to an arbitrary monarchy. But what surety did the country possess, that this duty would be honestly performed by those men who could restrain themselves by a pledge to withhold their advice from his majesty, upon any occasion, however important or indispensable to the security of his majesty's dominions? What security had the country against such men giving their sovereign the worst advice, or how could the people be secure of their liberties, under the government of men, who, for the sake of possessing power, could violate their duty to their sovereign, break their oaths as privy councillors, and risk their responsibility as ministers? By such men, mischievous measures might be advised, which the wisdom of parliament could never repair; indeed, neither parliament nor the country could place any reliance on men who could pledge themselves to withhold the salutary advice from their sovereign, which they were bound by their oaths and their duties, in all cases to give. Sir Edward Coke had said, that, in the quaint language of the times, it was the wish of one of the greatest tyrants that had ever sat upon the throne of England, Henry VIII. that his privy councillors should leave all simulation and dissimulation at the porter's lodge, when they came to council. In his remark upon this, he had said, that the truth and the whole truth alone should reach the royal ear. But what was to be the security of the people of this country, if the doctrines now broached should be established? The country and the parliament might say to themselves, that his majesty's ministers were carrying on their measures for reasons known to them, but which they could not divulge consistently with their oaths as privy councillors. What, however, would be the fact? Ministers might be doing that which they knew to be wrong, and omitting that which they knew to be right, because, by their pledge, they would have tied up their hands and their tongues, and not be in possession of the means of fulfilling their duty, or complying with their oaths. On this ground he supported the resolution. If such a doctrine as that of the pledge required were to be allowed to pass, or to be sanctioned, the constitution would be at an end. Ministers might be men of rank and talents, but by signing such a pledge, they would resign their duty as honest counsellors of the crown; and if the house were to sit silent on such a question, it would abandon that constitution which it was its pride, its duty, and its glory to maintain, to preserve, and to defend.

General *Craufurd* said, I rise, sir, with all that diffidence which a person naturally feels when he offers himself for the first time to the notice of so august an assembly as this, and that diffidence is extremely increased by a consciousness of my inability to do justice to a subject of such importance as that now before the house. But, sir, on this most momentous occasion, it is impossible for me to give a silent vote; and I am particularly desirous of explaining the motives which lead me now to differ from his majesty's late ministers with whom I used to act, and for many of whom I have long entertained the highest respect and esteem. I flatter myself, therefore, sir, that I shall experience that indulgence which the house is in the habit of extending with so much liberality to new speakers, and I will make the only return in my power, by trespassing as little on their time as possible. The present motion, sir, differs most widely from the notice that was given of it, and it contains an abstract proposition which cannot be discussed to any useful purpose, separately from its application; it has arisen immediately out of the late change in his majesty's councils. Though quite abstract in appearance, it has undoubtedly a retrospective view in this instance, and we must take it back to its source, and couple it with the causes that led to the removal of his majesty's late ministers from office, before we can properly entertain the discussion; we must not be led away by an abstract theory from the real, though disguised object of the present motion. It is not my intention, sir, to enter upon the catholic question in general. I feel myself quite unequal to the discussion of a subject of such magnitude; I leave it therefore, in the hands of those who are far more able to do justice to it, and duly to appreciate its merits than I am, and I shall confine myself strictly to the motion before the house, and to the consideration of that part of the conduct of his majesty's late ministers, which immediately occasioned their removal from office, and which I hold to be so closely connected with that motion, as not to admit of separation. Before I enter upon this consideration, I must beg leave, sir, to make one or two preliminary observations, from which I think there can be but few dissentient voices; namely, that adverting to the deep-rooted and most conscientious scruples which have been long known to exist in the royal mind, with respect to the removal of those disabilities to which the Roman catholics are now subject; scruples that have the most religious, and I must say, the most constitutional foundation, because they arise from the most sacred doubts, as well as to the admissibility, in a religious sense, of giving such extensive latitude to the coronation oath, as in a political sense, of deviating so widely from the fundamental principles of the constitution, and from doubts too of the expediency of the measure, in immediate relation to the welfare and liberties of the empire in general, for which his majesty has, invariably, during the course of a very long reign, evinced the utmost paternal solicitude. Adverting, I say, to these circumstances, the subject of removing catholic disabilities, never, in my opinion, should be brought before his majesty without the most indispensable necessity, an urgency so irresistible as absolutely to involve the safety of the empire. My next observation, sir, is, that in the supposition of such an extreme case, when it might appear quite indispensable to submit the subject to his majesty's consideration, it behoves those who may then be the advisers of the crown, to take the utmost pains to explain the matter most fully, to place it in all its views, to shew all its bearings and possible consequences, and to provoke such a deliberation upon it in the royal mind, as entirely to obviate the possibility of misconception, to make it clear beyond all possibility of doubt, that the king is completely aware of the full extent of the measure to which his consent is asked; and afterwards, if any unforeseen circumstances arise, to make an extension of the originally proposed measure necessary, another discussion and explanation equally ample and accurate, and detailed with the first, should be resorted to, in order most carefully to prevent any misunderstanding from this variation. From the principles arising out of these observations, I think there can scarcely be any dissent, and I shall now proceed to examine how far his majesty's late ministers have been governed by them, as strictly as I think they ought to have been. His majesty's late ministers, sir, inform us that they considered it, after mature deliberation, to be absolutely necessary to do something in order to allay the fermentation which appeared to exist in the minds of the Irish Roman catholics; and they determined, in consequence, to request that his majesty would allow them to propose to parliament the extension of the provsions of the Irish act of 1793 to the rest of the empire, and thus to make that law in England, which at present is law in Ireland. Much has been said, sir, of the injustice, the absurdity, the great inconvenience and mischief of allowing that anomaly to continue, which arises from the act of 1793 not having operation beyond the limits of Ireland. But, sir, in my opinion, this is much more speculative than real, much more theoretical than practical. No case appears to me to have been clearly made out, of such inconvenience and mischief, though this direful, terrific anomaly has so long existed; therefore, I think the correction of it not of so much importance as has been represented. His majesty's late ministers, however, thought otherwise, and acted upon that opinion. After much discussion, his majesty was at last prevailed upon to give his reluctant assent to the proposed measure. It is not denied that the consent was positive; but it is equally certain that it was most reluctant. Now, sir, whence did this reluctance arise? Undoubtedly not from any disinclination on the part of his majesty to dispense justice throughout this empire, with the most extended, most liberal, and most impartial hand, certainly not from any want of paternal solicitude of the tenderest nature for the universal welfare, prosperity, tranquillity, and happiness of his subjects. The whole of his majesty's most benignant reign, from the first hour of it to the present, has been one great uninterrupted proof of the contrary. But, sir, I conceive this reluctance chiefly to have arisen from a conviction that the measure was not necessary, as the inconvenience arising from the anomaly was much more speculative than real, and that infinite practical mischief might probably ensue from agitating the question of the catholic disabilities at all, because it might give rise to pretensions and claims which his majesty would find it his indispensable constitutional duty to resist. This reluctant consent being obtained, the next step was to send a dispatch on the subject, to the lord lieutenant of Ireland. Now, sir, if there can exist one case which, above all others, requires that the utmost pains should be taken to make the communication relative to it clear, explicit, and unequivocal beyond all possibility of misconstruction, it certainly was the present. I say, sir, that it behoved ministers to be more careful in wording this dispatch than any other, so that it might admit of only one possible interpretation. It was their bounden duty to take care that the dispatch kept exactly within the limits of his majesty's consent. This for the most obvious reason, any misinterpretation of it being pregnant with consequences so much to be deprecated. But, sir, instead of this, it seems that the expression of laying open "all commissions whatever," was made use of. This was certainly not illustrative of the provisions of the act of 1793, to which alone the king had consented; and how to account for such a great inaccuracy being committed by such able men, by men so versed in business, I must leave to the house to determine; I cannot. The next step we come to is, the noble viscount's notice of a motion for leave to add some clauses to the mutiny bill. In the wording of this notice, we find the expression laying open "certain commissions." This expression is, sir, in exact conformity to the bill of 1793, and consequently to his majesty's consent, but differs totally from the dispatch above alluded to, though that dispatch ought to have been literally expressive of the king's consent to his ministers proposing to this house that the Irish bill of 1793 should have force of law in the rest of the empire. The king's consent went no further; the dispatch went a great deal further; the one was limited, the other unlimited. When this dispatch was read to the committee of Irish catholics, in Dublin, they naturally caught hold of the expression, "all commissions whatever," which produced the only effect it could produce, namely, their raising at once in their minds the most sanguine expectations. But still, sir, such was their astonishment at the king's having at once given up the opinions and principles of his whole life, which had hitherto appeared to be too firmly fixed ever to be eradicated or shaken; so astonished were they at this sweeping removal of such an important and extensive portion of their disabilities, that they could hardly believe it, though the expression seemed only to admit of one interpretation, and they signify their wish for a further explanation, from the lord lieutenant. A communication to this effect arrives from the lord lieutenant. This communication, with the draft of a dispatch in answer, admitting that interpretation of the former dispatch which was put upon it by the Catholics, is sent down to his majesty at Windsor by an ordinary messenger, without any great pains, I understand, being taken to draw the royal attention to the novelty of the case; in short, with just as little ceremony as if it were an ordinary dispatch to a foreign minister. Now, sir, as a new case had arisen entirely different from the former, did it not behove his majesty's ministers immediately to bring on the most unequivocal explanation? Did it not behove them to state to the king that it was quite another thing to which his consent was now required? That he had originally acceded to a limited removal of restraints, but that this went to an unlimited one? If it were judged necessary in the first instance, as I understand it was, to send a cabinet minister to explain the subject to the king, was it not ten thousand times more necessary to do so now? At first, his majesty was only asked to agree to that being law in England which had long been so in Ireland; but the new proposal was to make that law now, which had never been so before in any part of the empire. The first went to laying open to the Catholics commissions from the rank of colonel downwards; this, to placing them in the command of armies. But, sir, though the personal intercession, and verbal explanation and discussion of a cabinet minister was judged necessary in the case of minor importance, a written document, sent by a common messenger, was thought sufficient, when the superior importance of the case was beyond the reach of comparison. This dispatch is returned from Windsor without any comment. What was the natural inference from this circumstance? Was it not that either his majesty did not exactly see the extent of the measure, or that he reserved his objections for a personal interview with his ministers? Could it rationally be supposed, when so much difficulty had been found in obtaining his majesty's consent to the original limited measure, to the mere correction of a legal anomaly, that upon so slight an explanation the king would at once give up those scruples, which I have before stated to have such a sacred and constitutional foundation? That he would at once agree to such an extensive diminution of the Catholics' disabilities, though he had always held it unwise to do so in a political sense, and impossible to do so in a religious sense? Could it rationally be supposed that the distinction between religious toleration and political power, which the king had so steadily adhered to, would at once be done away? Or did ministers think that a miracle had been worked upon the royal mind in their favour? Most certainly they could not attribute this wonderful change to the effect of their wisdom in argument, or the influence of their persuasive eloquence, for it does not appear that, upon this most important occasion, they had taken much pains to exert either. Would it not then have been wise, assuredly it would have been more decorous to have delayed sending the dispatch to Ireland till an opportunity occurred of having an audience of his majesty, when a verbal explanation on the subject might take place? But, no, sir, the dispatch is sent away immediately. His majesty comes to London very soon, and at the first interview with his ministers, upon the nature of the intended bill being explained to him, he gives the measure his most decided disapprobation. But, says the noble viscount, I did not understand this disapprobation as a refusal of consent, at least not as amounting to a retractation of the original consent? No! most certainly not a retractation of the original consent. His majesty has too just a value for his personal honour, and that of the crown, not to adhere most strictly to his word. But to what was this original consent given? Was it not to the correction of the anomaly arising out of the bill of 1793 not having operation in the rest of the empire, and to that alone? Had his majesty ever consented to this new measure? Certainly not; and of course it does not require much force of argument to prove, that no retractation of consent can take place where no consent has been given. His majesty had agreed to make the provisions of the act of 1723 common to the whole empire. To this he adheres; but upon the new bill opening the command of armies and fleets to the Catholics, he pronounces his most decided disapprobation. By what rule the consent obtained to the original measure can be made to apply to the new one, which is so totally different, I cannot conceive. It was reserved for the noble viscount to discover that disapprobation means consent, and that the expression of all commissions whatever, means certain commissions. For him it was reserved to assimilate things that till now were considered as so dissimilar, to approach almost to the character of synonymous, terms which till now have appeared so opposite. Well, sir, the noble viscount armed with this disapproving consent, brings this famous bill into the house: and his majesty, a few days afterwards, finding that, notwithstanding the pains he took to express his unequivocal disapprobation of the intended new measure, this disapprobation, by a most strained construction, had been taken to mean consent, is reduced to the disagreeable necessity of stating positively to his ministers, that if they do not cease to countenance this bill which goes to do away in so great an extent one of the leading fundamental principles of our constitution, to which he never had consented, and never can consent, he will be under the painful necessity of desiring them to retire from his service.—The king, I am quite convinced, did not attempt upon this occasion, nor ever has he attempted on any other, to exert his influence over his ministers, in their individual capacity as members of parliament. His majesty has too accurate a knowledge of the British constitution, and is too faithful a guardian of it, to attempt any such thing. No, sir, he only said, you must either withdraw your countenance from the bill, or yourselves from your offices. The ministers upon this determine to withdraw the bill; and here the matter might have rested. For, notwithstanding that the king had so much reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of his ministers in bringing forward a measure of this nature, without his consent to it being most unequivocally obtained; still, sir, the king was desirous of retaining them in office; and here, I say, the matter might have rested. But no, sir! the ministers propose their sovereign stipulations, which it was impossible for him constitutionally to consent to. Yes, sir; I do insist upon it, and I will prove it by argument, that the sovereign of this empire could not consent to these stipulations, with a due regard to the principles of our constitution. That part of the stipulations, which went to reserving to ministers a right of giving generally such advice to his majesty as the circumstances of the empire might appear to them from time to time to justify and to demand, was quite unnecessary at least, because their right as privy counsellors, and as the confidential advisers of the crown, remained unimpaired: it remained just as perfect as before they consented to withdraw their support from the bill. What good purpose, then, could such a stipulation answer? It only went to the constitutional right of giving their advice as long as they remained in office, and that had never been disputed. Therefore, sir, I must always think this part of the condition attempted to be imposed, quite nugatory and vexatious. But now we come to a part, sir, to which I must beg to call the whole, undivided attention of the house. They proceed to stipulate that they may have a right, whilst acting as the ministers of the crown, to go to parliament clothed with all the consequence, consideration, and influence naturally arising from their official situations, and support, by their speeches, a measure against which they know that their sovereign has the most decided objection. Not an objection lightly or hastily taken up, but one formed upon the most mature deliberation, and after having heard the subject discussed before him for years by the most able men, and after it had frequently undergone the most ample and elaborate investigation in both houses of parliament. This stipulation, I must say, sir, was most unconstitutional: it struck immediately at that very important precaution against the too frequent exercise of that part of the royal prerogative which ought, for the most obvious reasons, to be as rare as possible, namely, the negative of the crown upon a measure which had received the sanction of both houses of parliament. This precaution I consider, sir, as arising from a most wise practice which has generally obtained ever since our present constitution took a settled form, of the ministers of the crown not supporting in parliament a measure, to which, after repeated discussions of the subject had taken place in parliament, and in that committee of the privy council called the cabinet, they knew the crown to have the most insuperable objections. Now, sir, though this is not a written part, still it has become by prescription, and certainly from every possible consideration it deserves to be as much an inherent principle of our constitution, as any other, and it is absolutely necessary towards rendering extremely rare, if not entirely obviating, those contentions between the crown and the parliament so much to be deprecated, as pregnant with the most serious danger to the welfare, happiness, and liberties of the empire. His majesty, sir, as a faithful guardian of our admirable constitution in all its purity, which he has ever shewn himself to be, and acting up to that anxious solicitude for the rights of his subjects, which on every opportunity he has invariably evinced, I do insist upon it, could not possibly consent to this most unconstitutional stipulation. I have been quite astonished to see it advanced in support of this condition, that upon many other occasions the ministers of the crown still retaining those situations, have acted as individual members of parliament in abetting great and important measures, that were not introduced into the house with the implied assent of the crown, and to see the instances of the question of parliamentary reform and the slave-trade adduced, to maintain this argument. Now, sir, can any member of this house, or any man in the world, seriously say, that those two cases and the present are analogous? The analogy at least is so distant as not to be admissible in support of any argument attempted to be founded upon it. To those questions, sir, I never heard that his majesty had expressed his decided disapprobation. Indeed I do not at all know exactly how his majesty felt disposed upon them; but of this I am convinced, that his objections against them, if any, were never so strong as not to be got over by the advice of his parliament, and that the royal negative would never have been resorted to upon those two subjects. This, I believe, was generally understood. But what was the case in this present instance? Here was a measure proposed of the very highest importance, not merely correcting a supposed defect, leaving the principle entire, but tearing up by the root a fundamental principle of the constitution; a measure, too, against which, as I have frequently said before, the crown was known to have so decided an objection, taken up on the most deliberate consideration of the subject for years, that it was morally certain the royal negative would be applied to it if it should pass both houses of parliament. If this does not mark the wildest distinction, I do not know what that term means. Almost upon every possible occasion, I am persuaded, that his majesty would sacrifice his own opinion to that of both houses of parliament deliberately expressed: but there are certain subjects which, more particularly than others, involve the great leading fundamental principles of the constitution. On these the crown is bound to exercise its own judgement, and support its own opinion, not rashly, but with due examination of the subject and mature reflection; even if this opinion should be contrary to that of both houses of parliament; otherwise, that essential branch of the legislature would be neglectful of the first duty which it owes to the country, namely, that of supporting the constitution to the best of its judgement. The crown would become a cypher, a mere dead letter of the constitution, and our legislature would no longer consist of king, lords, and commons; but lords and commons only. And further, if the confidential and responsible servants of the crown entertain a different opinion from the crown on these supposed occasions, it never can be held that the crown is obliged to subscribe to their advice, otherwise the ministers would be a branch of the legislature, and not the crown; the crown would be a mere pageant, politically defunct. I must here observe, sir, that as ministers absolutely refused to withdraw the stipulation to which I have just alluded, the king would have acted unconstitutionally in retaining them in their situations, because he could not have done so without signing a stipulation which one of the wisest principles of the constitution would not permit him to sign. The counter-condition which is said to have been afterwards demanded by his majesty from his ministers, I must think, sir, was perfectly natural, and the immediate consequence of the conduct of those ministers. Their stipulations gave rise to the other. It was certainly quite a natural feeling of the human mind to require security against the recurrence of such harassing, such afflicting attacks, from which it was well known that no advantage could arise to the country, but quite the contrary, as they would be constantly reviving the agitation of a subject, which if it cannot be agitated to any good purpose, had much better, for the most obvious reasons, lie dormant. But, sir, admitting as I do that ministers could not bind themselves by the pledge required, I must ever think that his majesty could not constitutionally admit of their stipulation, and consequently that their refusal to withdraw it could only terminate in their dismissal from office. Had they withdrawn their demand upon the crown, the pledge they complained of would have been withdrawn also; but as they refused to do so, they were virtually their own dismissers. His majesty, sir, in the whole of this proceeding has displayed the greatest forbearance, endeavouring by every means in his power to obviate the necessity of removing his late ministers; and he did not resort to that extremity, until they made it quite impossible for him to act otherwise, consistently with any regard for his constitutional duty. When I come to consider sir, the conduct of his majesty's late ministers since their removal from office, it does indeed astonish me more than I can express. This attempt, direct or indirect does not signify, it is equally an attempt. Therefore, sir, I repeat, this attempt to resist the indisputable right of the crown, this disclosure to parliament of what till now was ever considered as confined within the insurmountable limits of inviolable secrecy, this arraigning, as it were, the sovereign at the bar of parliament, to account for his constitutional exercise of the royal prerogative, is, in my mind, as reprehensible a proceeding as has occurred in this country since the Revolution; and I must say, sir, that it meets with my most unqualified condemnation. Having now, sir, discussed this most important subject with as much accuracy as my humble abilities, and total want of experience in parliament, will admit of my doing, and I am afraid quite tired the patience of the house, I must express my decided opinion, that his majesty's late ministers have not adhered so strictly to the principles which I premised, as I think they ought to have done; and though I may lament, which I sincerely do, the necessity that I am under of disapproving their conduct in this respect, as well as in many other particulars immediately connected with their late proceedings, still, sir, however repugnant it may be to my feelings to differ from those, for many of whom I have long entertained the most unfeigned esteem, and it is extremely painful, my duty is with me paramount to every other consideration, and were I to neglect the performance of it, I should forfeit that self-approbation which I value above every earthly good. In taking the part that I do, sir, I feel that I am conscientiously discharging my duty as a member of parliament. I feel that I am actuated by a just sense of what I owe of patriotism to my country, and of loyalty to my king, without the one being diminished, or the other unconstitutionally exaggerated by that extreme personal attachment which I have ever borne to the most benign, the most paternal, the best, the most patriotic of sovereigns. I feel, sir, that I am standing forward in defence of the due constitutional exercise of the prerogative of the crown against an attempted invasion, which if it were to prevail, might ultimately cause our government to degenerate into a tyrannical oligarchy, or a factious democracy, and we might then bid adieu to that blessed constitution, the glory of England, and admiration of the world; we might then bid adieu to that enviable political existence, which is the honest pride, and forms the foundation of the conscious superiority of every Briton; we might then bid adieu to that invaluable inheritance handed down to us by such ancestors as no other people have to boast of; and we might soon be fettered by the galling despotism, or tossed in the boisterous whirlwind of democratic fury. I trust, sir, that we shall avert such horrid evils, and that we shall prove by the vote of this night, that we consider the crown as now standing forward, in the most paternal, and most patriotic manner, to support the best rights of the subject, by upholding a main pillar of the constitution, the fall of which would involve the whole fabric in indiscriminate ruin. It only remains for me, sir, to say, that I shall vote most heartily against the present motion; and I must make an ample apology to the house for taking up so much of their time, which might have been much better employed than in hearing me. I cannot sit down, sir, without expressing the most grateful sense of the liberal indulgence with which the house has been so good as to honour me.

Mr. *Ord*, in the few words he had to say, should not follow the example of the hon. general, but should abstain from any discussion of the merits of the Catholic bill. Though he had supported that bill, he thought the consideration of it wholly irrelevant to the present question. He was sorry his majesty's late ministers had consented to withdraw it, but that bill did not appear to him to have any thing to do with their removal from office. It was their refusal to give a pledge not to advise his majesty upon the subject, that had caused their removal, and if they had signed that pledge, there was no disgrace and reproach which they would not have merited. Such a pledge would have made the king absolute, and removed the responsibility of his ministers. He approved of the measures of the late ministers, and sincerely regretted their removal from office. But that regret might perhaps be lighter, if they had been succeeded by men of talents or abilities. But were not their successors the dregs of a disgraced dministration ? Were they not the persons ho had held the seals of office for a few ours, on a former occasion, in their pos- ession, and carried them back again in ac- nowledgement of their own imbecility ? He wished the house to consider what ight be the consequence of their admi- istration in Ireland. If they continued o act upon the principles of the system pon which they had come in, their mea- ures would lead to a separation of the wo countries. Such would be the con- equences of the administration of those who professed to come into office as the supporters of constitutional prerogatives of the crown, and the existing establishments of the church and state.

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* expressed his regret to be forced to vote on the question, but felt compelled to vote against the motion, because he thought it amounted to an issue between his majesty and his late ministers, at the bar of that house. The Catholic bill is wholly irrelevant to the question; but as it had been introduced into the discussion, he should say upon it, that though he was a friend to the most unlimited toleration, he would not consent to any grant of power to them.

Mr. *Wharton* objected to the motion on two grounds; the one, the words in which it was couched; the other, the line of argument which the hon. seconder had taken. He could not compliment the hon. gent. on his discretion in intimating, that although ministers ought not to consider themselves as under the controul of the king, they ought to consider themselves as under the controul of White Boys of Ireland. The hon. gent. by whom the motion had been seconded, seemed to ground his support on the idea, that when noble lords and gentlemen were called to the councils of his majesty, they had no power to retreat, but must continue in office whether they would or not. Another point on which he opposed the motion was, that it was incompatible with the wisdom of the house to entertain the discussion of any abstract proposition whatever. Many abstract propositions might be considered incontrovertible, except when they were applied to new cases; and surely no case could be more new, than that an administration should lend its weight in parliament to measures which had not only not received the concurrence of the king, but to which his majesty had expressed an absolute repugnance. He would suppose a plain and possible case: he would suppose that, many years ago, some hon. gent. had moved an abstract resolution, that in any way to restrain the commerce of his majesty's subjects would be injurious to the country, and that it was the duty of parliament to prevent such an attempt. Such a proposition would have been good abstractedly considered, and yet had not the legislature recently restrained and abolished one of the most important branches of commerce ? No abstract proposition was more true, than that it was highly criminal in subjects to take up arms against the sovereign. But suppose that another king James the Second were to arise, would they not be justified in doing so? Any unconstitutional measure of the king to restore popery, would justify what would otherwise be unjustifiable. Supposing that the king might have ministers, who, by advising that papists, acknowledging the power of a foreign potentate, should be admitted to the highest offices of the state, should tacitly declare the immediate ancestors of the king usurpers; surely in that case his majesty would be perfectly right in requiring from such ministers a promise that such advice should not be repeated.

Mr. *Fawkes* declared that, in his opinion, the question was simply whether or not we were any longer to adhere to the British constitution. Under all the circumstances of the case, he thought that his majesty's ministers had acted discreetly in withdrawing the Roman Catholic bill; but he must at the same time say, that in abandoning the bill, they had paid all the deference that was due to the scruples of an august personage, to whose feelings the bill was repugnant. Had they proceeded one step further, had they signed any pledge for their future conduct, had they ceased for one moment to be the unfettered advisers of their sovereign in the present state of the British empire, they would have been lost beyond all hope of redemption to all sense of decency and shame, and have acted in the most unconstitutional and unjustifiable manner. The responsibility of ministers was the security of the privileges of this country, and distinguished it from every other. If those ministers were no longer free agents, where was this responsibility to be found ? If they tied themselves down to give that advice to the crown which should be only palateable to it, in what a state of danger might the country be speedily placed ! He was astonished, he was terrified at the language of the present day upon this subject. Such was not the language which prevailed at the time of our great deliverer, when the great councils of the nation recommended to him to dismiss his Dutch guards, and when a refusal on his part might have reproduced those scenes which had once deluged the country with blood. The responsibility of ministers was one of the best safeguards of the constitution; and, at once destroyed, though the mace might lie on the table, still the essence of the constitution could not be said to be preserved; if the great land-marks were once gone, we should in vain look for the constitution. It was impossible to recollect the conduct of the august personage alluded to, without sentiments of gratitude and veneration; but on a question so vitally important as the present, he would not compliment away the constitution; he would not surrender that glorious inheritance which had been left to us by our ancestors, who in former times, filled these benches with so much honour to themselves and advantage to the country. He felt himself obliged to the hon. gent. who had brought forward this motion, for having afforded him an opportunity of recording his sentiments. During the short time he had had the honour of a seat in the house, he had given his feeble support to the late ministers, because he conceived they understood and pursued the interests of the country. He could not, without sentiments of gratitude, reflect upon what they had done, to lighten the burthens upon the shoulders of the people. The abolition of the slave trade was another measure which demanded his approbation. Their intentions to bring the population of Ireland and Scotland into the service; their measures of retrenchment and economy, the advantages of which were hourly felt in every department of the state; their disposition to heal the wounds of Ireland, and to conciliate the affections of that important part of the empire; all these were irresistible motives with him for giving them his support. The extraordinary change which was the subject of such general regret, would however not be unattended with some advantages. The country would learn from it, who they were among its representatives who would never abandon their own characters, or the people's rights. Though the late administration had lost their power, still they might say with the gallant Frenchman Francis I, "We have lost every thing but our honour." This was a consolation which ought and would support them. For himself, he had nothing to fear and nothing to hope from any administration. It was a matter of perfect indifference to him, by what set of men the affairs of the country were administered, so they were well administered. There was, he would admit, much shrewdness, great dexterity, and considerable taleut among the present administration. But as to those great and commanding qualities which should characterize the government of a country, maintaining the pre-eminent situation that this did, they were removed from their predecessors to an incalculable distance. So thinking, he could not give them his support.

Mr. *Osborn* would detain the house but for a very short time. He would leave to others who were better qualified to discuss it, the propriety of the measure, to the rash introduction of which the late ministers owed their dismissal. For himself, he was determined to give every assistance in his power to the maintenance of that constitution in church and state, in the principles of which he had been educated, and upon the religious observance of which he conceived the best security of that constitution to reside. Seeing no necessity whatever for the recognition of an abstract principle of the nature proposed, he would endeavour to get rid of it by moving, "That the other orders of the day be now read."—The original question and amendment having been read by the Speaker,

Mr. *Bastard* observed, that the misconception with regard to the nature and extent of the measure brought forward by the late administration arose, as he understood, from the most imperfect explanation afforded his majesty by those ministers. He wished to know the precise grounds upon which the difference between them and an august personage arose. He never approved of the discussion of abstract propositions; and sooner than entertain that proposed by the hon. gent. who opened the debate, he would vote that the other orders of the day be now read.

Mr. *Maurice Fitzgerald* said, he did not rise to consider the merits of the Catholic measure, though it was one, he confessed, of the first importance, and consequently entitled to every attention from the imperial legislature. With respect to the question immediately before the house, it was said in the course of debate, that the declaration of his majesty's ministers went the length of violating the prerogative of the crown;

but surely that declaration must have been hastily read, or very much misunderstood by those who made such a statement: for his own part, he did not see any thing whether in the declaration made by the late ministers to his majesty on the catholic bill, as it had been improperly called, or in the resolution proposed that night. What was the extent of the declaration which had thus alarmed the minds of gentlemen? What, he would ask a British assembly, was its object? Merely to preserve to the servants of the crown, who were also the responsible servants of the people, the liberty of exercising their judgements in the discharge of a duty imposed on them by the solemnity of an oath. Was it for a rigid observance of this sacred obligation, that the late ministers were to be censured; was it for maintaining their character, their honour, and independence, that it was deemed proper to withdraw from them that confidence which had entrusted to them the administration of public affairs? He was certain that, on an unprejudiced consideration of this most important subject, it would be admitted that their conduct did not merit the treatment it had experienced. But did they persevere in the Catholic measure? No; for as soon as they discovered that it was extremely objectionable to the royal mind, they consented to withdraw it. A deep sense of duty and particular regard to his majesty's feelings had induced them to yield to the bent of his inclination; but after having submitted to the royal consideration this measure, which they thought of the greatest magnitude, being one, in their opinion, which involved the interest and security of the empire, and having afterwards withdrawn it from deference to his majesty, what more could they have done to give satisfaction in the highest quarter? Could it be believed that a pledge had been required of them at the very moment when they had given such strong proof of their high respect for his majesty's opinion? This, however, they declined to do, because such a pledge would be, in their estimation, a departure from every honest principle, a violation of their oaths as his majesty's counsellors, and an infringement of the constitution. If they had not maintained their honour unsullied, they must surely forfeit all claim to confidence, and receive what they would undoubtedly merit, public indignation and censure. This being the case with respect to the declaration of the late ministers, he would ask, whether we could, with any propriety, be called on to repose confidence in those who succeeded them? He did not mean to say, that his majesty's present ministers had given any such pledge as that required from the late ministers: but what was the fair inference? Unquestionably, that they were ready to do what their predecessors in office had declined. He candidly confessed that he was unwilling to place any reliance on such men, under the circumstances of the case. He did not see any ground on which they had entitled themselves to the confidence of the country, whether he considered the motives which had induced them to come into office, or whether he looked to the effect likely to be produced by such an administration. Here the question naturally suggested itself, what influence could such a change produce in Ireland? That unfortunate country was in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity, and greatly attached to its government. If he were to refer to the sentiments of Ireland respecting the late ministers, he could not more strongly instance them than by stating the support given to them by a right hon. member (Mr. Grattan), whom he should not attempt to panegyrize. That right hon. gent. possessed the confidence of his countrymen, and he approved of those ministers. With respect to the state of Ireland generally, he was sorry to observe, that a total ignorance of it existed in England. He regretted to see, likewise, that an apathy prevailed which might lead to the worst consequences. He was aware that this topic was unpalatable to many, and indifferent to more. For this, and other reasons, he did not wish to dwell upon the subject, but he could not dismiss it without asking whether it was of any importance to this country to have the support of 4 or 5 millions of people to co-operate in the present struggle against the common enemy? [A cry of hear! hear!] Engaged as Great Britain was against the most enterprising and dangerous enemy, she had ever contended with, it must be of the utmost consequence to her to receive the support of such numbers in the moment of difficulty. The enemy was menacing the world with his numbers, and always boasting of his population: was it, then, at such a moment and under these circumstances, consistent with sound policy to damp the ardour, and repress the generous feelings, of as brave and determined a people as any in the world? He felt it his duty, to submit these considerations to the house, however unpleasant they might be to any one in or out of it, from his firmest conviction that the principles of exclusion would be attended with the worst effects in Ireland. On all these grounds, he heartily supported the original motion.

Sir *Thomas Turton* stated, that the original proposal of ministers went no farther than to make the act of 1793 valid in England. When they departed from this intention, it was their duty to explain it to his majesty; but did they do so? Did the noble lord explain those sweeping alterations, the tendency of which was to repeal the Test laws, as far as they regarded the army and navy? As to ministers claiming any merit for having abandoned the measure, he thought they would be more entitled to the praise of consistency and the support of the house, had they persevered in it. As it was, it looked as if they meant to claim for themselves all the merit of having introduced the measure, and of casting upon their sovereign the obloquy of its rejection. What, in fact, was the nature of the pledge, as it was called, required from them? They stipulate with their sovereign, that they shall be allowed to express their sentiments fully and freely upon a particular measure, when it shall come under consideration. To this he assents, but requires, at the same time, that he shall be no more importuned on a subject which is disagreeable to him. He says, in fact, 'You may do this,—but, when you have done so, let me hear no more about it.' An allusion had been made to the conduct of king William, on a particular occasion. If the hon. gent. who made it, had carried his researches a little further, he would have found, that that great prince had been so teazed by his ministers, that he actually meditated the abdication of the throne. Gentlemen who made appeals to the house and the country, would also do well to say something in favour of the prerogative. Several allusions had been made, in the course of the debate, to the system pursued by the late ministers with respect to Ireland. Did it follow that these salutary measures were to be abandoned? If they were conciliating, if they tended to secure the peace and tranquillity of that country, that would be of itself a sufficient inducement to the present administration to walk in the same path. Some political prophecies had been uttered in the course of the evening. To such predictions he paid but little attention. He generally found, that those who pronounced them, meant to act upon them, and that, having contributed to bring about the very evil which they affected to deprecate, they then came forward and claimed merit for their political foresight. The real question before the house was, whether the sovereign was or was not to be supported in the fair exercise of his prerogative, against an aristocracy which had the presumption to endeavour to dictate to him? No one would be happier than himself to see all religious and political animosities subside; but he would not, by rash and inconsiderate speculations, hazard the edifice of the constitution. He would wish to amalgamate and identify with each other the different nations of which the empire was composed, but he would not compromise the safety of the most important part of it.

Mr. *Curwen* declared, that he was not disposed to pay any fulsome compliment to his majesty's late ministers; but he sincerely thought, that, for their manly, firm, and independent conduct, relative to the pledge that had been demanded of them, they were entitled to the thanks not only of that house, but of every independent Englishman, who had the least spark of British freedom in his breast; as they had, as far as was in their power, maintained, unimpaired, a great principle in the constitution of Great Britain, namely, that the ministers of an English monarch being responsible to parliament, should not, upon any account whatever, or at any risk, agree to refrain from giving their sovereign such advice, as in their opinion was most conducive to the interest of the empire, and the liberal character of the first magistrate of an independent people. They had most virtuously resolved, that they would not tie up their own hands from doing any act, or bind their consciences against giving such advice, as, in their judgment, any future circumstances might in justice demand of them to give. If the house were not to support them in such a free and manly line of conduct, they might expect, hereafter, to have ministers who would be subservient to the nod of any monarch; parliament might hereafter be disgraced, by becoming the instrument of the most base and wicked ministers, and the sovereign, instead of having the honour and the strength of being the king of a free people, who lived in their hearts, might, in future times, become the absolute monarch of a slavish and enervated people, who would not have spirit to defend their own rights, or maintain his honour.

Mr. *Tuffnell* thought that the late uncalled-for change in the council of his majesty could not fail of making a deep impression onour allies, and of raising the expectation of our enemies, and this at a period when a firm reliance had been entertained on the assistance and the co-operation of Great Britain in the common cause; for, could any one assert that, either at home or abroad, the slightest confidence could exist in the permanence of the present administration. The right which the crown possessed of appointing ministers, was undoubted, but it was necessary that the ministers appointed by the crown should possess the confidence of both the aristocracy and the democracy of the country. To what extent might not the principle of restraining ministers from proposing any one measure go? It might be productive of the most incalculable evils. The new administration seemed to emulate the giants, who, when they were overthrown and touched the earth, recovered their strength: for it was not long since they had doubted their power to carry on the government of the country, and since that time their attempts at opposition had been repeatedly defeated.

Mr. *Fuller* contended, that this was just a question between one set of ministers and another. As to the pledge demanded by his majesty, if any minister had advised the abrogation of the Bill of Rights, or the dissolution of Magna Charta, he should like to know whether the king would not have been justified in demanding from them a promise to refrain from such advice in future, and, if their word was not to be trusted, to demand that promise in writing? Forty years ago, such advice as had been given to his majesty, would have been impeachable. He remembered the time, not 30 years since, when lord North gave up this point, and sent to Ireland 70,000 stand of arms, which had since been used in rebellion against this country. Some people said, that the late ministry had done great things. He thought the great family of which it was chiefly composed, had been always very full of theories, and no family had been better paid for their theories. By the first theory we lost America; by the second, the election act, a most contemptible court had been produced; and by the last and most fatal, the slave trade had been abolished. He insisted on it, that the Americans acquired by that measure the traffic in 170,000 hogsheads of sugar annually, 170,000 hogsheads of sugar would be annually lost to this country. He knew that the king and all the royal family almost were adverse to this measure. [Here the cry of order! order! increased considerably, and the Speaker reminded the hon. gent. that this subject had been already disposed of, and had not the least connection with the question then before the house.] The hon. member then proceeded: Very well, sir; I may not perhaps be perfectly in order; but this much I will say, that I entirely disagree with the hon. member who has made the motion now before you, and disapprove of all that has since then been urged in support of it.

Mr. *Plunkett* (attorney-general for Ireland) considered this question as important in the abstract; but tenfold more imperious when viewed in connection with the late measure which was supposed to lead to the dismissal of his majesty's servants. The hon. baronet (sir T. Turton), who had spoken, had asserted, that the resolution went to attach blame to his majesty. He was most anxious to deliver himself, and those who concurred in opinion with him, from such an imputation; for he had the highest respect for his majesty, and believed him to be utterly incapable of doing any thing of himself which was not called for by the interests of his people; and, therefore, those who had secretly advised him, had done a double injury; first, in inducing his majesty to believe that he was acting contrary to the interests of his people; and next, in persuading him to demand an unconstitutional pledge. Those who had led the Father of his People to believe that such a pledge was proper to be demanded, and who persuaded him that the Protestant establishment was in danger, had taken upon themselves the responsibility. The house had yet to learn how the Protestant establishment was endangered. He would keep that point in view in what he had to say, for as he was firmly persuaded that the safety of the empire depended on our connection with Ireland, so, he was convinced, that our salvation depended no less upon the stability of our Protestant establishment; and therefore he was an enemy to every thing that could have a tendency to injure that establishment. If there were grounds for apprehension on that score, nothing could be more proper than to ring an alarm on the subject; but, on the other hand, nothing could be a greater crime than to ring such an alarm when there were no real grounds for it.—He would not say that they who rung this religious alarm, asserted what they knew to be false; but he must say that they shewed a want of discretion which completely proved their incapacity to hold the reins of government. In answer to this clamour, it might be sufficient for him to say, that the measure had been abandoned; but he wished shortly to call the attention of the house to the measure of 1793, because he apprehended the extent of it was not well understood. The measure did not merely apply to Irish catholics, but to all Catholics, who might exercise their commissions in Ireland. By the act of union there was no separate establishment for Ireland, either in the army or navy, and therefore by the existing law after the union, it was competent for any catholic in Ireland to hold any commission in the army except that of general on the staff, and in the navy any commission whatever. The addresses therefore which had been attempted to be procured, were contrary to the existing law. Where was the danger stated to be imminent? In Ireland: and yet there where the danger was said to be most pressing, powers were granted to the Catholics which it was not thought fit to allow them in any other place. The alarm was rung through the country; and if it had been confined to placards on the walls, pointing out the terrors of the Pope and the dreadful evils of popery; if it had been confined to the introduction of choruses into concerts of ancient music, and the singing of catches and glees in favour of the constitution in church and state, the matter might have been passed over. But no one serious thing had been attempted. The peace of the University of Dublin had been disturbed by a person for whom he had great respect. The person he alluded to, was the chancellor of the University (the duke of Cumberland), who endeavoured to procure a petition from this seminary against the bill brought into the house in favour of the Catholics. When his first letter was not attended to, he wrote a second; and he was sorry to say that in that letter the royal duke had conveyed an insinuation, too plain to be misunderstood, that the only way for the university to recommend itself to his favour was to present such a petition as he required. [Loud and repeated cries of hear! hear!] He was sorry he could not state the exact date of that letter, but it must have been written either after the measure was abandoned, or before. In the one case, it could only be considered as a party manœuvre in favour of the new ministers; in the other, it must have been the effect of secret and unconstitutional advice. This would come home to the feelings of every member. Religion was not to be used for the purposes of party clamour. It was valuable for its own intrinsic merits; it was valuable as a code of moral instruction; it was valuable in promoting the purposes of order and good government, and all the virtues and social charities of life. It was therefore equally criminal and impolitic to trifle with it and make it a stalking-horse. He called on those, therefore, who had always professed themselves to be the friends of true religion; upon those who were its friends, not in name only, but in reality; upon those who considered it as something too valuable in itself to be reduced to the degraded character of a party engine; he called upon them on the present occasion to shew their conviction of its truth, and the soundness of its doctrines.—He would now proceed to call the attention of the house to the pledge which had been demanded of his majesty's late ministers. He would not enter upon the general question, which had been already so ably treated. He would not enter upon the danger to the constitution of having secret whisperers about the throne. He would not consider the novelty of having secret advisers to counteract the measures of the public and responsible advisers of the crown. He would not enter at length into the consideration of the mischief that must result from separating the interests of the crown from those of the people, but proceed immediately to consider the pledge with a view to the state of Ireland. If there was one subject more than another which ought to engage the attention of his majesty's ministers night and day, it was the state of Ireland. The general state of Ireland was this; since the commencement of his present majesty's reign, the Catholics had received a succession of benefits, and they were sensible of it. They had gained wealth, rank, and consideration in the community. It might be said, that they ought now to be contented. [Hear! hear! from the ministerial bench.] But it was not in human nature they should be contented. Could they be so, when it was so natural for them to desire to be admitted to all the benefits and privileges of the constitution under which they lived? What was the state of the priests in Ireland? They were a body unpaid by and unconnected with government. They were, therefore, subservient to the wishes of the higher orders, and to the passions of the lower. As to the peasantry, who bore an enormous proportion to the rest of our population, they were in an unfortunate situation, from causes peculiar to themselves; which he would not enter upon. Whether a remedy could be well applied at present he could not say; but this he would say, that it was impossible that things could continue as they were. They might be better or they might be worse, but they could not remain in their present situation. People might shut their eyes, but they might as well attempt to overturn the laws of gravitation as to think that things could continue as they were. For the truth of this he might appeal to a right hon. gent. (Mr. Elliot), who was well acquainted with the state of that country, and who had been compelled to abandon a measure which he had in contemplation for strengthening the Protestant establishment, on account of the situation of the Catholics. Was such an exclusion heard of in any other instance? Every corporation, and even the most trifling bodies, had the right to petition the crown and to claim the advice of ministers; and was this large body of our fellow subjects to be totally excluded? This was not only a novelty, but a most alarming appearance in our constitution. Nothing but an act of divine power could keep things as they were. If the Catholics were told that they had no hope from the crown—if they were told that they could not proceed to state their wishes and their grievances in the constitutional way, they would do it in an unconstitutional way. What an hon. baronet (sir T. Turton) had said, with respect to political prophecies, was, he conceived, equally unfounded and unparliamentary. He had said that those who uttered these prophecies, had the wish to accomplish their fulfilment. He (Mr. Plunkett) was ready to meet whatever obloquy he might experience on account of his prophecies. He denied the inference drawn by the hon. baronet. He had in Ireland pledges too dear to trifle with the peace of that country. He owed the deepest gratitude to the crown for the confidence which had been reposed in him; he had no feeling of hostility with respect to the present administration—he was under no pledge to the late ministry—he had only the desire to do his duty, and he declared that he regarded the situation of Ireland with a degree of terror and alarm which he could not find words to express. Gentlemen did not seem to know that there were fiends and demons in Ireland who watched for every opportunity of disturbing that country, and if the people were denied access to the crown, they would be thrown into the arms of the wretches to whom he alluded. The danger might not be immediately felt; but it was threatening, although it might be secret. It was not when it actually arrived that we were to consider the means of overcoming it; the means of preventing it ought to be considered beforehand. A momentary calm ought not to lull us into security, for the calm would be deceitful. He felt that we were walking *per ignes suppositos cineri doloso.* If the impression should go forth among the Catholics, that the persecuting spirit was to be revived; if such a line of distinction was to be suffered to exist between the two countries, the very existence of the nation, he was persuaded, would be in the most imminent danger, and the state would be shaken to its very centre. He had now discharged his duty, and whatever might be the consequences of a want of conciliatory measures, that reflection would afford him some consolation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* (Mr. Perceval) agreed most completely with his right hon. and learned friend, that nothing would be more contrary to the freedom of debate in that house, or to a full and open discussion of the different questions that might come before them, than the maxim, that political prophets wished to accomplish the evils which they foretold. He agreed that the consequences which might be dreaded from any measures, ought to be freely stated. But when he allowed that freedom to others, and put the best construction on their motives, he had a right to expect that similar freedom should be allowed to himself, and that his motives should receive the same liberal construction. If he, therefore, however erroneous his opinion might have been, thought that the measure lately introduced; a measure which the late ministers represented as so essential to the welfare of the nation, and which they had notwithstanding this abandoned—if he thought that it was pregnant with danger to the constitution, it ought not to be imputed to him that he had attempted to raise an unnecessary alarm, or that he had only party objects in view. He had stated before, and he now again stated, that the measure appeared to him to be attended with extreme danger to the established religion. He had stated before, that the measure would not have the effect of rendering the Catholics content with their condition; that it would lead to other objects, and that it would not stop short till it had brought Roman Catholic bishops to the house of lords; [hear! hear! from the opposition;] that certainly was the impression on his mind at the time. The arguments of the hon. and learned gent. who had just sat down, afforded some colour to this opinion, for he said that it was not in human nature that they should be contented, unless admitted to all the honours and privileges of the constitution. From this it was clear that he was correct, in stating, that the measure alluded to would not have removed discontents, and would therefore fail in its object. In answer to the arguments of the noble lord (Howick) opposite, he had stated that the Catholics would not be contented with that measure, and nothing short of an equality, in every point of view with the Protestants, would satisfy the Catholics. That was his impression, and on that he had acted, and he was ready to maintain by argument, his view of the question, at a proper opportunity. He would not now enter upon it. But the arguments of his hon. and learned friend, would have had more force if the measure had not been abandoned; how and why it was abandoned altogether, had not been stated, but it ought to be considered by whom it was abandoned. But, as it had been abandoned, it did not form the most material part of the present question. This therefore, was not the period for its discussion. The hon. and learned gent. had made an animated appeal to those who had always professed themselves to be the friends of religion; but he could not conceive how there could be any thing unconstitutional or improper in procuring addresses in favour of the Protestant religion, by those who thought the measure was calculated to undermine that religion. [A cry of no! no!]

Mr. *Plunket* here rose, and expressed his regret at interrupting the right hon. gent., but what he had said was, that it was unconstitutional and improper to use his majesty's name to procure addresses of this sort merely for party purposes.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* in continuation, observed, that no apology for the interruption was required, because it was better to interrupt him, than to allow him to go on under a mistake. He agreed that it was improper to make use of his majesty's name for party purposes, or to influence discussions in that house, as had been done on the present occasion, in a manner absolutely unprecedented. The endeavour to procure addresses in this case was not unconstitutional, but he was extremely desirous to come to the question. As to the merits of the late ministry, his opinion of their measures had been stated on different occasions. But he could not confine himself merely to the words of the motion. The proposition was itself one which would be generally admitted; but it must be taken in connection with other circumstances, and especially the dismissal of his majesty's late ministers. It was not the expression only that was to be considered, but the implication, for it must be implied that the dismissal of the late ministers was an act deserving of censure. The implication was clear when the motion was coupled with the statement of the noble lord (Howick) relative to a pledge required and refused, and the consequent dismissal of the ministers; but more particularly so when the words respecting the impropriety of granting a pledge, "either expressed or implied," were considered, which must be understood to apply to the present ministers. [Hear! hear! from the opposition.] He was glad that he had distinctly understood the nature of the motion, but he wished that the hon. gent. who had opened it had stated that and not left it to be implied. However, if he understood the question, it would appear extraordinary if he should be debarred from considering it with a relation to circumstances, and as implying a censure on the crown. But it was impossible, in justice to the sovereign, if he was to be called to the bar, and arraigned, [a loud cry of hear! hear! order! order!] that the question should be considered without a reference to circumstances. He felt himself under great embarrassment on this occasion. They said that his majesty was not censurable, but his advisers. Now, it was contrary to the fact, that his majesty acted in this case, in consequence of any advice; he denied that any advice was given him on this point;—[hear! hear!] He did not mean as to the dismissal of the ministers, but as to the pledge. He would afterwards maintain the propriety of requiring that pledge; but as far as he knew and believed, no advice had been, in fact, given on this point. But he approved of what had been done, and was ready to be responsible for it; though he was obliged to state the fact exactly as it was. As to secret advisers, he asserted, there were none such while the ministers continued in office; when they were dismissed, his majesty had, of course, consulted others.—Now, in considering this question, with a view to the circumstances, he would take three periods into view; first, when the assent was given to the bill; second, when the bill was brought forward; and third, when it was withdrawn. As to the first, the important part was, what must have been the understanding of his majesty when he gave his assent to the bill. His majesty could only have had in contemplation the extension of the Irish act of 1793 to this country. That appeared from the reasoning of the dispatch sent to his majesty, which went to the anomaly of having such an act in the one country and not in the other, and to the pledges that had been given. The words "any military commission," must have been understood as applying to that reasoning, as it was afterwards thought necessary, in bringing in the bill, to add the word "appointments." His majesty had withdrawn what had been considered as a reluctant assent to the additional provisions of the bill, and stated that nothing would induce him to go one step farther than the act of 1793, hoping, at the same time, that this would relieve him from all further trouble on this point. But it was not his majesty only who understood the measure in this way. Even the person who was to propose it, laboured under the same misunderstanding, and it was not clear that they themselves intended to go farther, for the Irish chancellor of the exchequer, in answer to a proposal for adjourning the second reading of the bill for two days, on account of the absence of Irish members, said that there was no particular occasion for the attendance of the Irish members, as they were already acquainted with the measure. But this was not all, for no less than three cabinet ministers refused to concur in the measure, when they understood the extent to which it was to be carried, he meant lords Sidmouth and Ellenborough, and the lord chancellor. The lord chancellor was not even summoned to the council, and thus the particular adviser of the king's conscience was excluded in a matter with respect to which it concerned him to be thoroughly informed. It was known from the first authority, that the person who was to procure the king's assent did not understand the extent to which the measure was to be carried. But this was not all; even the Irish secretary had his doubts about it, and under these circumstances it was quite clear, that his majesty had only the act of 1793 in contemplation. Here therefore, he would close the first period, having established this, that his majesty was certainly not apprised of the extent to which the measure was intended to be carried. The next period was that in which the bill assumed the form in which it was brought into the house, when a reluctant assent was understood to have been given to it. And here when the Irish dispatch was received, it was ascertained that the design of the Catholic petition had not been abandoned on account of this measure. It was ascertained how the demands of the Catholics grew out of the relaxation of the laws respecting them. It was supposed that this would content them; but it was understood from the Irish chancellor, that it would not, and that there were two or three other particulars which they required. They wanted to be sheriffs, to be admitted to corporations, and to be king's council. This being the case, in the communications with his majesty, a proper explanation was not given, and though there was no intention to deceive, yet there was a highly blameable negligence on the part of ministers. His majesty, however, being averse to the bill, they attempted to amend it, and then agreed to withdraw it. And here commenced the third period. It appeared to him, that those who objected to a general pledge, overlooked the violation of the constitution on the part of ministers. They had recommended the measure as indispensable; they said that not an hour was to be lost, and yet they agreed to withdraw it, and this they called "a sacrifice of private feelings to public duty." It was the oddest sacrifice of private feelings to public duty he had ever heard of, to abandon a measure which they had represented as indispensable that they might not be obliged to abandon their places. How did the crown and ministers stand on that occasion? they introduced a measure which they considered as essential to the welfare of the state, and then consented to withdraw it. Who was to be responsible for that? If the minister was compelled to act contrary to his judgment, this brought in the sovereign as the responsible person. The king never stood in such a situation. Ministers stated that they would declare on the Catholic question that their sentiments remained the same as ever, and this threw the responsibility on the sovereign. Was that constitutional? However, as to this, the sovereign only expressed his regret—but ministers further stated, that they would from time to time bring the subject before him. They were to do this, though they knew that this was not a common opinion, which he might change, but a rooted principle, which he would never abandon. He was perfectly ready to admit, that ministers ought not to advise his majesty contrary to their judgment, but their duty was not to fetter the prerogative. Ministers need not have made these statements to his majesty, for they might have acted upon the principle without them. But this was, in fact, requiring a practical pledge from the sovereign, that he would not dismiss them for urging this measure upon them, and therefore it was necessary for him to have a pledge that they would not harass him. He accordingly exacted it, and they refused, for the reasons stated in the minute of council. Now, in what situation would this pledge have placed them? They could go on till circumstances occurred which should, in their apprehension, render it their duty to submit the claims of the Catholics to his majesty, and then they might resign, for his majesty did not stipulate for the eternity of his ministers. It was also proper to attend to the point on which the assurance was required. The king had a right to say they should not come to him with counsels contrary to his coronation oath. He thought that the tendency of this measure was to destroy the Protestant establishment in Ireland. It was not by the Bill of Rights only that the Protestant establishment was provided for; it was also secured by the articles of Union with Scotland and Ireland, and by various other provisions. They might call these the darker ages, and talk of bigotry; but it ought to be recollected, that it was to these ages that we owed our liberties and the Protestant establishment.—The right hon. gent. then adverted to the impolicy of the declaration, that these concessions were necessary to allay the disturbances in Ireland, because it held out concessions as the reward of disturbances. Every thing that they desired, had been given to the lower orders already. The higher orders, it was stated, were already loyal; but it might be said that the concessions to them would encourage them to conciliate the people; but if they wanted this spur, he would not give much for their loyalty. He denied that he was ever animated by a persecuting spirit. On a former occasion he had only stated, that in case extraordinary powers should be necessary for ministers, he would not oppose them, and warned them, that cases might happen where present lenity might be ultimate cruelty. He thought that the conduct of administration to the Catholics ought to be conciliating, but firm; as concessions only served to keep Ireland in an unsettled state. There was only this alternative, either to establish the Catholic church in Ireland, or to preserve the Protestant establishment in its full strength. With respect to the pledge, which it was insinuated that the present ministers must have given as the condition of their coming into office, he could assure the house that his majesty's present ministers had come into office unfettered by any pledge whatever.

Mr. *Grattan* said, the bill which was the immediate cause of the dismissal of his majesty's late ministers had his entire approbation, as he thought thereby we should have combined the physical with the intellectual force of the empire. The question now under the consideration of the house might very properly be divided into two heads; first, the conduct of the late ministers in respect to the Catholics; secondly, their conduct relatively to his majesty. The great object, as to the Catholics, was, that the bill lately brought into the house by the noble lord near him, had been promised to Ireland more than 13 years ago; and the particular reason was, that the Irish officer in England might be on a similar footing with the English officer, and it was certainly no more than justice that it should be so. The right hon. gent. had said, that the objection had been attended to and remedied by the mutiny bill; but that in fact was not the case, and it was certainly very wrong to have left the Irish officer, in case of his coming into this country, liable to the penalty of 500*l.* for attending his regiment in defence of it; and a still further and more galling dissatisfaction, that he could not bring any suit, nor be entitled to that protection of the law, of which every other description of persons equally enjoyed the benefit. The second objection was that of the common men, who were rendered liable to the greatest difficulties and severest disabilities. They were compelled to go to church, and prohibited from attending mass, by which we made the Protestant religion the tormentor of the Roman Catholic soldier and his own religion the engine of his punishment. For his own part, he was free to own he did not possess that agonizing foresight which could see the ruin of the church in our having a Roman Catholic staff-officer; and he feared, if we continued to proceed on that idea, we might avoid dangers that were only imaginary, but should certainly ncur those that were real. The bill was part of the national defence, and the question was, whether they should continue to impose disabilities, which operated not merely on the Roman Catholics, but greatly to the disadvantage of the whole empire. The objections stated by the right hon. gent. were stronger as to the principle of the bill, than to the bill itself. He seemed to think that the principle of the bill tended to subvert and overturn the established church. In this he differed with him altogether, for he considered the principle of the bill as calculated to soften and mitigate the asperity of religious prejudices, to amalgamate and blend the jarring opinions of men professing different religious persuasions, and to unite them all in one common bond of union, so that they might act together freely and heartily in the defence of the whole empire. To effect this would, in his opinion, secure the established church on the most permanent foundation, by a union of all men of all religious opinions, without which he feared the empire could not be long preserved. The principle of the bill went to give the Catholics of Ireland a participation in the defence of the country, by enabling them to enjoy commissions in the army and navy, and to shew them that they were in future to be placed on a more liberal footing with regard to the law. The right hon. gent. had argued, that it was not in human nature for the Roman Catholics to be contented with what was granted them by the bill; but the fact was, the right hon. gent. mistook human nature, substituted for it a casuistical argument, and then debased human nature to make it subservient to his own casuistry. The right hon. gent. had talked of the Roman Catholics wanting to establish high ranks in the orders of their religion, and to have magnificent bishops. How they were to do this he could not tell, unless they were to get the French to make Irish bishops rich, who had already made French bishops poor. The right hon. gent. and others had said, that the Roman Catholics in Ireland were dissatisfied. As to that, he would not deny that they might be so at particular periods of time. He had known them to be sometimes satisfied, and sometimes the contrary. They were satisfied, he said, when the administration was such as pursued a system of lenity, and did not harass them with disabilities; they were dissatisfied when a contrary conduct was observed towards them. In 1793, they were highly satisfied with what was done in their behalf. He would not say they were so at another period, when they had been persecuted for no greater offence than the great and mighty crime of presenting a petition. There was an instance on record, where two men in the county of Wexford were, for the crime of presenting a petition, indicted and brought to trial; and when the witnesses came to be heard against them, the judge declared from the bench that every one of them ought to be prosecuted. If they were to treat the Catholics of Ireland in the way they had been treated by the late ministers, they would be greatly satisfied. He would not say they would be altogether satisfied without power, but they would be so far satisfied as to fight the French, which is what is very much to be desired. By conceding to them the advantages they would have derived from the late bill, it gave them what he might call with the poet—"the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war." It made them in some sort congenial with ourselves, and thereby gave them an enthusiasm which they could not, under the present circumstances, be supposed to possess. The Catholics, he said, had been remarkable for their loyalty; in proof of which, he cited the preambles of the act of the 14th of the king, and several others, which went to that effect. It had been said that we ought to be careful in preserving the acquisitions of the church, and that by favouring the Catholics we should injure the church. His answer to that was, that formerly when the Protestants were engaged against the Catholics, the disputes were altogether between themselves; but now the French were engaged against the whole, and against that common enemy all had to contend. If they were joined with the Catholics, there was every favourable prospect and probability that they would conquer; if, on the contrary, they fought without them, and should be beaten in the battle, they would not be beaten by the Catholics, but by their own prejudices, which deprived them of their assistance. These circumstances required the most serious and attentive consideration. It had been said that his majesty had been deceived as to the nature, operation, and extent of the bill in question. He was at a loss to find out how this could be. It appeared that on the 2d of March, the ministers sent all the clauses in the bill for his majesty's perusal, and they were afterwards returned to them without any objection. The bill was then given up; so that there could be no deception of his majesty on that point. With respect to the pledge, it was impossible they could accede to it, without incurring the greatest disgrace. They must have renounced the principles of the whole of their former life. They must have relinquished the office of counsellors and the high character of statesmen, and have become the mere creatures of salary. If tied up not to present their opinions to the king, they would have given up what former ministers had never done; for many privileges had been granted to the Catholics, which they had petitioned for at various periods of time and been denied, but which privileges had, at a subsequent period, been granted to them. For this, various reasons might be assigned, according to the different circumstances of the times. He would suppose a French army should be landed in Ireland: would it not be natural to suppose, that privileges might then be granted which had previously been refused? Ministers, in pledging themselves not to bring the case of the Catholics under the consideration of his majesty, would have forfeited their duty as officers, and their principles as statesmen. He entirely approved the conduct of the late minister, because he thought it that of a great statesman. He had seen the effects of a former administration, whose conduct had been different towards the Catholics against whom the press in Ireland was continually loaded with points and paragraphs, which were good composition, but bad sense, till they stung and goaded the people almost to madness. If we joined issue with the Catholics, we should fight against ourselves. If we would do well, we should keep in mind that there is but one enemy, which is the French; and that our best defence against that enemy was our own unanimity. He well knew that the Catholics of Ireland did not dislike the Protestant people of England; and he hoped the English people would not insult the religion of the Irish Catholics. He admired the ministry for the mildness of the conduct they had pursued in consequence of the insurrections which had occurred in the West of Ireland. It had been productive of the happiest effects, by putting a speedy end to them, without applying to the military for their assistance. He had before admired lord Hardwicke for a similar proceeding, who, instead of letting slip the dogs of war, had sent forth the judges into the different disturbed counties; and put an end to the disturbance by the fair, impartial, and equal hand of the law. If he were to say how he thought Ireland ought to be treated, he would advise that the utmost leniency should be observed. He would make tolerance the rule and guide of his conduct: he would tell the Irish Catholics, what he hoped the voice of that night would assure them of, that they had not only a root in England, but a root also in that house; and by those means, he had no doubt, that whatever might be the event of the question, the two nations would be united as one, and the integrity of the empire established.

Dr. *Duigenan* began by stating that it had been said by several honourable gentlemen on different occasions, that the greater part of the army and navy of this country consisted of Irish Catholics. He denied such to be the fact; and insisted that those Irishmen who were in our army and navy, were mostly Protestants. It had also been said, that there were 4 millions of Catholics in Ireland; but this statement was equally fallacious with the other: for the whole population of that country amounted to only three millions and a half. The Protestants were in proportion to the Catholics, as two to three in number; and in property, to fifty to one. The house had been told, that the Roman Catholics would be satisfied if it gave them the advantages of serving in the army and navy, as intended by the late bill. He would tell the house when the Roman Catholics would be satisfied: if Ireland were given up to them, and they were suffered to plunder and destroy all the property in it, they might then perhaps be content. They had at all times, and on every occasion, evinced a marked inveteracy against the Protestants; and in the insurrection of 1798, they had, at the very outset of the business, so prepared their schemes, that they actually destroyed 5000 Protestants in cold blood, in the course of a short time. They had burnt 180 in one barn, and committed every act of cruelty that could well be imagined. Many of them had been confined in prisons for a length of time; and after being liberated, had been found to be the most active abettors and supporters of the very next disturbances that had happened. According to the late minister's late bill, these men might be commanders-in-chief of the army, and admirals of the fleets of this country, whose daggers were yet red with the blood of their Protestant brethren. It was impossible to admit Roman Catholics to any portion of civil power; for they had a temporal power mixed with their civil and ecclesiastical establishment, which they lodged in the hands and supremacy of a foreign power who was at this time under the rule and direction of Buonaparte, who nominated the bishop, and he the priest. There was at this moment an army in Ireland in the pay of Buonaparte. Gentlemen talked of conciliating the higher orders of the Roman Catholics. Who were the higher orders? He knew not where to find them. He was sure there were not forty Roman Catholic gentlemen in Ireland of 1000*l.* a year each. In order to make those concessions to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, which were intended to be given by the late bill, there must be a repeal of the Test act, and of any other acts against the Catholics. Yet gentlemen went on to say, that this would not endanger the established church. What had already been the consequence? When the account of this bill arrived in Ireland, the Roman Catholics called a public meeting; and a Mr. Keogh laughed to scorn the whole of the measure, as not containing enough of concession; and in menacing terms, declared they would have all, or none. If the powers given to lord Cornwallis, to lord Hardwicke, and to the duke of Bedford he believed also, were continued, and proper powers by them delegated to the magistrates, he would engage there would be no rebellion, in Ireland. There had been menaces of rebellion, but there would be none. The lower orders of the Roman Catholics who had been guilty of disturbances, had neither leaders, arms, nor property. He knew them well. He had lived all his life in Ireland; and had been in every part of it. If a French army were landed in Ireland, he believed they would join it, to a man. There had now been an impudent convention-demand, nay, a direct menace, in case their petition was not complied with. This he considered to be the consequence of the concessions intended to be made to them, by a noble lord, not in that house, whose administration, he always thought, meant to subvert the Protestant religion.—

Lord *Howick* rose to order. He said, the honourable and learned doctor had, if he understood him right, stated that there was a noble lord, not in that house, who had endeavoured to subvert the protestant religion, a crime of the greatest magnitude; and he called on him, if he were a man, to name that noble lord, that he might be arraigned at the bar of the house, and brought to that punishment which his crime deserved.

Mr. *Plumer* desired, that if the hon. gent. knew of any noble lord who had been guilty of so great a crime, he would name him, as he thought it was his duty to do.

The *Speaker* said, he apprehended that every member had a right, according to the order of that house, to deliver his sentiments in such terms as he should choose, provided he did it with decency; and that he was not bound to name whom he alluded to, nor to make any excuse, but such as he might think proper to make.

Mr. *Horner* said, if it was not too late, he would wish the words to be taken down.

The *Speaker* said, that in cases when any thing had intervened before it was desired to take down the words, it was too late to make such a motion.

Mr. *Sheridan* wished to know whether he had rightly comprehended what the hon. and learned doctor had said. He understood him to say, that a noble lord, a privy counsellor to his majesty, had attempted to subvert the Protestant religion. The honourable and learned gent. ought, therefore, to name him, that he might be proceeded against as such a crime deserved.

Lord *Howick* apprehended the order of the house was made for the purpose of conducting the debates with decency and decorum; and therefore, that the name of a member of that house was not allowed to be mentioned in the discussion of any subject under consideration. If that was the case, he looked upon it as much more disorderly to mention the name of a member of the other house, as it might be the means of creating animosities between the two branches of the legislature. He thought, therefore, he was strictly justified in calling upon the hon. and learned doctor to name the noble lord he had alluded to; for such was his high respect for that noble personage, that he could not sit still, and hear such a charge made, without taking the notice of it he had done.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* conceived that the question of order had been decided by the chair, and that whatever imprudence there might be in the expression, it was not so disorderly as to authorize the call which had been made for the name of the noble lord alluded to.

Mr. *Grenville* said, it was impossible for him to believe, till he heard it from the chair, that the hon. and learned gent., after the charge he had made against a peer of the realm, should not be obliged to name that noble lord to whom he had alluded, that he might be proceeded against as the nature of his offence required.

The *Speaker* said, that being now called upon to declare his opinion, he would state it according to the best of his ability. As he understood the order of that house, it was not allowable to mention the name of any member, as it might tend to create altercation, and to interrupt the harmony and decorum of debate. He always understood, however, that it was competent to any member of that house, in the course of his speech, to allude to the transactions and conduct of any public minister of this country, so as he did it in decent terms; and that in so doing he was not obliged to name the party, nor did he thereby commit any technical violation of the orders of the house.

Dr. *Duigenan* admitted that he had spoken with too much warmth on the subject; but if he had used any harsh expression, he was sorry for it. As well as he recollected, he had used the words, "a noble lord not in this house." Now it would be recollected that there were many noble lords who were not members of either house. Having made this apology, he should not occupy the time of the house any longer.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* said, he should leave to the noble lord opposite (lord Castlereagh) to state to the house, what had been promised to the Catholics of Ireland, and to assign, if he was able to do so, his reasons for now abandoning them: he had no desire to revive any animosities on account of religious differences of opinion. The question now before the house was one which involved most important constitutional doctrines: it was highly interesting to the people at large, and as interesting to the sovereign himself as to any of his subjects. It was, however, a question which, although it contained an abstract proposition, was necessary to be brought before the house, because it referred to a principle which had been recently acted upon. The true question before the house was, whether or not it was constitutionally justifiable, or rather whether it was not a high crime and misdemeanour, in any minister in the confidence of his majesty, to subscribe to a pledge that he would not offer any advice to his majesty which might appear to him to be essential to the interests of the empire. He conceived that if any minister should give such a pledge to the crown, it would be a high crime and misdemeanour in such a minister to give it, and that the house would neglect its duty, and betray its trust, if it did not impeach such a minister for giving such a pledge. He could not help thinking that this was a matter of more importance to the king, in another point of view, than to any of his subjects; for if his counsellors were to pledge themselves not to advise his majesty upon any particular subject, when it might happen that it was their duty to offer him advice; the most alarming effects might be produced from that pledge. A question more important to the crown than the present was hardly possible to be conceived: indeed, the doctrine he had heard that night led him, from the great respect he had for the understandings of the gentlemen who maintained it, to suspect that all he had formerly heard concerning the proper privileges of a member of parliament, all he had heard of the duties of a confidential adviser of the crown, all he had read, and all he had hitherto been thinking of the principles of the constitution, and all he had read on constitutional authorities, had been entirely wrong; for he had always understood the doctrine to be, that the king could do no wrong; and he had understood that maxim to be one in which the security of the public, and that of the honour and dignity of the crown, were united, and a maxim on which both these points materially depended; for, by this sort of pledge, the whole nature of the responsibility of state affairs would be taken away; there would be no security against the most traitorous intentions of irresponsible advisers; for ministers would not be answerable, and could not be answerable, for any advice which they did not give; and they could not give that which they stood pledged to withhold. This matter was the more alarming, when he learnt from the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, that he thought there were cases wherein his majesty acted without any advice whatever. Now, without meaning to involve his majesty in any kind of censure, this doctrine went to charge his majesty with the greatest censure. But the right hon. gent. said that the present motion went to bring his majesty to the bar of that house.—[Hear! hear!] There was no desire whatever to include his majesty in any censure for what had been done; nor had this motion any such tendency; on the contrary, it had a direct tendency to protect the king, and to support the maxim that he could do no wrong; which could never be done by allowing any of his ministers to enter into a pledge not to offer him advice upon any given subject. Indeed, he could not help thinking there was much novelty in the doctrine of the right hon. gent., who had taken on himself to say that there were acts in which his majesty exercised his prerogative without any advice whatsoever; and this he appeared to speak from certain knowledge on some particular points. The words of the right hon. gent. were "that to the best of his knowledge and belief, the king had no adviser upon that point of requesting the pledge—that he did not believe the king had had any adviser; and that he did not think the country would believe the king had any adviser upon that point."—Now, he had always understood that there was no xercise of the prerogative whatever, in which the king had not some adviser; that even in calling certain persons into his councils, he must have some adviser. Unquestionably his majesty might call any man in the kingdom to his councils, or he might make a confident adviser of a man whom the house had declared they had no confidence in, or even a man whom this house had declared to have been guilty of a gross violation of the law. [Hear! hear!] His majesty might call into his councils such a man, and the law said, that the king can do no wrong; but those who advised the king to take such a step were responsible to this house and to the country. His majesty might call in to be his adviser a person against whom certain Resolutions had been entered on the Journals of that house—a person who had been brought to trial; who had been acquitted indeed, but so acquitted, that not any of his numerous and powerful friends had ever yet attempted to offer to this house a motion to rescind those resolutions from the journals. His majesty might call to his councils such a man, who had indeed been acquitted by a majority of his peers; but who could not return to that house without looking at the countenances of those who sat near and opposite to him; and, from the association of ideas, read in those countenances the words they (and there were 52 of them) had uttered of him, "guilty upon my honour."

Mr. *Jeffery* rose to order. He conceived the hon. and learned gent. was making an allusion equally personal with that made before by the learned doctor, and that he ought to name the name to which he had alluded.

Mr. *Ward* conceived, that by an analogical deduction from the decision of the chair, in the case of the learned doctor, the hon. and learned gent. was perfectly justified in the allusion he had made.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* proceeded. He observed that, by the constitution of the country, the choice of his ministers was undoubtedly vested in the king. He might call to his councils whom he pleased, but that act must be done by advice, and the adviser must be responsible. If it was allowable for ministers to exclude themselves from giving advice on any one subject, they might extend the same exclusion to others. They might bind themselves not to give advice as to the policy of peace or war, on commerce or finance till they left themselves no duty to exercise. It was, however, of the greatest importance to his majesty that the doctrine of responsible advisers should be strictly maintained. History had unfolded the evils of a contrary principle having prevailed. No man entertained a more sincere veneration for the throne than he did, and he only wished to support those principles upon which its true security rested. The hon. gent. who moved the previous question, was of opinion that the present ministers had entered into no pledge not to give his majesty advice on the subject of the Catholics. Now, as the late ministers were dismissed because they refused this pledge, the present ministers were placed in this dilemma, either the pledge was implied, or they had deceived his majesty, for it was not pretended that his majesty had any objection to his late ministers, except the difference of opinion which occurred on this subject. If the former opinions of the present ministers were referred to, it would be found that some of them had resigned because measures similar to the bill which had been withdrawn could not be carried. He deprecated the exciting of religious animosities in the country. He had seen, with regret, a declaration of his right hon. friend (Mr. Perceval) in a country paper, which he thought had that tendency. He pronounced an eloquent panegyric on the virtues of his right hon. friend whose worth and sincerity he well knew; but he begged him to consider what dreadful consequences might result if he should unfortunately succeed in reviving religious animosities in the present period.

Mr. *Bathurst* regretted much that a question should be introduced to the consideration of that house which necessarily brought into discussion the personal conduct of the sovereign. The proposition stated by the learned gent who had just sat down, that there was no act of the crown without responsibility, was no doubt correct, generally speaking, but yet there were some exceptions to that proposition, and among the first that must be admitted, where his majesty had no advisers. Such was the case when he had removed his ministers; and unless the exception to responsibility be allowed in that case, the king's prerogative of choosing his own ministers must be nugatory. Now, as such changes were liable often to occur, he could not but deprecate the idea of making his majesty's motives of action in those instances a matter for investigation in that house, and still more did he deprecate the public statement of his majesty's private confidential communications with his ministers, particularly as individuals. It was monstrous, then, to say that his majesty could not in any case act without advice, for in cases of this nature where he differed from his ministers, he had no advisers, and responsibility could not be said to attach to any one. When his majesty demanded the pledge referred to, and which pledge no minister ought to subscribe, he did not differ from his ministers, and it did not appear that he had any advisers, nor did it follow of necessity that he had. He repeated his regret that a question of this nature should be submitted to the house, because it inevitably involved the discussion of the conduct of the king, whose name could not, consistently with the practice of the house, be introduced on any such occasion. This was the first instance he had ever heard of, in which the personal conduct of the sovereign was so exposed to discussion in that house. But it was stated, that the proposition before the house was a truism. He would admit that, as every man must; but, then, could gentlemen suppose that such general admission exempted them from shewing, that there was any necessity for that house publicly to resolve in support of that truism? There were in this case two questions to be considered; first, whether there was any need for adopting this truism, and secondly, what consequences were likely to follow from its adoption? As to the first, the necessity stated was the personal conduct of the sovereign, and upon such a ground he could not assent to the motion. Although the right of the noble lord to explain his conduct in the transaction which led to this motion might be admitted, still, the propriety of making that explanation the ground of a parliamentary proceeding might be consistently denied. For himself, however, he could not but say, that he regretted the explanation had taken place, and the reasons which produced this regret, urged him also to deprecate the publication of several private documents, which ought never to have been brought before that house or the country. They were, indeed, such documents, and the paper read by the right hon. chancellor of the exchequer, was of that description, for the production of which the house could not consistently address his majesty. It would be indecent to demand a communication of such papers from the king, as had been on this occasion most improperly laid before the public. But, to revert to the question of responsibility, and to the consequences which might follow from an acquiescence in the motion before the house: suppose his majesty should be called upon by an address of that house, and he put it, as one consequence of this motion, to state by whom he had been advised to demand the pledge alluded to in the debate, or to dismiss his late ministers; and that the answer to such address should be, that his majesty had no advisers in either case; what then would follow? Why, that blame would fall on a quarter to which, according to the constitution, no blame ought to be imputed. Thus the maxim, that the king could do no wrong, might be exploded by the effects of this motion. For he could not say where the operation of the object, which this motion appeared to have in view, might terminate. The whole question as to the exercise of his majesty's prerogative might be thrown open. After a resolution of censure upon the dismissal of the late ministers, another censure might be pronounced upon the appointment of the present, and thus the prerogative would be extinct. But looking to that prerogative, which must be exercised by the sovereign alone, as essential to the constitution, because essential to preserve the power and importance of the monarchy, he could not assent to a motion, which had a tendency to, or at least threatened consequences, which might shake its security. Under all these circumstances, the right hon. gent. felt himself bound to dissent from the motion before the house; and this must be considered to him a duty of some pain. For towards the noble lord on the opposition bench, and his colleagues, he entertained the most unfeigned public and private respect, and he sincerely believed that in the part they had acted, which he was compelled to regret, their only object was to set themselves right with the public. But when such explanations as had been made in this affair, must turn upon matters of private conversation with the king, he could not help expressing his sorrow that they should take place. He would, however, be always ready to bear testimony to the honourable motives which actuated the conduct of the gentlemen on the opposition bench, for whose character he felt the highest respect. With the gentlemen who occupied the treasury bench he had no connection whatever, although for some of them, no doubt, he entertained a friendship, but in this instance he was influenced solely by the considerations he had stated, and a sense of the importance of the question under discussion, in which sense he had no doubt the house would concur with him.

Sir *Peter Murray* (in a maiden speech) said, that he fully agreed in the just and constitutional sentiments which the house had just heard. But before he proceeded to animadvert upon the motion before the house, he thought it necessary to advert to the remarks of the hon. and learned gent. (sir S.

Romilly) with regard to a subject which that hon. and learned gent. had chosen to bring under consideration, although not at all connected with the motion. That hon. and learned gent. began his speech by deprecating any deviation from the question before the house, and still more any rancorous remarks, such as he ascribed to the hon. and learned doctor (Duigenan). Now, he would appeal to the house, whether that learned gent. was less devious than the learned doctor, and whether he exhibited a spirit less rancorous? The hon. baronet contended that it was not necessary to move the rescinding of the resolutions of that house, with regard to the noble lord (Melville) referred to by the learned gent., after he had been acquitted by the tribunal before which he was tried, any more than it would be to propose expunging an information at law from the record after the subject of that information had been acquitted. Such a proceeding was neither usual nor necessary. But the indifference manifested for the verdict of that high tribunal, before which the noble lord alluded to had been acquitted, proceeded from the same spirit of party which would treat with disregard the conscience of the king. This acquittal, however, ought to make a greater impression, if the circumstances were taken into consideration under which it was obtained. That illustrious person (Mr. Pitt), who was the friend of the accused, was no more, while, on the other hand, the party was in power who were his active and implacable enemies. At such a time the noble lord was brought to trial; all the influence of power was exerted against him, and that power industriously engaged in abetting and taking advantage of the false impressions of the case which had been spread abroad; still the noble lord was acquitted. But the learned gent. was surprized, that notwithstanding such acquittal, the noble lord could endure the recollection of "guilty upon my honour," which must occur to him in the house of lords. Were there not, however, other words to be recollected there also? Was the word "guilty" alone that upon which the learned gent.'s recollection could dwell? were conviction, punishment, and persecution, the only things that could saitsfy his ears? The learned gent. must remember, that the noble person alluded to, heard that result at the tribunal, under considerations which must be satisfactory to him. But the learned gent. had insinuated that which had been said before, namely, what signified an acquittal, where so many of the judges voted for conviction? What, however, would those gentlemen say if the converse of the proposition were taken in an opposite event? Suppose the majority of the lords had voted for the conviction of the noble person accused, and a number equal to the minority on that occasion, had voted for his acquittal, would those gentlemen allow the friends of the noble lord to say, "what signified a conviction where so many respectable lords voted for acquittal?" He was sure that they would not listen to such a proposition, and why, then, should they expect that their mode of putting the converse should be attended to? That the noble lord's acquittal should do away any allusion to his case in the shape of reflection was but the language of justice, and he was persuaded that in maintaining it he was acting in unison with the candour and liberality of a British house of commons. With regard to the question before the house, the hon. baronet maintained, that when gentlemen on the other side talked of their own vindication, they meant evidently the crimination of the other party, and that party was the king; and to sanction their views would of course be to subvert the constitutional maxim, that the king can do no wrong. This maxim was indeed acknowledged by these gentlemen, but the tendency of their argument was this—that the king could do no right but with them. Indeed, from the whole tenour of their recent conduct and observation, they had placed their sovereign in such a situation before the country, as to induce an opinion that he was a man of no intellect whatever, which, by-the-bye, was an exhibition only to be made by a party, if such a party there could be, who wished to usurp the power of the sovereign, and govern the country in his name. But he believed these gentlemen had found their sovereign quite a different person, from the judgment and firmness which his majesty had evinced upon this, as well as upon many other occasions.

Sir S. *Romilly*, in explanation, said that he did not mean in the least degree to reflect upon the determination of the peers on a recent trial. He only intended to call to the recollection of the house, that there had been objections both to the form of the articles, and to the manner of the proof, and that 52 lords had said upon their honour, that lord Melville was guilty.

Mr. *Whitbread*, after complimenting the candour, moderation, and manliness with which the question before the house had been treated by his hon. friend who introduced it, observed, that from the various and contradictory sentiments which had been delivered, in the course of the debate, upon the subject to which the motion referred, it was essentially necessary that the house should come to some declaration, as to what the constitution was upon this important point. It appeared that a very gross misunderstanding did prevail upon the subject of the constitution and religion of the country, from what the house had heard of the one from the right hon. gent. below him (Mr. Bathurst), and of the other from the right hon. gent. on the opposite side (Mr. Perceval). Some doctrines had indeed been advanced in the course of this debate, which, if not exploded, the power of the house of commons was gone, and religious toleration but an empty name. The right hon. gent. below him had told the house of certain times when the king could act for himself without advisers, and that as constitutionally he could do no wrong, no responsibility could attach to such actions. Now, this was a doctrine against which he must enter an immediate protest. For so contrary was it to the fact, that there was not a moment of the king's life, from his accession to his demise, that there was not a person constitutionally responsible for his actions. This was the doctrine which he and his friends maintained, and when gentlemen deprecated the consideration of the personal conduct of the king, it should be recollected by whom that personal conduct was brought into discussion. It certainly was not by his friends, but by those who asserted, that the king acted for himself and without any advisers. But this was a proposition which he would never admit: and the house of commons which should acquiesce in the establishment of such a doctrine, would declare itself a nonentity. The right hon. gent. below him had stated, that the king had no advice when the pledge was required. This assertion was also made by the present ministers. Thus they who professed so much reverence for his majesty, disclaimed any concern or advice in one act of his to which all agree that no minister ought to subscribe, and thus leave him naked and exposed altogether; withdrawing that support which they owed him; that is, in other terms, they declined to become responsible for the conduct of their sovereign. But the constitution would not allow them thus to decline and shelter themselves from responsibility; for, having accepted the offices from which his friends near him had retired, because they would not subscribe that pledge, these hon. gentlemen incurred the responsibility which they manifested so much anxiety to avoid; for a very good reason indeed, because the pledge itself was such as no man could venture to defend. After some further animadversions upon the question of ministerial responsibility, and dilating upon the necessity of enabling members by some declaratory resolution to state to their constituents what responsibility really meant, about which, after the doubts it had been involved in by this debate, their constituents would naturally be anxious to enquire, the hon. gent. proceeded to observe upon the explanation which the house had heard of the conduct of the late ministers. That explanation, which was in his mind perfectly satisfactory, and which was strengthened by what had been said this night by the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, was imperiously called for by the misrepresentation of their conduct and views, which had been so industriously circulated by the publications of a pseudo "Protestant," in a morning paper, who had evinced as much bigotry as ever prejudice had ascribed to a Catholic, and particularly by the manner in which the minutes of the cabinet had been communicated to the public. These considerations, combined with the address of the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, to his constituents, tending as they did to calumniate their own character, but still more to revive the cry of "No Popery," which had produced such calamitous scenes in 1780, rendered the explanations referred to peculiarly desirable, and he had no doubt of their having had a most salutary operation. With regard to the conduct of the right hon. (not "learned") gent., for he was no longer "learned;" it appeared that he held himself forth as the champion of the church, proclaiming that he had quitted his profession to save it from danger. If the right hon. gent. really felt so much anxiety for the interests and safety of the church, how, he would ask him, could he feel in his present company? One of his colleagues, the noble minister for the war department (lord Castlereagh), was pledged to promote the claims of the Catholics whether in or out of office, though that noble lord knew the danger which might arise, and as the old story went, that "the Catholics, might again wash their hands in Protestant blood." What Christian charity must the right hon. gent. have, under such circumstances, to associate with such a colleague! But there was another instance in which the right hon. gent. did not feel quite so much alarm as to the Catholics, or so much objection to their advocates, and that was during the administration of Mr. Pitt, who was also pledged to the Catholics. At that time, however, it did not suit the right hon. gent.'s convenience to raise the cry of the church is in danger. Reverting to the pledges of the noble lord (Castlereagh), the hon. member alluded particularly to the paper circulated by the Irish government, which explicitly pledged that noble lord to support the claims of the Catholics. [Lord Castlereagh across the table—Never, never so pledged.] The hon. gent. resumed and stated that his observation was founded on general rumour. If, however, the noble lord did not sign such a paper, the rumour must be groundless. But it was to be recollected, that although the existence of such a pledge had been often asserted in that house, it never was contradicted before, and certainly Mr. Pitt never disavowed it; and he, as well as lord Cornwallis and the noble secretary of state, were understood to be included in it.—The hon. member again took notice of the right hon. gent.'s endeavour to raise the cry of the church in danger, even after the bill was dropped and the danger had ceased. —[No, said Mr. Perceval, across the table, for the bill is still before the house.] What! continued Mr. Whitbread, does the right hon. gent. return to his ancient profession, to bring forward a special plea? The bill was laid down by his noble friend, and no one had manifested the least inclination to take it up. Therefore it had been abandoned, although still, technically, before the house.—After some remarks upon the right hon. gent.'s predilection for politics, and his preference of that line to the profession to which he had been brought up, the hon. member proceeded to comment upon the coronation oath, and refuted the idea, that to concede farther to the Catholics would involve a violation of that oath, by stating, that long after that was settled, Catholics had seats in that house. The right hon. gent. had talked of the Reformation, but if the principles for which he contended had been formerly maintained, that reformation would never have been accomplished. He (Mr. W.) was as zealous a Protestant as any man, but it was no part of his faith to consign thousands to a premature grave; and to persecute, in any form, was not the religion he professed. Did the right hon. gent. remember the flames which only a few years ago spread destruction in the capital, and did he mean to circulate his advertisements, to revive the expiring embers? The question as applied to lord Melville, was not, if he, being acquitted, was admissible to the royal councils, but if he, with the resolutions of the house of commons against him, could be consistently placed in that situation of confidence. If this introduction of his lordship was advised by the present ministers, they had advised that which was extremely disrespectful to the house. When it was proposed to address the throne, praying that his majesty would dismiss lord Melville from his presence and councils for ever, Mr. Pitt said, that it was giving unnecessary pain to an individual already sufficiently afflicted, since, as long as the resolutions of the house remained on the journals, he could not be received into the confidence of the sovereign. He (Mr. W.) put this situation to an indignant house, and to an indignant people. What prospect of advantage parliament could have with ministers acting under such discordant principles upon a matter of vital importance, he would leave to others to determine. It had been said, that this was not intended as a solitary vote. No doubt it was not: it must be followed up, and quickly too, by other resolutions. It had been objected that the house should interpose on this occasion. But it was neither unusual nor unconstitutional for it to interfere, and give its advice to the crown in affairs of such high importance. He entertained a high respect for most of the members of the late administration; but whatever might be his opinion of them, the question was not now who should be minister, but how we should best uphold the British constitution.

Mr. *Rose* said, that at the time the pledge was demanded from his majesty's late ministers, there could be no responsible advisers. If, then, there were no advisers, what were those who supported the motion doing, but trying his majesty's conduct at the bar of the house? [Loud cry of question! question!]

Lord *Howick* observed, that the impatience which was exhibited to come to a decision, would induce him to occupy as little of the time of the house as possible. Some things, however, had passed, which he thought himself bound to notice. The allusions which had been made to lord Melville, he maintained, were not foreign to the discussion. The hon. baronet under the gallery (sir Peter Murray) had called the late administration a faction: what part of their conduct deserved that appellation, he would leave it to the house and the country to determine; but he defied the hon. baronet to produce any instances of power exerted against lord Melville. If it were decent to enter into an examination of the proceedings on that trial, it would be easy to shew, that a great majority of the peers, holding offices, had voted for the acquittal. With regard to the motion, he had never heard language more unconstitutional than that which had been introduced into the present discussion. He agreed with his hon. friends, that there could constitutionally be no act of the crown without a responsible adviser. He also concurred in the opinion that there had, on the recent occasion, been secret advisers, and that much pains had been taken to poison the royal mind. He had reason to believe that the measure alluded to had been the result of advice. Indeed, he did happen to know that advice had been given, and this was a time in which he felt it to be his duty to speak out plainly. On the Saturday before the pledge was required, lord Eldon had an audience of his majesty; what passed at that interview, he did not pretend to state; that, he would leave the house to conjecture. He must also observe, that before he had liberty to state that a new administration was forming, lord Eldon and lord Hawkesbury had been sent for to Windsor. Lord Eldon and lord Hawkesbury were, then, the responsible persons. He had introduced the Catholic bill, in the hope that the advantages it was calculated to produce, would have been obtained without exciting any of those animosities in the country, which by artifice had been called forth since the question was agitated. But when he found, that, instead of producing union, it was likely to disunite, he withdrew it. These considerations, and the misapprehension which had unfortunately occurred, afforded a sufficient vindication of his conduct with respect to the bill; but he pressed it on the recollection of the house, that the introduction of that bill was not the ground of the dismissal of his majesty's ministers.—He stated, that the late administration had in contemplation some arrangements respecting tithes, which was a constant subject of irritation in Ireland; but he was afraid that any proposition of that kind would have been represented as another attack on the established church. Even by the hon. gentlemen on the opposite side, the members of the late administration were acquitted of any intention to deceive his majesty—an accusation which had been made against them in the public prints of this metropolis; but if they had been guilty of that fraudulent intention, that would not have rendered the demand of the pledge a constitutional proceeding. It was acknowledged that there was no other ground for dismissing his majesty's ministers but their refusal to give the pledge in question. This, then, was sufficient to authorize the adoption of the motion, for it was the practice of the house to proceed upon notoriety much less evident than the present case afforded.—An hon. gent. had argued, that it was somewhat extraordinary that discontents should exist amonst the lowest orders of the Irish Catholics, and yet the boon proposed was intended for the higher orders. But to this he would answer, that the reason why the great mass of the Catholic population in Ireland had not come forward of late years to furnish its quota to the military service of the country, was because the higher orders were not allowed their rank in the service, and that, in consequence, their influence was withholden from recruiting for that service. A learned doctor (Duigenan) had denied the fact of any deficiency in the recruiting service being felt on this account; for that three-fourths of the army raised in Ireland were actually Protestants. If this statement were true, it went in support of the measure proposed; for if, out of the military raised in Ireland, three-fourths were Protestants, and one-fourth only Catholics, where the proportion of population was exactly the contrary way, it was proof irrefragable that the Catholic population of Ireland did not furnish its proportion to the public service. He was willing to give credit to a right hon. gent. (Mr. Perceval), when, for the part he had taken on this subject, he disclaimed all illiberal motives; but yet, from his avowed junction with parties out of doors, and the language of advertisements and hand-bills addressed to his constituents at Northampton, it would appear that some little exertion had been made by him to raise a cry of religious rancour in the country. No man admired more than he did a man of truly religious principles, because such a man must be disposed to inculcate amongst his neighbours and fellow subjects all the feelings of mutual toleration, charity, and benevolence: but of all the mischievous characters which infested human society, that man was the most to be detested, who, with religion on his lips, and rancour and intolerance in his heart, sought, for purposes of personal advantage and temporal interest, to excite amongst his fellow-subjects fanatical hatred and bigoted dissentions. He did not say that the right hon. gent. had done so, but he was totally at a loss to conceive how he could reconcile it to any views of duty, to give any encouragement to religious rancour, which could have no other effect but to disturb the peace and distract the energies of the country. The noble lord then proceeded to remark upon the opinions which had been held by Mr. Canning and lord Castlereagh, and particularly by Mr. Pitt, on the subject of the Catholics, and shewed that there was no more reason now, than in 1801 or 1804, to raise the cry of the church being in danger. He then made some remarks on the formation of the present ministry. Besides their coming into power upon unconstitutional grounds, and virtually under the pledge their predecessors had refused, they were persons totally unequal to the present state of the country. He shewed that the duke of Portland had, when head of the Whig party, been the most strenuous advocate and promoter of concessions to the Catholics. In 1789 particularly, he had shewn this, and recommended to the Whigs of Ireland not to accept places but on condition of gaining those objects. His grace had also said to lord Fitzwilliam and to the late lord Ponsonby, that one great object he had in view in joining Mr. Pitt was, to facilitate those concessions to the Catholics. Yet now had this same duke of Portland accepted office on the avowed ground of opposing the Catholic claims: and it appeared that by his interference a petition had been obtained from the university of Oxford, before even the Catholic bill had been proposed in parliament. The person who, it was understood, was to take the lead in this house (Mr. Perceval), had evinced such a degree of intemperance on various occasions, particularly in attempting, by unseasonable speeches, to embitter disputes in a train of amicable negociation, that he could not think the interests of the nation likely to be promoted under such a minister. When the language of the right hon. gent. with respect to Ireland, expressed at the opening of the session, was called to mind, it must strike every man how unfit such a man was, at such a crisis, to suggest proper measures for the administration of that country. Upon the whole, his lordship considered the new ministry formed upon such unconstitutional grounds, and so inadequate to their functions, that if the motion should have the effect to remove them, it would produce an effect at which the country would have reason to rejoice.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* rose, amidst a loud call for the question from the opposition benches. He was not surprised on a motion brought forward for the purpose of turning out an administration, that those who supported it should wish to drown by clamour what those ministers had to say in their defence. But however reluctant he might be to trespass on the time of the house at that late hour, and, in the exhausted state of the house, he should not be deterred by clamour from offering what he had to urge in his vindication. The noble lord's speech seemed to place him in a state of retrospective responsibility for counsels which he could not be acquainted with, and for that dismissal which was the consequence of his own suicidal act. If he were to follow the course that had been pursued up to the speech of the noble lord, he should contend, what had not been denied on either side, that this question was an issue between the king and his late ministers. This was the first instance since the time of Charles, that a sovereign had been brought to the bar of parliament. The late ministers had by their own acts rendered their dismissal unavoidable, and he denied that he or any of his colleagues had given any counsel on the occasion, or had intrigued for the purpose of getting into their places. On the contrary, they had laboured to prevent the confusion that ensued from the measures that had been adopted. In whatever way the bill should be disposed of, he did not think it desirable that a change of administration should take place in consequence of it. But, when his sovereign was without a ministry, and had called upon him for his services, he did not conceive himself at liberty to withhold them. Nor did he lament the part he had taken. As to the circumstances that caused a change of government, he did not think that there was any intention to deceive his majesty. He should not impute bad motives to any man; but though there was no intention to deceive, there was too much misunderstanding in the progress of that transaction. When his majesty had declared that he would not go a step beyond the act of 1793, it ought to have excited the attention of his ministers, and they should then have distinctly explained what was meant to be conceded by the measure. For his part, he should prefer granting to the Catholics what was refused by the bill, and withholding what the bill conceded. He would sooner give the civil distinction than the sword. As to the call of the noble lord upon him, he should answer, that he did wish to form his conduct on the model of that great man, his late right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt). The noble lord had assumed that he was of the same opinion with himself on the subject of this bill, but the noble lord had no right to judge of him but from his public votes in parliament. He had given but one vote on this question, and that was in 1804, with Mr. Pitt, against the Catholic petition. But the conduct of his late right hon. friend, when he went out of office, because he could not carry the great measure he proposed, could not be better illustrated than by comparing it with that of the late ministers. The right hon. secretary here called the attention of the house to the stipulations claimed by the late ministers, that they should be allowed to recommend one policy, whilst they pursued another. The terms upon which they wished to hold their offices were, that they should be allowed to propose measures, that they might afterwards abandon them. The yearly moving of the question would have the effect of making an unfair division of the popularity and odium. The odium would be great, and all fall upon the crown; the benefit would be small, and that the Catholics might have; but the whole of the popularity the ministers were to have. The noble lord had told him of the majority he should have, and of the vexatious motions that were to follow. But why waste his majorities? If sufficient to carry vexatious motions to embarrass his majesty's government, they would *à fortiori* be sufficient for the relief of his majesty's subjects; the noble lord ought, therefore, to carry his original measure. It had been said that no notice had been given of an exculpatory statement till after several partial publications had taken place; but this he denied.—The noble lord, said the right hon. secretary, has chosen to insinuate that the king had in fact some secret adviser, and that the communication between his majesty and those who are now in his councils, began much earlier than we are willing to avow; and he instances lord Eldon's visit to Windsor (I think on the Saturday se'nnight preceding the change) as a proof of this secret communication. I would not accuse the noble lord of wilful misrepresentation, but I must ask him plainly, in the face of the house, does he not know what was the cause of lord Eldon's visit to Windsor? Does he or does he not know, that previous to his going to Windsor, lord Eldon waited on lord Grenville, and communicated to him distinctly the subject of his intended interview with the king, adding, at the same time, a solemn assurance, that he would mention no other subject to his majesty. The noble lord may insinuate that lord Eldon did not keep his word. I believe he did, and at least I may safely leave it to the house to determine, whether the conduct of lord Eldon, such as I have described it, affords fair grounds for a presumption of insincerity and falsehood? And I will add, sir, that nothing but the extreme delicacy of the subject itself, upon which alone lord Eldon went, and upon which the noble lord must know he went, to communicate with his majesty, prevents me from satisfying the house, by a distinct disclosure of it, how very far removed it was from any thing of a political nature. I know not whether it is intended to extend these insinuations to other members of the new administration, but as expressions have dropped from many gentlemen, on the other side of the house, which appear to convey that charge of intrigue and secret cabal, I think it right to say distinctly for myself, and I say it with equal confidence for my right hon. friend (Mr. Perceval) near me, and for the noble duke, who is at the head of his majesty's government, that not only we have not to answer for any secret or unfair attempts to obtain the situation we now hold, but that we did, each according to our measure and opportunities, exert ourselves fairly and honestly to prevent the mischief which might be apprehended as likely to attend a change of administration in the present circumstances of the country. If when the king was left without a ministry, and the country without a government, we have not hesitated to obey the call made upon us, we were not, however, so rash, so presumptuous, or so blind, in the pursuit of objects of ambition, to the real dangers and difficulties of the times, as to labour and intrigue for so perilous a succession. For myself, I confidently aver, that on the first intimation which I received, from authority which I believed to be unquestionable, of the strong difference of opinion subsisting between the king and his ministers, I took the determination of communicating what I had learnt, and I did communicate it without delay, to that part of the late administration, with which, in spite of political differences, I had continued, and with which (so far as my own feelings are concerned) I still wish to continue, in habits of personal friendship and regard. I communicated it for the express purpose, and with the most earnest advice and exhortation, that they should lose no time in coming to such an explanation and accommodation on the subject as should prevent matters from going to extremities. And it has been no small satisfaction to me to find, in the correspondence which I have since had an opportunity of reading, that as the first attempts at explanation, on the part of ministers, appear to have been made on the day subsequent to my making this communication, my intention to do good, though not ultimately successful, was at least not wholly without effect. Precisely of the same sort was the conduct of my right hon. friend (Mr. Perceval) towards that part of the government with whom he had opportunity of communication. With respect to the noble duke at the head of the administration, I can state with full confidence, that the first intercourse which he had with his majesty on this occasion, was taken advantage of on his part, not for the purpose of inflaming differences, and incurring or precipitating a change, but of advising and anxiously recommending a full and amicable, and, if possible, a satisfactory explanation.—I venture, then, fearlessly to appeal to the house, whether we can be justly charged with having taken any undue advantage of the circumstances which led to the late change. Our only crime in this respect is, that when the difference between his majesty and his late servants became irreconcileable, and when it was obvious that that administration must go out, we would not consent to join with them in pushing our sovereign to the wall, by reducing him to the alternative of taking them back upon their own terms, to be at their mercy, or of leaving the country without a government.—But, sir, when I contend that we are not responsible, and cannot, in common sense, be held to be so, for acts which were done many weeks before our coming into office, let it not be supposed, however, that I should feel any reluctance to take my full share of responsibility for that part of the king's conduct which is connected with the correspondence between his majesty and his ministers. Far from it. I should indeed be proud to be associated, in any degree, to his majesty's share of that correspondence. And painful as the whole of this discussion has been, painful as it must be to every man who values not the forms only, but the essence of our constitution, to see the king brought here, as it were in person, to be judged at the bar of this house, it is some consolation to reflect, that from the bar of the house of commons there still lies an appeal to the tribunal of the country. It is a great consolation to every loyal mind to feel, that in proportion as the sovereign has been made most unconstitutionally responsible in his own person, he must inevitably become personally better known to his people. And when that people shall see their sovereign, full as he is of years, and labouring under heavy afflictions, yet retaining, in the vigour of a green old age, soundness of judgment, a promptness and vivacity of intellect, which have enabled him to contend singly in this painful controversy against the united talents of all his ministers; when they shall see him displaying powers as fit as those of any of those ministers, or of any other man that hears me, for the discussion of the most perplexing questions, and the conduct of the most difficult affairs; perhaps, sir, I say, when all this shall be made manifest to the people, and when by this manifestation, all these sinister and disheartening rumours, which sometimes accident and sometimes industry propagates through the country, shall have received their decisive confutation, perhaps it may fairly be doubted whether the inconvenience, the hazard, and the unconstitutional tendency of this wanton and unjustifiable arraignment of the personal conduct of the king, may not be more than compensated by the advantage of this display of his personal qualities. And while we regret that those qualities should have been put to such a trial, the country will rejoice in the hope which arises from the manner in which that trial has been sustained, that, after having for near half a century watched with unceasing care and paternal anxiety over the interests and happiness of his people, he may yet, under the protection of Providence, add to that length of life, and to that series of labours, many, many years more, of care and anxiety certainly, but of protecting and efficient care, and of anxiety vigorous and active for the benefit of his people.—For the advice of restoring lord Melville to his majesty's councils, I am ready to take my full share of responsibility; but I think that such a recommendation would have come with a better grace from the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) and his friends, who conducted a late prosecution against that noble lord to a fortunate acquittal. I shall only trouble the house with one word more. Whatever may be the issue of the division of this night, or of the series of divisions with which, if successful, it is to be followed; his majesty's ministers are determined to stand by their sovereign, even though circumstances should occur, in which they may find it their duty to appeal to the country. [Loud cries of hear! hear! from every part of the house.]

Lord *Henry Petty* observed, that however that house might be attacked, however it might be threatened, whatever unconstitutional language might be used towards it, he relied on the manly constitutional spirit and understanding of the house, that no such intimidation could induce it to surrender a constitutional principle. There was not one single member on the other side of the house that had answered the arguments of his noble friend (lord Howick). A great constitutional wrong had been done, and the house would act consistently with what was due to its own character, by declaring with firmness its sense of that wrong. The only mode by which gentlemen on the other side defended the question on their side, was by a repetition of the mis-statements, which had already been repeatedly contradicted and disproved. He now again stated, that the proposition of any new measure, connected with the Catholic question, if circumstances should render it expedient to make such proposition, was, by the declaration of his majesty's late ministers, to be submitted to his majesty. An hon. gent. on the other side, however, had put a hypothetical case, and supposed that another king James might happen to ascend the throne, who would make this measure the means of subverting the Protestant establishment in this country. To this he answered, that if such a king were to ascend the throne, it would then become the duty of ministers to give manly, constitutional advice, however it might be repugnant to the feeling of the then king. But, if it were once admitted as a principle, that a king had a right to demand of his ministers a pledge, that they would not again trouble him with any advice connected with that subject, then truly would the Protestant establishment be in danger. For his own part, although he believed that the motion of his hon. friend would be carried that night by a majority, he did not believe that, had the Catholic bill been persevered in, the influence of the late government exerted at that time could have secured its adoption.—The question being loudly called for, the house divided on the amendment to the original motion, namely, that the other orders of the day be now read. While the opposition members were in the lobby, lord Howick requested their attention: he stated that there were two motions before the house, the first, that the other orders of the day be now read, upon which they were then dividing, and upon which it was pretty certain they should be in a majority; the second would be upon the original motion. Should they, as he trusted they would, negative the first, and carry the original question, it would then be perhaps necessary to propose an address to the throne, to meet the threat which had been thrown out that evening—a threat unexampled in the annals of parliament.—The result of the division was,

For Mr. Osborn's amendment . . .	258
For the original motion	226
Majority for Ministers . . .	32

List of the Minority.

Althorpe, Viscount
Anson, Col. G.
Anstruther, Sir J. Bart.
Adam, W.
Antonie, W. L.
Atherley, Arthur
Aubrey, Sir J. Bart.
Blackburne, J.
Bruce, P. C.
Barclay, Sir R. Bart.
Baring, A.
Baring, T.
Baring, H.
Barnett, J.
Butler, Hon. T.
Butler, Hon. C.
Bligh, T.
Bennett, Hon. H. G.
Benyon, R.
Barnard, S.
Bouverie, E.
Biddulph, R. M.
Brogden, T.
Byng, G.
Brand, Hon. T.
Bewick, C.
Bradshaw, C.
Bradshaw, R. H.
Bunbury, Sir C.
Brooke, T.
Cooper, S.
Combe, H. C.
Cavendish, Lord G.
Cavendish, G. H. C.
Cavendish, Wm.
Coke, T. W.
Colborne, N. W. R.
Cooke, B.
Curwin, S. C.
Creevey, T.
Corry, Right Hon. T.
Calvert, N.
Campbell, G.
Cornwall, Sir G. Bart.
Carew, R. S.
Colclough, G.
Campbell, Lord J. D.
Denison, W. J.
Dundas, Col. C.
Dundas, Hon. L.
Dundas, Hon. C.
Dundas, Right Hon. W.
Doyle, Sir John, Bart.
Dickenson, W.
Davenport, D.
Euston, Earl
Ebrington, Lord
Eliot, Right Hon. W.
Elliot, Hon. G.
Eden, Hon. W.
Erskine, Hon. H.
Forbes, Lord
Fitzgerald, Right Hon. M.
Flemming, Hon. C.
Ferguson, R.
Fawkes, W.
Fellowes, R.
Foley, T.
Foley, Hon. A.
Foljambe, F. F.
Francis, Sir P. Bart.
Fremantle, Capt.
Frankland, W.
Folkestone, Lord
Grenville, Right Hon. T.
Giles, D.
Grenfell, P.
Greenhill, R.
Grattan, Right Hon. H.
Graham, T.
Gower, Lord G. H. L.
Heathcote, Sir G.
Herbert, Hon. W.
Hibbert, G.
Herbert, Hon. C.
Hippesley, Sir J. Bart.
Herbert, H. A.
Hume, W. H.
Henderson, Sir J. Bart.
Hamilton, Lord A.
Hamilton, Sir H. D.
Honywood, W.
Horner, F.
Howard, Hon. W.
Howard, H.
Howarth, H.
Howick, Right Hon. Lord
Hughes, Col. W.
Hurst, R.
Jarvoise, J. C.
Jekyll, J.
Jackson, J.

Johnes, Col.
Knox, Hon. T.
Kempe, T.
Kensington, Rt. Hon. Lord
King, Sir T. D. Bart.
Knight, R.
Lambe, Hon. W.
Latouche, Col.
Ladbrooke, R.
Langston, T.
Lambton, R. J.
Lawrence, Dr.
Lemon, Sir W. Bart.
Lloyd, J.
Lloyd, Sir E. Bart.
Lismore, Lord
Loveden, E. L.
Lyttleton, Hon. W. H.
Leach, T.
Lushington, T.
Lubbock, Sir T. Bart.
Liddell, Sir J. H. Bart.
Mackenzie, Major
Madocks, W.
Maitland, Lord
Markham, Admiral
Middleton, Sir W. Bart.
Milbank, Sir R. Bart.
Miller, Sir J. Bart.
Milner, Sir W. Bart.
Morpeth, Lord
Moore, P.
Moore, Hon. L.
Martin, H.
Matthew, H. M.
Mosley, Sir O. Bart.
Maule, Hon. W.
M'Dowall, W.
Morris, E.
Mostyn, Sir T.
Mahon, Lord
M'Donald, T.
Monson, Col. W.
Nugent, Sir G. Bart.
Newport, Sir J.
Neville, Hon. Mr.
Noel, G. N.
Northey, W.
O'Callaghan, T.
Ogle, Hon. H. M.
Ord, W.
Ossulston, Rt. Hon. Lord
Ponsonby, Hon. F.
Primrose, Rt. Hon. Lord
Paxton, Sir W. Bart.
Peirse, H.
Plunkett, C.
Pelham, Hon. C. A.
Pelham, Hon. G.
Percy, Lord
Petty, Lord H.
Phillips, Mansel
Piggott, Sir A.
Plumer, W.

Plummer, J. W.
Prettie, Hon. J. A.
Parnell, H.
Power, Rich.
Portchester, Lord
Porter, General
Poyntz, W. S.
Praed, W.
Pym, F.
Quin, Hon. W.
Ramsay, Hon. S.
Raine, J.
Rancliffe, Lord
Ridley, Sir W.
Romilly, Sir S.
Roscoe, W.
Russell, Lord W.
Robarts, A.
Steward, Hon. M.
Skene, G.
Savage, F.
Sawbridge, M.
Scudamore, R. P.
Shakespeare, A.
Sharpe, R.
Sheridan, Right Hon. R. B.
Shelley, H.
Shipley, Colonel
Spencer, Lord R.
Stanley, Lord
Stanley, T.
Symonds, T. P.
Smith, J.
Smith, S.
Tighe, W.
Taylor, A.
Temple, Lord
Thistlethwaite, T.
Templetown, Lord
Tower, A. W.
Townshend, Lord J.
Tuffnell, Colonel
Tierney, Right Hon. G.
Trevannion, Mr.
Vane, Sir F. Bart.
Vernon, G.
Vansittart, G.
Walpole, Gen.
Ward, J.
Wentworth, G.
Wharton, J.
Whitbread, S.
Wickham, W.
Williams, O.
Wilson, B.
Windham, W.
Woolmore, J.
Wynne, Sir W. W.
Wynne, C. W.
Wynne, H.
Warren, Sir J. B. Bart.
Calcraft, J. } Tellers
Fremantle, W. }
Total - - 228

The following members paired off:

Courtney, J.	Henderson, A.
Fitzpatrick, G.	Ferguson, G.
Smyth, Right Hon. J.	Smith, G.
Western, C.	Astley, Sir J.
Taylor, C.	Williams, Sir R.

—Adjourned at half-past six on Friday morning.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, April 10.

[Minutes.] Mr. Wilberforce brought up a report from the committee appointed to enquire into the merits of the petition complaining of an undue election for the county of Londonderry, and obtained leave for the adjournment of the said committee, until again summoned by the Speaker's warrant, in order that time should be allowed to the commissioners for examining evidence upon this subject in Ireland.—Upon the motion of Mr. G. Rose, new writs were ordered for Christchurch, in the room of the right hon. George Rose, who, since his election, had accepted the office of treasurer of the navy; and of Mr. S. Bourne, who had accepted the office of one of the lords commissioners of the treasury.—Upon the motion of sir J. Newport, the Irish Stamp Duty bill, and the Irish Servants' Wages bill, were read a third time and passed.—Mr. Lyttleton gave notice of his intention to submit to the house a motion on Wednesday next, expressive of its sentiments with regard to the late change of administration.—The bill for raising a fund to provide for the Widows and Orphans of Schoolmasters in Scotland; and the Dover Pilots' Regulation bill, were read a second time, and ordered to be committed.—Mr. Swan gave notice, that he would on Monday move that the petitioners from Lancaster upon the subject of colonel Cawthorne's Election should be heard by counsel at the bar.—Mr. Huskisson, adverting to an order made last session, upon the motion of a noble lord (H. Petty), whom he then saw in his place, for the production of an account with regard to the Scotch excise for a certain number of years, observed, that, in pursuance of that order, there were now behind him two huge volumes, which only contained the accounts of one year, although almost all the clerks in the establishment had been engaged since the order, in preparing it. Now, as he could not conceive the object of the noble lord, or the utility of a compliance with his motion, he gave notice that he would on Monday move for rescinding the order with regard to the 23 preceding years to which it referred.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, April 13.

[Change of Administration.] The order of the day for summoning their lordships having been read, The Marquis of *Stafford* rose, pursuant to notice, to submit a motion to the house, respecting the consequences of the late change in his majesty's councils. He expressed his regret that a matter of such delicacy and importance had not been taken up by abler hands; but observed that there were times and circumstances under which it was the duty of every noble lord in that house to come forward and offer the best advice his judgment could suggest for the maintenance of the public good. It had always been his anxious wish to see the best talents and abilities the country could boast of, united in a rival exertion of those talents for the public welfare; but he had to lament the loss of one distinguished man (Mr. Pitt) at a most critical period of our affairs, which considerably weakened the administration of which he was the head. He next had the satisfaction of seeing another ministry constituted, which certainly embraced a very great portion of the character, integrity, and talents of the nation. This ministry also lost one of its main supporters (Mr. Fox); but still it was one from which he expected the country would reap much benefit. That administration had recently, and very unexpectedly, been removed; and he was sorry to observe, that their removal did not seem to be accounted for on any constitutional and satisfactory grounds. By this double loss, and by the change that had thus taken place in his majesty's councils, the affairs of the nation were left in a situation which he could not but lament. Indeed, much as he lamented it, he had still more to lament the causes that led to that change, and the nature of the advice which induced his majesty to make it. For, advisers in so critical a measure his majesty most undoubtedly had, whoever those advisers might be. It was an excellent maxim of the constitution, a sacred one in his eyes, which made the person of the sovereign inviolable; and which, by pronouncing he could do no wrong, rescued him from all responsibility for any public measure. That maxim he was confident their lordships would maintain, and upon it he would rest the necessity of adopting the motion, at least in part, which he should have the honour of concluding with. He trusted that nothing he should offer would be construed into personal disrespect to his majesty; of that he was incapable from principles of duty, as well as from inclination and gratitude; but his anxiety for the safety of the state, and for the prosperity of the country, made him solicitous to see a more able and comprehensive administration. He would not impute to any noble lord the circulation of the misrepresentation that had gone through the country respecting the conduct of the late administration, and the actions that influenced their dismission from office; but it was with sorrow, and indeed with some indignation, he observed, that many of these misrepresentations had a tendency to stir up religious animosities and disunite several descriptions of his majesty's subjects, without any adequate cause whatever, and much to the danger and detriment of the general welfare. He next earnestly deprecated all such pernicious attempts, which could never be ventured on without hazarding the most perilous consequences to the country. Various causes had been assigned for the sudden change that has occurred in the administration, but not one of them was, in his mind, sufficient to justify those who had advised the removal of so much integrity and talent from office. He therefore felt himself justified in submitting the following motion to their lordships: "That this house, feeling the necessity of a firm and stable government "in this most important crisis of public "affairs, is impressed with the deepest regret at the change which has lately taken "place in his majesty's councils, and that "this regret is greatly increased by the "causes to which the change has been ascribed; it being the opinion of this house, "that it is contrary to the first duties of "the responsible ministers of the king to "restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from submitting to "his majesty faithfully and truly, any advice, which in their judgement, the "course of circumstances may render necessary for the honour of his majesty's "crown, and the welfare of his dominions."

Lord *Aberdeen* rose in reply to the noble marquis. The question now started appeared to him to involve a very serious inconvenience, inasmuch as it intimately connected itself with the personal conduct of the sovereign. That was unavoidable, however studious noble lords might be to avoid it. For though it appeared a general and abstract proposition, it was calculated, at the same time, to serve as a justification of the conduct of the late ministers; and by justifying them, to insinuate blame in some other quarter. He could not but consider the question as embracing two parties; the late administration, and the prerogative of the crown. It went to exculpate ministers: it could not go to exculpate the crown, to which no blame could attach. Indeed, it was very difficult, from the insulated manner in which the question was brought forward, nay it was impossible, to discuss it without recurring to other circumstances, which it did not purport to comprehend. When the late ministers consented to withdraw a bill which they deemed to be indispensably necessary to the safety of the country, they hinted that, in future, they might be under the necessity not only of reproducing the same measure, but perhaps some further measures of a similar nature. How could it be imagined his majesty could listen to such proposals, when it was known, perfectly well known, that the opinions of the sovereign upon these points were immutable? It might naturally occur to his majesty, that the same measure might be again proposed to him at a time when perhaps it might not be equally in his power to resist it. How natural then was it for him to demand an assurance from his ministers, that they would no longer think of any such measure; but that so far they would allow his feelings and his conscience to remain undisturbed? That assurance the late ministers refused to grant, and their refusal made it necessary for his majesty to dismiss them. Much had been said about secret advisers on this occasion, and it was contended, that the sovereign could do nothing without responsible advisers. This might be the case; but it was impossible to make that true which was false, or give existence to what no where existed. Would it be attempted to make the present ministers responsible for measures that were taken before they came into office? But if the measure for which it was wished to fix responsibility upon them referred to the late change of administration, he trusted the present ministers would not shrink from it; for it was the only line of conduct which the sovereign could, under such circumstances, adopt, consistently with his ease and dignity. The noble marquis contended that his motion was necessarily connected with the preservation of the constitution in its purity. He was as desirous as the noble marquis could be to vindicate that purity of the constitution, and therefore he should contend against putting any constraint on the free exercise of the prerogative, which, in his opinion, was equally inconsistent with the purity of the constitution. On these grounds, he should move the previous question.

The Earl of *Hardwicke* expressed his deep regret at the change which had taken place in his majesty's councils, and lamented that a cry should have been set up which could only tend to revive religious dissensions, and produce the most deplorable consequences, and for which there was not the slightest reason arising out of the conduct of the late ministers. Those ministers, anxious, from the best motives of policy, that the whole population of the empire should be effective towards its defence, wished to extend the provisions of the bill passed in the Irish parliament in 1793, to this country. They afterwards found that if merely that measure was adopted, dissenters would be excluded from those privileges which were granted to Catholics; it was therefore deemed necessary to include dissenters, and open the army and navy to both classes. With respect to the act of 1793, he had understood, from what had been said by a noble lord (Buckinghamshire), who was then secretary in Ireland, that it was at that period intended to extend the provisions of the bill to this country, and that the bill itself was understood to extend to the navy. [The earl of Buckinghamshire said no, no.] He had understood that to be the case.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* observed, that what he had stated, and which he was authorized at the time to state, in addition to the objects of the then intended bill with respect to Ireland, was, that it was the intention of his majesty's then ministers to propose a similar measure in this country; but certainly the bill of 1793 was not intended to extend, nor did he ever understand it to extend, to the navy.

The Earl of *Hardwicke* resumed. It had, he said, been the opinion of several able lawyers, that the bill did extend to the navy. The bill, however, which the late ministers introduced, was one which did not afford the slightest reason for that cry which had been raised against it; on the contrary, it was, in his opinion, a highly beneficial measure. The bill, however, was given up out of respect to his majesty's feelings upon the subject; and then a pledge was demanded from the late ministers, which he could not but consider as highly unconstitutional. He lamented the change that had taken place in his majesty's councils. Conceiving the late ministers to be much more adequate to the task of managing public affairs, at a crisis like this, than the present; and agreeing also in the unconstitutional nature of the pledge demanded, he should on these grounds support the motion.

Lord *Erskine* rose and said: My lords, the particular situation in which I was placed in his majesty's late councils, as it regards the subject now under consideration, and the many public references which have been made in various places to my office and to my opinions respecting it, make it not unfit, I hope, that I should seek the earliest opportunity, consistently with the forms of the house, of delivering my opinion to your lordships.—The opinions of men, my lords, upon this, as upon most other subjects, must be expected materially to differ; but there is one thing in which I am persuaded all men of honour must agree, i. e. that the case should be fairly stated, and that the question to be presented to the understandings of those who are to judge of any matter, be it what it may, should not be disguised or misrepresented. Many triumphs in large assemblies, and still more amongst large communities, have been obtained by artifice and imposture, but besides that they are most contemptible, they cannot possibly be lasting. Fact and reason must for ever prevail in the end.—The circumstances which have given rise to this extraordinary conjuncture, though involved and complicated in their details, may be brought within a very narrow compass; within, I should think, ten minutes by your clock: yet without omitting any thing upon which a difference in the argument could ultimately be taken by any candid or reasonable man. I will state the matter to your lordships as I understand it; and as I was no party to the transaction, as nothing blameable, if there be blame any where, can possibly attach upon myself, I may at least be expected to be an impartial historian, and an historian too near the scene, to have gross ignorance or error reasonably imputed to me.—My lords, it has been the fashion to represent the introduction of the bill into the house of commons, which led to the dissolution of the late administration as an extravagant act of political suicide; as a rash, useless, and wanton proposition, dictated by no expediency, and opposed by insurmountable obstacles, within the knowledge of those who introduced it. Nay, my lords, charges much more serious have been made. It has been more than insinuated, that, to overcome these obstacles, recourse was had to the most unworthy deception and deceit. Nothing is more easy, my lords, for those who have an interest in such misrepresentations, to invent and propagate them; but it is not so easy to obtain credit for them in such a country and age as we live in. It is not easy to obtain belief (except in the surprise of the moment), that persons of acknowledged skill and ability as statesmen, should suddenly conduct themselves so absurdly, or that distinguished and characteristic integrity should suddenly give place to dishonour and falsehood.—My lords, there is no foundation, no not the smallest, for either of the charges; though I readily admit that if statesmen ought to have no views but to preserve their places, they acted improperly. Your lordships very well know that in 1793, the remainder of that long volume of penal and disabling statutes which vexed the Roman Catholics of Ireland for so many ages, was extinguished by an act of great beneficence and wisdom of the king now upon the throne; an act which I trust to the manly and honest character of the Irish people always to remember, and the memory of which, I trust, will for ever induce them to impute only acts of grace and benevolence to his majesty, and resolutions of eternal exclusion to advisers who abuse their trusts. That act of 1793, which was an act only of the Irish parliament, threw open the whole bosom of civil and military establishment in Ireland to that immense majority of people; with certain exceptions, however, which, I have no doubt, under all the circumstances of that time, were just and reasonable; but which, nevertheless, could not but create great difficulties in the future application of any indulgences to be granted upon an union between the two kingdoms. I am speaking against myself, my lords, in this admission.—The Irish act continued for 14 years without a single danger or disadvantage which can be stated, and several years had also passed since the union, without the extension of it to other parts of the empire. That extension, my lords, like almost all changes in human policy and government, was forced upon the consideration of the late ministers, not so much by the claims of the Catholics, as by the peculiar crisis in which they were called to the administration of public affairs. The crisis was alarming, and indeed, in every respect, unexampled. Amidst a series, however, of distressing events, a prospect suddenly seemed to open, of yet delivering Europe, not only by rational combinations of her own powers against the common enemy to her repose and independence, but by balancing her conquests in the most distant parts of the world. But, unhappily, my lords, our population kept no pace with our other capacities for these grand and useful projects, except by bringing into action our whole national force. Our fleets and armies must long ago have failed, but from the great nursery of Ireland; and the great majority of Ireland was Catholic: catholic from all time, and not from any acts which our wisdom or prudence could controul or alter. This, my lords, was the consideration which led to the introduction of the bill which has raised such a clamour, and which has produced such consequences. It was to extend to England, now united with Ireland, the services of the Catholics in the defence of the whole empire, which his majesty, with the advice of the parliament of Ireland, had sanctioned, whilst it was an independent kingdom, which had been productive of so many advantages, and to which no objection was on foot any where. But difficulties stood in the way of the mere strict extension of that statute to Great Britain. The English Test act would have shut out the Protestant Dissenters, whilst the army and navy, from the effect of the extension, would have been laid open to the Roman Catholics. But what, I confess, struck my mind most forcibly, (though I was no party to any part of the measure,) was, that to open a profession to honourable men upon the principle of liberal trust and confidence, and yet to set up a bar against its highest honours and ambitions, was not only unjust, but, to the last degree, impolitic. In the mind of my most enlightened friend, at the head of his majesty's late councils, I know that this objection was so unsurmountable, that the bill was on that principle abandoned *in toto*, instead of being modified. It was therefore that the bill went beyond the Irish statute, though it was undoubtedly built upon the model of it, and it was so proposed to his majesty, and so offered to the house of commons.—My lords, I purposely avoid the details, because I was no party to them; but I do not believe that any deception was practised; no such charge was ever made by the king; I know it never was. I am willing to argue the matter upon the footing of a misunderstanding, and, for argument's sake, to the utmost extent which has been or can be stated. What then?—the moment the misconception was discovered, was not the bill, in deference to his majesty, and in consequence of the misconception, immediately abandoned, and abandoned with the most honourable and affectionate professions of attachment and respect? It has been asked in other places, upon what principle the abandonment could be justified, when the measure was professedly introduced upon the principle of expediency and duty? My lords, the answer is easy. There is a plain difference between even the strongest expediency and imperious necessity. The first was, all circumstances considered, not sufficient to make it such a point of duty, as to abandon the government rather than the measure; but the second would have rendered that duty absolutely indispensable; the course pursued, therefore, was surely unexceptionable. They abandoned the measure, but, to mark the principle of the abandonment, they expressed a reservation to govern themselves by future circumstances, in the advice which they might from time to time be called upon to offer to his majesty upon the subject. Without the reservation, the king might have considered, and would have been justly led to consider, his ministers as pledged not to resume the measure in question, nor any other measure of indulgence to the Catholics, though offered under circumstances which could not, from duty to his majesty, enable them to give way to his opinions: and the Catholics might also have been impressed with the same opinion, which, besides the utter dishonour of such a proceeding, would have led to the very discontents which the present conjuncture is so unhappily calculated to produce.—My lords, I was not present when the minute in question was prepared; but if I had been present, I could have neither given assistance nor resistance, because I could not have assisted in drawing up a statement of what was intended by others, upon a subject on which my own views and opinions were different. But this I can declare, that though upon that ground I might have objected to the reservation altogether, yet I never should have thought of objecting to it, lest such offence should be given to the king by it, as to lead to a dissolution of the government, when I knew the measure had been, from dutiful deference to his opinions, and from the most affectionate personal considerations, wholly put aside and abandoned. Such an idea would have never presented itself to my mind, because it would have been inconsistent with the reverence and respect which I sincerely feel for his majesty, who could not, in my opinion, take just offence at the whole cabinet, because one minister or two had misconceived his sentiments. Their declarations were surely legitimate proof for the rest of his servants to act upon, and what more could they possibly do than unanimously to abandon the whole measure, when the misconception was discovered? By that abandonment, his majesty and his late ministers were brought back to the very situation in which they stood at the formation of the administration. They reciprocally knew each other's opinions. Sufficient for every day is the good or the evil of it. It was open to the ministers to propose, and for the king to reject, their propositions. If their duty had called upon them, on any future occasion, not to yield to his majesty, it would have been their duty to resign; and for the king to have removed them if they did not, instead of exposing the country, at such a crisis, to the serious consequences of a change, even though the change were for the better. I never, therefore, at the time the ministry was upon the eve of dissolving, could discover any just or rational ground for its dissolution; and I have never therefore been able to persuade myself, that their removal was the spontaneous act of the king on that account; because, having the highest opinion of his majesty's honour and fairness, I could not reconcile their removal with either. A pledge was tendered, which is not only not argued to be legal, but the illegality of which is considered as a childish truism, utterly unfit for debate in parliament; and yet this refusal, without farther parley or explanation, and in the midst of the most respectful and affectionate submission, (a large majority of the cabinet, not even chargeable with any misconception,) was made the only ground of a total indiscriminate removal; I say the only ground, because if the pledge had been taken, their continuance was of course; the king could not have gone back. Professing therefore the most sincere reverence and affection for his majesty, which I do really feel, and which I cannot help feeling, from every thing that I have seen and known since I have had the honour to be near his person, I do not believe that the ministry was dissolved by the spontaneous act of the king, on that single account. I believe that, independently of this, it must have been doomed somehow or other to dissolution. That the king's opinions, and scruples, and feelings, were most honest, honourable, and conscientious, I most firmly do believe; but not that all that has happened was the unmixed result of them: and I cannot help thinking that, independently of the legal presumption, the king was advised, in the ordinary sense of the expression, in some quarter, or by some means or other, to remove his ministers. My lords, I do not mean to say, nor in the most distant manner to insinuate, for I never will insinuate what I am not prepared to assert, that any noble lord now present, nor any honourable man in any other place is to be considered as such adviser though he should upon his word declare, that he was not. I assure your lordships, that I have no such meaning, but still my belief upon this subject, such as I have described it, is not at all shaken. We all know, my lords, that in political life there are wheels within wheels, as many almost as in a silk-mill; that the smallest, and apparently the most insignificant, are sometimes, from their situations, the most operative, and that some of them are, besides, sunk so deep in the dirt, that it is very difficult to find their places, though one can very easily discover their tracks and their effects.—My lords, I am the more inclined to be of this opinion, from the gross perversion and exaggeration of the danger and illegality of the extension beyond the Irish act of 1793. We have nothing to do with the civil exceptions in that act, but only with those which are military; these exceptions are the commander-in-chief, and general officers on the staff. His majesty consented, by the Irish act, to open the whole army to the Catholics, with these exceptions; and nobody charges his majesty now on that account with the breach of his coronation oath. It is admitted therefore, that, consistent with the coronation oath, Roman Catholics may be ensigns, lieutenants, captains, majors, and colonels in the army; but it is argued that they cannot rise to the rank of staff officers, consistently with the king's solemn obligation to support the Protestant establishment of the church of England. My lords, what in the name of wonder can the church have to do with this distinction? Whether it was or was not consistent with the spirit of the coronation oath, as it applied to the state, though not at all to the church, to open the army to the Catholics at all, it is not now open to argue; the thing is done, and was by his majesty consented to be extended to Great

Britain. We are therefore confined only to the mysterious enigma of the perjury, in carrying on their promotion to be officers on the staff. My lords, as I was no party at all to the bill, I cannot but feel a most natural anxiety to deliver myself from the possible imputation of such gross stupidity and folly as to have ever objected to it on that principle. I will state the foundation of my objection by-and-by. The question of entire emancipation is totally different, and ought not to be mixed with the present consideration. But I am quite sure that a man would be pointed at in the streets, who had incurred the ridicule of gravely asserting that, upon any possible view of the coronation oath, in its letter or in its spirit, the difference between colonels and staff-officers, could have any rational application. When it is considered upon the footing of expediency, the question may be very different; but even there, the king has the staff in his own hand; for though such promotions might be open to Catholics, the appointment still rests with the king himself. What I object to, therefore, my lords, is, that danger to the church is made the stalking-horse upon this occasion. As far as it is a question of political prudence, it is a fair and reasonable ground of difference of opinion; but so far as it is a clamour upon religion, it is imposture. It is for that reason that I cannot therefore help thinking, my lords, that this is a change, which though it could not have happened without the occasion, yet had not the occasion itself for its only cause, because the consequences altogether outrun such a cause. The objection to this way of considering the subject is, that it conveys a charge or an insinuation on the king himself. My lords, I deny it. It is the present ministers who make that charge upon his majesty, because they give up the pledge as illegal; they disavow it altogether; they deny that they have taken it, and leave it with the king. My lords, the obstacle of the king's oath appears the more extraordinary when we hear it in the mouths of the present ministers, who step into office upon the refusal of the pledge, by their predecessors. When one hears so much of the church, and upon an occasion with which the church can have no possible concern, one would think that the king upon his coronation took no oath but to support the religious establishment, and that the civil liberties of the people were nothing. My lords, does not the king solemnly swear to govern according to the statutes of the realm, and to the laws and customs of the same? My lords, the king enters into this solemn obligation: and is it consistent with the laws and customs of the realm to demand a pledge from counsellors that they will not impartially and honestly counsel? Is it consistent with the laws and customs of the realm, that the king shall make a rule for his own conduct, which his counsellors shall not break in upon, to disturb with their advice? Who is the man that will stand up and say, that this is the law and custom of this realm? The church therefore, and all observations concerning Catholics, are foreign to this grand consideration; because if this can be supported and sanctioned in one instance, it may in any number of instances; and the king, instead of submitting to be advised by his counsellors, might give the rule himself as to what he will be advised in, until those who are solemnly sworn to give full and impartial counsel, and who are responsible to the public for their conduct as his advisers, might be penned up in a corner of their duties and jurisdiction, and the state might go to ruin. But no doubt it will be said, that here again is a direct attack upon the king. I deny it again, it is no attack upon the king. I cannot see the king but in the responsible officers of state, who, by serving him in office, sanction all proceedings of the crown. The noble earl who spoke first on that side, declared that if an address was presented to the king to know the author of the supposed advice, his majesty would return for answer, that his adviser was the faithful monitor within his own breast in the suggestions of his conscience. My lords, the king might undoubtedly give such an answer, but I should be glad to see the ministers who would be bold enough to deliver such an answer to parliament. My lords, I will hazard my reputation as a lawyer with your lordships, that the responsible minister who was the organ of that message here, would be subject to an impeachment. The Great Hall, and not this chamber, would be the proper forum for the consideration of it. The king can perform no act of government himself, and no man ought to be received within the walls of this house to declare, that any act of government has proceeded from the private will and determination, or conscience of the king. The king, as chief magistrate, can have no conscience which is not in the trust of responsible subjects. When he delivers the seals of office to his officers of state, his conscience, as it regards the state, accompanies them. No man in England, my lords, is less disposed than I am to abridge the king's prerogative, or to degrade the dignity of his high office, by reducing him to a cypher. The public, on the contrary, are entitled to the full benefit, nay, they have a right in reason to expect the advantages of the personal virtues and capacity of the king. Whatever follows from either is therefore his own. The fame and honour of his actions are his own; but as all men must have errors, the wisdom of our government turns them aside from him. The maxim, that the king can do wrong, does not seek to alter the nature and constitution of things, but to preserve the government not only against the impeachment of crime, but even against the irreverence and loss of dignity arising from the very imputation of it. No act of state or government can therefore be the king's; he cannot act but by advice; and he who holds office, sanctions what is done, from whatever source it may proceed. This, my lords, is not the legal fiction of the constitution, but the practical benefit and blessing of it. I am pleading the cause of the king and of the people together, in enforcing it; and I never will remain silent whilst this principle is disturbed. Apply it, my lords, to the case before us. We never should have recourse to a simile, when the case itself will serve us for illustration.—My lords, the illustration may suffer from circumstances at this moment. The hands of our great enemy are full; the brave Russians keep him at bay in the East, and I pray God for the continuance of such critical successes. But should he return to the coast, and fill the shores of Europe with his troops from the Baltic to the Mediterranean; should he threaten Ireland with invasion, would any man be permitted with impunity to tell the Catholics that they must not look to any possible change in their condition during his majesty's reign? that no changes could relieve them whilst the king was on the throne? My lords, I maintain, without the hazard of contradiction, that this declaration would be a seditious misdemeanour, punishable by indictment. The criminal motive, unless as circumstances might repel the inference, would be inferred from the sentiment, because the king can have no such purpose either in law or in fact imputed to him. He cannot in law, for the reasons I have already given; and I believe he will not, in fact, under every possible circumstance, because the king's oath, and the danger to the establishments of church and state, were opposed from time to time just as they are now, to all the important indulgences which his majesty, during his reign, has nevertheless granted to his Catholic subjects; and I conceive that I have even the sanction of the present ministers for supposing, that upon corresponding emergencies the indulgences would still be extended; for they say that they have taken no pledge, and consider the imputation of having taken it as a reproach, which it certainly would not be, if all further indulgences were against a fundamental and unalterable principle; and if further indulgences be not on that account inadmissible, but are to depend upon emergencies as they may occur, then upon what principle were the late ministers removed, and how are they distinguishable from their successors, since the late ministers abandoned all indulgence for the present, and only contended that emergencies ought to regulate their advice?—This is the whole. I hope I have not departed in any thing I have said from the declaration I made the other day of my duty and attachment to his majesty, which is most sincere and affectionate. What weighs heavily on my mind, my lords, is, the dangerous and alarming distinction between putting by from time to time the claims and expectations of the Catholics, which I am as much disposed to as any man, and the public declaration of unalterable refusal upon a principle which admits no alteration. I trust we shall never see the danger of such a declaration brought home to a practical test in the discontent of subjects who might otherwise be affectionate and faithful.—My lords, I have nothing to add to the trouble which I have already given to your lordships, but to assure you, that no man can be more deeply impressed than I am with reverence for God and religion, and for all the ministers and professors of the Christian Protestant faith. I am sure that I need not except even the worthy and excellent prelates in whose presence I make this solemn and public declaration. My lords, I glory in the opportunity of making it. Would to God that my life could be as pure as my faith! I consider the æra of the Reformation, and its irresistible progress in the age which has succeeded it, as the grand æra in which the Divine Providence began most visibly to fulfil the sacred and encouraging promises of the Gospel: I look forward, my lords, believe me I always have, with an anxiety which I cannot express, but with a hope which is unextinguishable, to the time when all the nations of the earth shall be collected under its shadow, and united in the enjoyment of its blessings: It is that feeling, my lords, mixed perhaps with what may be considered as the prejudices of education, but which I cannot myself consider to be prejudices, that have kept me back from going the full length of Catholic expectation. I consider the Roman Catholic faith as a gross superstition; not chargeable upon the present generation, which contains thousands and ten thousands of sincere and enlightened persons, but the result of the darkness of former ages, and which is fast giving way under the hourly increasing lights of religious and philosophical truth. Not that vain and contemptible jargon which has usurped the name of philosophy, but the philosophy of nature, which lifts up the mind to the contemplation of the Almighty, by approaching to Him nearer, and discovering his Attributes in the majesty and harmony of his works. Toleration is the right of every man, and the policy of all wise states; but seeing that religious superstitions were falling into a wholesome and visible decline, I have never sought to give any encouragement to set them up again, but have rather wished that inconveniences should be felt, though no injustice suffered by their professors; because, when religious distinctions are not so importantly material as deeply to affect the conscience, they are often by imperceptible degrees diminished and melted away. These ideas, my lords, and not any objections affecting either the establishment of the church or the safety of the state, though formerly these were very solid objections, were my reasons for not giving my support to the bill without a more urgent occasion; for there are occasions to which such ideas ought to yield, since we are frequently without choice in the order and government of mankind. These opinions, however, can have no bearing on the present motion, the first branch of which I pass by altogether, having been myself an humble member of the administration which it supports; but I not only subscribe to the second, but shall conclude by returning my thanks to the noble marquis for having introduced it to the house.

The Earl of *Jersey* supported the motion, which, he contended, was called for by the extraordinary circumstances that had recently occurred. That some farther concessions should be made to the Catholics, had been the opinion of many statesmen of great eminence. Even one of the present ministers, the secretary of state for the foreign department, a person certainly not of inferior talents, had formerly held this opinion. It could not therefore be a subject of charge against the late ministers that they brought forward this measure wantonly or hastily. He thought there was great reason to regret the change in his majesty's councils, and he considered the pledge demanded as highly unconstitutional.

Lord *Harrowby* began by observing, that he fell under the same embarrassment as the noble earl who had just spoken, from the want of proper documents. This deficiency was in itself a sufficient parliamentary ground for refusing to assent to the motion of his noble relation. No motion, he said, pretending to be grounded upon facts, ought to be entertained, unless it rests either upon facts notorious, or admitted on all sides, or proved by documents on our table. The nature of the present case admits of no such proof: it rests upon statements of the contents of dispatches which we have not seen; of the contents of confidential communications between the king and his cabinet, which are not, and cannot be before us: and upon the relation, not so much of the terms of confidential conversations between the same parties, as of the impression which such conversations made upon the minds of those who held them. Such are the documents on which we are called upon to assent to a motion, which, grounding itself solely upon the defence brought forward by one party, is in fact (though I trust not in intention) an accusation against the other; a motion which places your lordships in a situation, equally unknown to the theory and the practice of the constitution, equally alien from your legislative and judicial functions, the situation of sitting in judgment upon the personal conduct of your sovereign. I am well aware that the mention of his name within these walls is in itself disorderly, but the nature of this question renders it impossible to be avoided. More need not be said to prove at once the indecorous and unparliamentary character of the debate into which we are driven. I shall not however forget the doctrine laid down in another place by what is now the highest authority in this house, that the right which necessity creates, necessity limits. So far at least it will be agreed on all sides, that before we determine to assert an abstract proposition, for the declared purpose of applauding the late ministers, and with the direct effect of censuring our sovereign, we ought to examine (as far as the imperfect lights we have can admit) how far that abstract proposition can be applied to the present case, considered in all its bearings and with all its circumstances. It would ill beome us,[a] in any cause, much more in one so extraordinary in its complexion, so momenous in its consequences, to content ourselves with taking up the transaction nearly at its close. We must consider what were the steps which led to that close, what was the necessity which left no other issue. It is not enough to say, a pledge was demanded; no minister ought to give a pledge; the king has dismissed his ministers for refusing it; therefore the ministers were right, and the king was wrong. A mutual confidence between the sovereign and his servants appears so indispensable to the good conduct of public business, that when once there is so little confidence on either side, that the ministers are reduced to demand a pledge from their king, or the king from his ministers, there seems little option left, but for him to dismiss them, or for them to resign. What is the mode best calculated to preserve this necessary confidence? A clear and distinct explanation of proposed measures on one side, and an unreserved communication of opinions on the other. If ever there was a question upon which such clear and distinct explanation was peculiarly necessary, it was that lately in discussion. It was a question upon which the sentiments of a majority of his majesty's servants were known by themselves to be contrary to his; upon which his opinion had not only been repeatedly and decidedly dcelared, but had been acted upon by him under the most trying circumstances, and was founded not upon any arguments of political expediency, but upon a religious regard to the sacred obligation of his oath. If measures of concession to the Catholics had been consented to by the king, upon former occasions, with evident reluctance, arising from a conscientious fear lest they should pass the hallowed line, how deeply was it incumbent upon those, who proposed advancing but a single step within that limit, to define with the utmost precision the extent of that single step? Can we, who have heard little upon this subject, except the voluntary defence of ministers, can even they, who made it, now say, even to themselves, either that this caution was not necessary, or that it was not neglected? Can they say, that in the first proposal to his majesty to extend the privileges of the Roman Catholics, the limits of that extension were accurately stated to him? were perhaps even accurately defined in their own minds. The measure was first proposed to be introduced by clauses in the mutiny bill. Could this by possibility go beyond the army, or include the navy? The notice of the intended motion referred, as I am informed, to the Irish act of 1793, and professed to admit Catholics to certain commissions. Could this be supposed to include the admission of all dissenters to all commissions and appointments? But what was the reasoning by which this proposal was supported, when addressed to his majesty? Am I misinformed, when I hear that he was told, that it was the earnest wish of ministers, to avoid every discussion, which could in the remotest degree be painful to any feelings, or repugnant to any opinion of his majesty? That this object they hoped they had attained by the measure then suggested; and why was it supposed to be attained? Because, so far from being repugnant to any known opinion of his majesty, it was perfectly conformable in principle to that concession which he had consented to in 1793; because it was only fulfilling the engagement which had been entered into under his majesty's authority at that time. Was it not stated, that the Irish act enabled the king's subjects in Ireland to hold commissions in the army, with no other restriction than is there pointed out? and that if a similar provision be refused with respect to this part of the united kingdom, it would (amongst other arguments) bear an appearance of a conduct not consistent with openness and good faith? If this was the manner in which the proposal was represented, (and if it was not, I shall be contradicted,) can any man wonder at the impression made upon his majesty's mind? I will not argue against the cavil which may be made upon the reference to the principle of the act of 1793. It is answered at once by the proposal, after referring to the restrictions in that act, of a similar provision for England. Besides, what is the principle of an act? Is it not to be found equally in what it withholds, and what it grants? If it allows certain privileges for the relief of his Catholic subjects, does it not impose certain restrictions for the security of his Protestant establishment? Is it fair to argue, that the only object of a legislative measure is to annihilate all distinctions between different sects, when it is an equally prominent object of the same measure to preserve a part of them? But, if we, who are left to collect our information as we can, find a want of precision in this clear and distinct explanation, how did it appear to those who were most conversant and most deeply interested in every part of the transaction? To the king, to whom it was proposed; to those ministers who were consulted upon it, or by whom it was advised; to those, through whom it was communicated to the Catholics? That it was not understood by the king, we have his majesty's own authority, as stated by the noble baron lately at the head of his ministry. That it was not understood by the cabinet, we have the authority of a noble viscount, and, as I am informed, that of two other members of the cabinet, who, if they had understood the measure, would, as well as himself, have dissented from it, and who, when they did understand it, took no part in the further proceedings. That it was not understood by the noble lord himself, who brought it forward in another place, we have his own authority, collected from his own notice, and from the manner in which his clauses were to be introduced. We are further told by that noble lord himself, that he had not sufficiently attended to the distinction between his own measure and the Irish act. The candour of this admission does honour to the noble lord; but it removes all our wonder, that others should not have understood what those who proposed it did not understand themselves; it removes also some of our regret, that the proposal of great measures is no longer vested in the same hands; it removes also much of our surprise, that in an intercourse of a confidential nature between the king and his servants, some precautions should have been thought absolutely necessary to prevent future misunderstandings. To the measure, however, thus stated, and thus understood, the king, after repeated instances, gave a reluctant consent, adverting, however, particularly to what had passed in 1793. Did he not also add, in precise and positive terms, that he thought it necessary to declare, that he would not go one step farther? If this cannot be denied, is it not a fact which ought to have been brought forward by those, who, in the defence of their own conduct, have forced us to discuss an accusation against the king? Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the line they should have followed after this declaration, this at least will be conceded, that it imposed upon them not only the duty of stating with the utmost distinctness what was the nature and the extent of the further steps which he was required to take, but of ascertaining, with the same distinctness, the nature and the extent of the consent of his majesty. Did the ministers perform this duty? Was it sufficient to rest such a point upon the understanding of a conversation, in which the king believed that he had signified his perseverance in refusal, but which the noble secretary of state understood as a reluctant consent, or, as he candidly admits, rather as not withdrawing the consent which had been originally given. The ministers being in possession of the written opinion of his majesty, giving a reluctant consent to a measure evidently limited, with a declaration that he could not go one step further, his consent to an unlimited measure is implied, from what? From the expression of his decided disapprobation. It ought not to be forgotten, that immediately after this conversation, an opportunity was offered, by the audience of the leading member of government, to clear up the doubt, while it was yet time. We understand from that noble lord, that nothing passed upon the subject. That the king should not have repeated his dissent, was perfectly natural. His determination not to advance one step beyond his former concessions, had been declared in writing; his dissent from the new step proposed, had, as he thought, been distinctly expressed to the person, whose immediate duty it was to conduct the measure: and he might well think it unnecessary to repeat it. But it would have been fortunate (and that it did not so happen must now be regretted by himself), if the noble person who had the second audience had felt that necessity for clearing up all doubts upon so delicate a point, which the very information he received at the door of the closet would to most minds have naturally suggested. Undoubtedly, however, it may be supposed that the information received by government from Ireland, placed the necessity of the measure every day in a stronger light, and afforded greater and greater hopes of quieting the Catholics. Will the ministers state this as a ground for enlarging the measure, or even for persisting in it? What hopes could be entertained of quieting the Catholics by a limited measure, supported upon principles which required one unlimited, which made what was granted no favour, and left what was refused injustice and oppression? Did the Irish government give hopes that these concessions would keep back the petition? Was it not known, that, exclusive of the claims which that petition would bring forward, the previous requests, a compliance with which could alone give even a chance of keeping it back, were such as neither the Irish nor the English government were disposed to admit? Was not the meeting of the Irish Catholics, at which the petition was decided, a sufficient proof of the inefficacy of these concessions, even if the declarations of some leading orators had not spurned at their nullity? What then had happened? The clear and precise dispatch to the Irish government had been so well understood, that Mr. Elliott, though answering in the words of that dispatch, had given a doubtful answer; and that the Catholics, as was natural, were disposed to explain this doubt in their own favour. This favourable explanation was confirmed by the dispatch of the 3d of March, to which the consent of the king was implied, from the circumstance of his having returned without observation a draft which was sent to him without observation; and upon his consent, equally implied from the conversation above stated, in which the difference was explained, the measure in its new and extended form was pressed on in the house of commons. At length it became evident that the whole business had been involved in misconception. On the 13th of March, the majority of the cabinet, convinced that the king was immovable in his determination, communicated to him, through the medium of that noble lord, their resolution to modify the bill, so as to bring it within the limits of the act of 1793. With this resolution it appears that his majesty was satisfied. Why then was the whole bill abandoned? It would, it seems, have been difficult to find arguments to justify an adherence to the exact letter of the Irish act. Was there no difficulty then in finding arguments to justify the voluntary and entire relinquishment of a measure, stated by themselves to be indispensably necessary, and which they should be deeply criminal if they neglected to propose? If it could be done in the latter case (as the noble lord in another place has stated that it might) without committing his majesty, why not in the former? If it was necessary to commit his majesty, was it not better to commit him upon a strict adherence to the act of 1793, and to carry their own principles into effect as far as that act carried them, rather than to abandon without necessity every part of their own measure, and to bring forward the sacred person of the king as the only bar to the progress of civil and religious freedom? If it were true that his majesty were himself the only supporter of those principles which seated his family upon the throne; if he feels himself bound by the obligation of an oath (not voluntary but imposed upon him as the *conditio regnandi*), to draw a line which he cannot pass, who is there but must respect such adherence to principle? Who is there but must wish such a conscience to remain unmolested? But is it true that his majesty is thus insulated from his parliament and his people? Did the ministers really believe that they should carry their bill in parliament? Has not one of their leading members in another place declared his opinion that they could not carry it there? After the late and decided opinion which your lordships have expressed upon the subject, was there a hope of carrying it here? Is there a doubt in the mind of any man as to the general sentiments and feelings of the country? Where was therefore the necessity of relinquishing the measure in a manner which gave a wrong impression of the real obstacles which opposed it? Still more, where was the necessity of accompanying the resolution to withdraw the bill with the stipulations contained in the minute of the 15th of March, as they have been stated by the noble lord? As to the right of expressing in parliament the individual opinions of members of the administration, it was a right which no man contested, and of which his majesty only regrets the exercise, because it appeared decidedly adverse to the great object of their exertions, the quieting the Catholics, and keeping back their petition. As to the right of giving such advice in future to his majesty respecting Ireland, as the course of circumstances might appear to require, this was a general right, upon which if they had been silent, no man would have entertained a doubt; but as applied to this particular question, what did it mean? After a long and distressing contest with their sovereign, they had discovered, what they might have known before it began, the ultimate point at which he was determined to make his stand. By relinquishing their own bill entirely, instead of condescending to restrict it within the limits of the act of 1793, they had proved that any future proposal must go beyond that act. The power, therefore, which they thought it necessary to declare it was essential to their characters and to their duty that they should reserve, and from time to time exert, was a power to bring forward from time to time, for the decision of his majesty, measures to which his oath forbade him to consent. On this point, the king had decided, not lightly or inconsiderately. He thought himself bound to his Protestant people not to do any act, which was, in his own opinion, contrary to the pledge he had given them at his coronation: he thought himself bound to the Almighty, not wilfully to transgress the oath which he had sworn. However the arguments brought forward by others might convince the consciences of others, it was by his own conscience, right or wrong, that he must stand or fall. If he violated this sacred contract with his eyes open, with his judgement unconvinced, he must at once break his faith with man, and prevaricate with his God. Under these distressing circumstances, his majesty proposes to his ministers to withdraw this intimation of their intentions. Was this a concession which it was impossible for them to make? They had declared themselves desirous of keeping off the discussion of any question, contrary to the opinions and feelings of his majesty. By the exertion of their weight and influence in that direction, it was far from impossible that they might be successful. If they failed, it was still in their power to inform his majesty that, as they could no longer in their opinion administer his government, without proposing measures contrary to his sense of his oath, they must retire from responsibility, and leave his majesty to the advice of other counsellors. Having failed in convincing the king by the strongest statements of the indispensable necessity of the measure, which they had nevertheless abandoned, having consented to become deeply criminal by withdrawing what it would have been deeply criminal not to propose, from what further arguments could conviction and success be expected? What was the invariable prospect, but a fruitless and unaviling contest, productive of nothing but distrust and irritation? Are we then prepared to censure his majesty, if, after proposing in the first instance that the intimation should be withdrawn, he claimed some positive assurance that this contest between himself and his confidential servants should not last for ever? Having seen how loosely, how inaccurately a proceeding of such importance and delicacy had been conducted: having seen how easily his consent had been implied to the very measure to which he thought his dissent had been unequivocally expressed, can any man be surprized that he should require to be secured from all future apprehensions? From all future apprehensions, of what nature? Not that measures would be proposed to curtail his influence, or to abridge his power, but that he should be forced, against his conscience, to consent to the extension of his prerogative. Is it not clear that when there is so little confidence between the king and his confidential servants as to make it necessary on either side to require a pledge of any kind, the public service must suffer, if the conduct of affairs continues in the same hands? When ministers perceive that they have inconsiderately, and for what appear unnecessarily, brought themselves into this situation is it honourable to their sovereign, is it useful to their country, to cling to their official posts; to force their king to remove them, instead of removing themselves; and to attempt to gain popularity by dismissal which they must be conscious they have not gained by their administration? This brings me to the second branch of the motion of my noble relation. It was not expected by me, and it would require a long, but not difficult detail to answer it. Having been prevented by the state of my health from attending my duty in this place during their continuance in power, I can only form my judgement from a general view of their conduct. Of their entrance into office I say nothing, except that they chose to come in upon that very principle of exclusion, applied to a whole party from the highest to the lowest, a resistance to which principle, said to be applied to a single person, had been the declared reason of their refusal to join in a former administration. Of their actions I can only seize the prominent points in a hasty and imperfect review. I look for their œconomy, to the immense burthen entailed, I fear for ever, upon the country, by the increased expence of the army, and consequently of the navy, incurred in order to try in the army upon a large scale an experiment grounded upon visionary theories, but which in practice the volunteering of the militia into the line had proved to be almost hopeless of success. I look for their just distribution of offices and rewards; to their foreign appointments; to their civil promotion; to the persons whom they have placed in pecuniary trusts; to the persons whom they have prosecuted; to the persons whom they have pensioned. I look for their energy and ability in the disposal of the military and naval force of the country, to the expeditions they have sent out with so little delay in the dispatch, so little contradiction in the orders and counter-orders; to the conquests we have gained; to the victories we have achieved; to the stupendous advancement of our military and naval glory. For their talents in the management of foreign politics, I must look to the cordial footing on which we now stand with those powers in whose welfare we are most deeply interested; to the prompt and liberal succours they have sent to that remnant of Europe, which is still struggling for existence. For the wisdom and precision of their negociations, I must look to their negociation with France; a perfect parallel to their negociation with their king, where the point on which the whole turned was left for months so clearly defined, that it rested at last upon the recollection of a verbal communication, which was understood by one party in one sense, and by the other in a sense directly contrary. I see nothing upon this review, which should induce your lordships to express, as you would do by agreeing to this motion, an implied or rather a direct disapprobation of that exercise of his majesty's undoubted prerogative, which you have upon former occasions stood forward to support. From my own personal feelings, I may regret much what has passed. I did not wish the fall of the late administration. It was strong; it was, or had been supposed to include sufficient ability; it contained in it some persons in whom I had been accustomed in other times to repose confidence; but I wished it either to be strengthened by the infusion of some better blood, or to be checked by an opposition sufficiently powerful to guard against undue exertions of the strength of government. On one ground indeed I may be permitted to regret their fall; on a consideration of the principles of the persons who opposed them. I knew them to be incapable of harassing or fettering any administration in the real discharge of its duties; incapable of taking advantage of necessary difficulties and burthens, to raise a clamour against them, which would aggravate those burthens and increase those difficulties. They would object to what they thought objectionable, and guard those principles which they could not desert without inconsistency, and which to them were sacred. Whether the experience of the last twenty years can give the present administration much hope of a similar opposition, it is for your lordships to consider. My temper is not sufficiently sanguine not to leave me, upon this ground, some regret for the past, and some apprehension for the future. With these feelings and these opinions, I cannot but have some regret at the addition made by this struggle to the dangerous pressure of the times. If the struggle were not necessary, it ought not to have been made. Having been made because it was necessary, it ought not to be abandoned. It is no child's play. The change is not the result of court intrigue, or party ambition. The present ministers have been called upon to support the king in the defence of his conscience. I approve their cause; I do not distrust their ability or their zeal. They will stand firm to him and to each other. With the sanction of your lordships, with the voice of the country in their favour, what have they to fear? But, be the event what it may, with their king they must stand or fall.

The Earl of *Selkirk* declared, that the propositions contained in the resolution moved by the noble marquis had, in the abstract, his unqualified assent. He had no doubt of the principle, that a privy counsellor, who should restrain himself by a pledge, from advising his majesty to the best of his judgement, would be guilty of a high breach of duty. He was also satisfied, that the late administration possessed and deserved the confidence of the country. He did not mean to imply an unreserved approbation of all their proceedings; but he did not expect to see an administration of more than human perfection. The fair criterion, by which to judge the late administration was, to compare their conduct with that of others; and in this view he was ready to maintain, that considering the short duration of their power, they had accomplished, or put into a fair train of accomplishment, more important measures of public good, and that with less of reprehensible conduct, than perhaps any administration within our memory. He was also of opinion, that in the present state of Europe, the loss of a firm and stable administration was an event deeply to be deplored.—The question before the house, however, was not whether these principles were true, but whether it was proper, under all the circumstances of the case, for the house to record an opinion on the subject. The plain object and intention of the motion, was to convey a censure on the dismissal of his majesty's late ministers, as founded on an unconstitutional act; a censure in which he could not concur. The adoption of this motion, or of any other of a similar tendency, he considered as an unwarrantable interference in the exercise of the prerogative.—The right of parliament, he said, to advise the crown upon the choice of ministers, cannot go so far as to entitle the house to question the motives of his majesty, for dismissing ministers who had lost his confidence. The king cannot be required to take advice from men, in whom he cannot confide; and, were there no other reason, a diminution of confidence is a sufficient ground for a change in his majesty's councils. If upon such a change, improper persons are substituted, it becomes the duty as it is the right, of parliament to state their opinion of the unfitness of the persons appointed: but it is on these grounds of expediency only, that they can recommend one set of men or reprobate another. It can never be maintained, that the king is accountable to parliament for his conduct in changing his advisers. Such a doctrine would sap the foundations of the constitution. If the motives for a change in his majesty's councils be a fit subject for parliamentary investigation, as well might the two houses proceed to the election of a ministry by a ballot.—Except upon the principle here contended for, it would be impossible to prevent discussions, which are admitted on all hands to be utterly unfit for parliament discussions upon the personal conduct of the king, and on points at issue between him and his ministers. To illustrate this, let it be supposed, that the opposite principle were established, that the motives for a change of ministers are a fit subject of parliamentary enquiry; and then let an extreme case be put: let it be supposed, that a minister should in council offer a gross personal insult to his majesty, such as would be an unpardonable offence from one individual to another; would there be a doubt that such a minister, be his talents and his virtues what they may, might be properly dismissed? Now let the supposition be varied; instead of a gross insult, let us suppose an offence less unpardonable. The supposition admits of every possible gradation between the grossest insult, and the most venial inattention. Between the two extremes, cases may undoubtedly be imagined, in which it would be a matter of the utmost nicety to determine whether the offence were or were not a sufficient ground for dismissing a minister. If such questions as that are to be determined by parliament, where is an end of the improprieties into which it would lead; and how are such questions to be avoided, if the motives of his majesty for dismissing his ministers are to be held a fit subject of enquiry? When a change of administration takes place, on the ground of any great public measure, the propriety of the change becomes a fit subject of enquiry, as involved in the discussion of the measure which led to it. The present is not a case of that kind, but one of those in which there is no criterion to be referred to, except the feelings in his majesty's breast, excited by the personal behaviour of his ministers towards him.—The measure, from which all this discussion originated, having been abandoned by ministers, is not the essential ground of difference, and therefore it is not at all to the purpose to enter into the merits of that measure. The whole question relates to the manner in which the measure was brought forward. As to the idea of the late ministers having had an intention to circumvent the king, I cannot see the least ground for such an accusation: but it is not equally easy to acquit them of very blameable carelessness, and of the want of a becoming attention to his majesty. The very existence of misapprehension on so important a point, would entitle us to presume carelessness; and the statements made to both houses of parliament, by members of the late administration, fully prove the fact. I cannot agree with some noble lords, who consider his majesty's determination on the Catholic question as immutable: yet when his opinion had been so often and so strongly expressed, the king had certainly a right to expect that a change in his opinion should not be lightly presumed, without a very full and distinct explanation. It appears, however, that ministers did imagine a change in his majesty's opinion, upon the most vague inferences; and proceeded to act upon that supposition with a levity that would scarcely have been becoming on a subject of the most trifling consequence. This conduct may fairly be considered as an act of personal inattention to the king, requiring an apology: and when an apology might have been expected, his majesty received what, without any disposition to exaggeration, may be construed into a defiance.—When the late ministers subjoined to the minute of council, in which they agreed to withdraw the Catholic Army bill, the reservations which have been the occasion of so much comment, it may be granted to them, that they had no disrespectful intention: yet, if they did not take sufficient care to explain themselves, they have no right to complain that their expressions were misunderstood. The king had said nothing which appeared to call for these reservations. The act, to which they were annexed, did not imply the admission of any principle, to the contrary. The noble and learned lord, lately on the woolsack, has himself stated, that the deference of ministers to the king in the present circumstances did not imply that they must shew the same deference in others of more extreme urgency. If circumstances should hereafter have arisen, such as to render the Catholic concessions a measure of indispensable necessity, without which the affairs of the nation could not be carried on, it would have become the duty of ministers to state it to his majesty as a measure without which they could no longer remain in office; and it is altogether ridiculous to suppose that they would have been precluded from this conduct, because they had on a former occasion relinquished a similar measure, at a time when it was to be considered as expedient and useful, but not of vital importance and absolute necessity. The insertion therefore of these unnecessary reservations might fairly be considered as a threat to renew the subject under circumstances of no greater necessity than the present. This interpretation is confirmed by the expression, that the advice alluded to, was to be submitted from time to time; an expression which cannot easily be limited to those cases of impending destruction to which it is now construed as applying.—Whatever might be the meaning affixed by the council to these expressions, it is certainly no extravagant supposition to imagine that the king may have considered them as a disrespectful defiance, and as such, a sufficient ground for the immediate dismissal of his ministers. This, however, he did not resolve upon, but conveyed to them an expression of his willingness to overlook the conduct, of which he had a right to complain, provided he could be assured that he should not meet the like in future. Such appears to be the obvious spirit and intention of that note from the king, which is described as the demand of a pledge from his ministers. Though in form, that note does demand a pledge, such as ministers could not constitutionally accede to, yet it is to be considered, that this was a paper, dictated on the spur of the moment, and in which we are not to look for the accuracy of a special pleader. The spirit of it is essentially friendly to ministers, and implies a reluctance, on the part of his majesty, to part with them, totally irreconcileable with the idea thrown out by a noble and learned lord, that it must have been dictated by secret advisers, and founded on a previous resolution to dissolve the administration.—It appears, then, that the dismissal of the late ministers may be fairly traced to the circumstances of their personal conduct towards his majesty; and in this view of the matter, no one will consider it as a proper subject of parliamentary investigation, whether these circumstances were or were not of sufficient weight to induce his majesty to that determination. The noble lords on the opposite side, however, abstracting altogether from those emotions and feelings, from which the royal breast can no more be exempt than those of other men, overlooking all the circumstances, which provoked the ultimate demand of a pledge, consider the subject as a dry and insulated constitutional question. It would have been unconstitutional, they say, for ministers to have given the pledge required, and therefore it was unconstitutional to demand it: and if this act was not owing to a secret adviser, the new ministers who accept offices, vacated in consequence of that unconstitutional demand, must be held as assuming the responsibility.—The principle, that a new ministry are responsible for the dismissal of their predecessors, and retrospectively for the measures upon which it proceeds, I hold to be sound constitutional doctrine, but the application, which is made of that principle to the present case, appears to me to be fallacious.—That the king can do no wrong, and that he can never act without advice, are principles of constitutional law, which, like many other doctrines of the law of England, are expressed in figurative language, like all those principles which juridical writers express under the form of fictions. These maxims, stripped of their metaphor, and translated into plain language, appear to me to mean: 1st, that the king has no power, by the constitution, to do any public act of government, but through the medium of some minister, who is held responsible for the act: and, 2dly, That the personal actions of the king, not being acts of government, are not under the cognizance of law.—The principle that the king can never act without advice, applies therefore only to acts of government. This interpretation is quite sufficient for the purpose, which that maxim is intended to effect, viz. to secure the people from the abuses of bad government, through the restraint which the fear of responsibility may put on ministers. If this responsibility attaches on every act of government, on every act of the king in his executive or legislative capacity, the people have all the security, which that maxim can impart; and it would be absurd to extend it to the personal actions of the king as an individual, to the occurrences of his domestic life, or to the circumstances which may arise in the course of confidential communication between him and his ministers, previously to their determining on any measure, which is afterwards to make its appearance to the public as an act of government.—Upon a change of ministry, the new ministers are undoubtedly responsible for the dismissal of their predecessors as a public act of government; and where the dismissal is connected with any other public measure, on that likewise, retrospectively, they become responsible for the negative of their predecessor's intentions, but not for any private consultations, between the king and his former ministers, which did not terminate in any public measure. In the present case, the demand of a pledge from the late ministers, cannot be considered in any other light than as an occurrence of private consultation in the cabinet; an occurrence which cannot be a proper subject of parliamentary enquiry, since it is only in consequence of the king's permission that the knowledge of the fact could ever have come to parliament. That permission was granted for the sole purpose of enabling some of his late ministers to clear their characters of aspersions thrown upon them, and it is surely a most improper trespass upon the generosity which led to that permission, that a proceeding, such as the present, should be founded upon it; a proceeding which, however it may be intended by the noble persons who bring it forward, cannot be debated without a continual infringement of that important constitutional maxim, that the personal actions of the king are not to be made the subject of discussion.—Upon the whole then it appears that the argument in favour of the present motion rests entirely upon the gross fallacy, of considering the demand of a pledge from ministers as an insulated fact, and their refusal as the only assignable motive for dismissing them. It appears on the contrary, that, independently altogether of any such refusal, the dismissal would have been justifiable; that, before the demand was made, circumstances had occurred which might naturally and fairly have led to that dismissal. If upon receiving that minute of council, by which his ministers agreed to give up the Catholic bill, the king, instead of requiring that the reservations should be withdrawn, had immediately and without further explanation, sent for the seals of office, could any one venture to say that the act would have been unconstitutional? and shall we be told that the act which the king might constitutionally have done before the demand of a pledge, became unconstitutional after that demand was refused? that the mere circumstance of the king's having inadvertently made a demand, which his ministers could not with propriety accede to, can be sufficient to annul and bar the exercise of one of the most essential prerogatives of the crown? The noble lord proceeded to state, that the avowed object of the motion was to lead to the re-instatement of the late ministers. However much he might regret that a change should have taken place, it could by no means follow that he should concur in machinations for forcing back upon the king any set of men who had lost his majesty's confidence. He argued that no practical good could ever arise from such a proceeding, even if it should succeed; that a ministry forced upon the king without his cordial approbation never could be secure; that the only consequence would be to multiply changes; and that every change necessarily involves much inconvenience to the public service. He agreed, that it was of peculiar importance in the present circumstances of Europe, that we should have a strong and stable administration. Such, undoubtedly, the late administration was; and on this ground, among others, he regretted the change: but, though the late administration was strong, it was by no means to be inferred that, if re-instated, it would be equally strong. The strength of an administration depends in a great measure on the opinion, which the public entertains of its permanence. Before these unfortunate transactions, the late administration was universally supposed to be immovably stable. Such an opinion can never be renewed. They formerly possessed the confidence of the king and the country, united; now, they would possess neither: for, whatever sense the public may entertain of the great and splendid abilities of the late ministers, the confidence formerly reposed in these talents, must be greatly shaken by a view of the extreme indiscretion of their late proceedings.—Lord Selkirk further observed, that, in the present circumstances, he could not approve or concur in a systematic opposition to an administration, whose conduct is as yet unknown. He thought them entitled to a fair trial, and that they should not be condemned till their measures should prove them unworthy of confidence. It is true, that many individuals of the present administration are well known as public characters; but, as a government, they are a new combination of men, and as yet untried. He could not deny, that many members of the present cabinet had expressed opinions on various subjects, which he did not concur with; and that, from a view of their former conduct, he could not avoid feeling considerable anxiety and doubt, as to what their future conduct might be: but he could not carry this so far as to say that they should be excluded, as utterly unfit to be trusted. Notwithstanding the opinions which some of them had delivered, against measures which he highly approved, he trusted they would see the wisdom of the maxim which their predecessors had acted upon in coming into office, that, taking into consideration the unavoidable mischief of repeated changes, they ought to acquiesce in many things which they found established, notwithstanding their having objected to them when first enacted. He referred particularly to the measures adopted last session for the improvement of our military system, the spirit of which he trusted would be still adhered to. It was also alledged, that the new ministers were pledged to a system opposite to that of conciliation in Ireland. He could not however perceive how they could fairly be considered as under any such pledge, and he trusted they would take the earliest opportunity of evincing the contrary, by giving to the Catholics, not merely assurances, but practical proof, that, however they might resist further concessions, they were determined to execute in a liberal manner, the laws already enacted in their favour. Such a conduct, he was persuaded, would not only be more honourable, but of more advantage to the new ministers, and tend more to promote the stability of their power, than if they should go on to encourage religious animosity, and to excite apprehension in the public mind for the safety of the ecclesiastical establishment. By raising a cry of no popery!, they might gain the assistance of a wild and fanatical mob, but would excite the disgust and reprobation of every honest and sensible man in the kingdom.—Lord Selkirk proceeded to state, that those who, in the present circumstances, do not approve of the avowed principles or former conduct of the newly appointed ministers, are by no means reduced to the alternative of joining with the determined partisans of the late ministers in a systematic opposition; that there is an intermediate line of conduct more honourable, more constitutional, better in every respect; that of giving an independent but qualified support to government so long only as their measures are reconcileable with the main and essential objects of national safety. In times like the present, a systematic opposition, maintained by so powerful a party, must tend to embarrass the operations of government, and to waste, in the struggle for power, that strength which ought to be directed against the common enemy. Such proceedings may be fit for those, whose interests are involved in the re-establishment of any particular individual at the head of administration: but those who are sensible of the imminent danger of our situation, and whose primary object is that national safety in which our all is involved, will not be inclined to join the violent partisans of either side of the house. If a few persons of acknowledged character, would unite in an independent line of conduct, they must gain the confidence of the people; though their numbers might at first be small, every thing they might say would carry weight, and even a small phalanx of such men might be able to repress ebullitions of a factious spirit, whether it should appear on the one side of the house or on the other.

Lord *Boringdon* said, he thought the resolution proposed was much too vague and indefinite, and as such he should, before he sat down, make a motion for the purpose of getting rid of it without coming to any resolution on the subject. The latter part of it, he thought, was a kind of surprise on the house, and he was of opinion that none of it was called for by any circumstances which could induce the house to come to any resolution. It was in his mind a proposition which their lordships ought to entertain with much caution, as it related so very nearly and particularly to the personal conduct of the king. A pledge had been required from his majesty's late ministers, respecting the bringing forward a particular question; and it had been assumed that the present ministers had entered into some such pledge. He believed, however, from the declaration of the noble secretary of state below him, that no such pledge had been given by the present ministers. Indeed, there could be no occasion for asking it, for they had never shewn themselves favourable to the Catholic question. He was also adverse to the proposed resolution on another ground. He did not think it would be binding on the house. Their lordships would recollect, that in the reign of queen Elizabeth, that house came to a resolution, while at war with Spain, that the country should make no peace with a prince of the house of Bourbon; yet the queen and her ministers made peace very soon afterwards, and the resolution of the house was so much waste paper, and no more. He was ready to absolve the late ministers from the imputation which had been charged upon them, of having attempted to force on the king any measure that militated against his feelings or his conscience; but he could not absolve them from negligence and inattention in the mode in which they had conducted themselves. He adverted particularly to the uncertainty and ambiguity contained in the Irish dispatch, and thought them blameable in endeavouring to obtain his majesty's opinion through the medium of a draft of a dispatch. He thought if the noble lord at the head of the late administration had openly and candidly communicated directly with his majesty on this important and delicate subject, the late misunderstanding could not have happened. As to the pledge, about which so much had been said, he would ask, whether, under all the circumstances which had been stated, it was very extraordinary the king should require such a security to his peace of mind, and to the dictates of his conscience, after the representation which had been given in by the late ministers; and that, after a refusal of such pledge, his majesty should be desirous and anxious to look for other servants who would not treat him in a similar manner. What did the late ministers say respecting this pledge? Why, that it was not fit to be given; they introduced therefore the reservation, as a sort of counterpoise, and by so doing made it in some degree incumbent upon his majesty to call to his councils other men, with whom he could act more in unison. It had been more than insinuated that this change had been brought about by secret advisers. It did not, however, appear by the statement made by the noble lord (Grenville) before the recess, that even the smallest insinuation could ever be made that the king had acted in this matter by the advice of any person whatever. Much had been said as to the effects this would have on the Roman Catholics of Ireland: he hoped, however, that when that body of men reflected on the many disabilities which had been removed by the gracious favour and condescension of his present majesty, who had, from the commencement of his reign, shewn himself desirous to act as far as possible for their relief, they would remember his gracious regard to their situation, and would not be angry when they saw their complaints were not set aside from any cabal, but that they would accordingly conform themselves in such a manner, as to evince they had a true sense of their own case, and were convinced that no intention remains in his majesty but to maintain the oath he had taken at his coronation. Feeling that the motion included a personal inculpation of the king for the exercise of an undoubted prerogative, he could by no means assent to it, and would therefore conclude by moving, that the house do now adjourn.—The question having being read from the woolsack,

Lord *Kinnaird* said, he was both surprised and sorry to hear the sentiments expressed in the noble lord's speech, but more particularly the latter part of it, in which he said that the Catholics would not be angry when they saw their complaints were not attended to from any intrigue or cabal, but that they must solely attribute it to the will of his majesty. This, he thought, was not the happiest way of reconciling that large body of men to the opposition made to their claims, or of conciliating their affections, which had been weakened by repeated disappointments. The noble lord had told their lordships, that he objected to the resolution, be-

because it would not be binding; and he had quoted an instance of a resolution passed by the house about two centuries ago, that they would not make peace with a prince of the house of Bourbon, though the queen and her ministers did very soon after make peace with a prince of that house. He did not see how this applied at all to the present case, or why, if a resolution of former times had been departed from, and thereby rendered of no avail, the house should not, at a subsequent period of time, pass any resolution which a present case might require. The noble lord then addressed himself to the earl of Selkirk, and expressed himself truly and sincerely sorry to perceive that noble earl had become so easy a convert to the support of his majesty's present ministers; and that he had exerted those talents, for which he had so great a respect, in calling for the confidence of the house, on the ground that those new ministers were untried. Much as he respected the noble earl, and highly as he valued his talents, he could not, however, agree with him in that particular, of their being untried. If he looked to the noble duke at the head of the present administration, no one could say he was untried. He had been in repeated administrations, none of which had effected any very great advantages to the country during their continuance. If he looked to the noble secretary of state for the home department (lord Hawkesbury), he too well knew the effect his former diplomatic conduct had had on all our allies, to draw any very favourable conclusions from it; and that if it did not assume a more favourable aspect, it could not fail to merit all the wit and humour which his right hon. colleague, the present foreign secretary, (Mr. Canning,) had then so profusely bestowed on it. If he looked to the noble lord at the head of the war and colonial department, (lord Castlereagh,) he had given such striking specimens of the versatility of his genius, that he might safely be set down as a fostering, careful, and attentive guardian, to whom we might, without risk, commit the care of the virtue and talents of the present administration. A noble lord, who had spoken last but two, speaking of the talents of the late ministers, had asked, in a kind of triumphant tone, what "All the talents" (as the late administration were called) had done for the service of the country. He, for his own part, thought the question might be readily answered, and that highly to the credit and honour of the late administration. In point of economy, he had ever found them ready to listen to all persons who were desirous and capable of pointing out any retrenchments. In regard to dispatch of business, he had seen none equal to them, for they had brought the public business to a degree of forwardness that was unexampled. That noble lord had also talked of expeditions planned by the late ministers. He was, however, the last person in the world who should talk of expeditions to the continent, when he recollected and maturely considered the mad expedition to which he had been himself a party; but on the subject of expeditions, he would tell the noble lord, that if one of the greatest powers on the continent, if Turkey were at this moment at the feet of this country, such a glorious event was owing to the wise, politic, and spirited measures of the late administration. He could say the same as to Monte Video; and he greatly feared the next thirteen months would not be marked by any such splendid and important acquirements, from the combined talents and wisdom of the new and untried ministry. He was extremely sorry to find that attempts had been made to rouse the efforts of bigotry and superstition, and to re-kindle the flames of religious animosities. If there were those now in being who would carry those baneful and destructive passions into the very bosom and seats of learning, and would wish to revive the brilliant exploits of the dark and barbarous ages, let the effects to be produced by them rest on their own heads. This, he believed, was the first time that secret advisers of the king had brought on the downfall of an administration which enjoyed the confidence of the country, since the time of that great statesman lord Chatham, who had declared, that there was a power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself. Yet before his administration was in a similar manner overturned, that great and immortal character had laid the foundation of drawing into the service of the country a large body of the subjects of the state, against whom as many and as violent prejudices existed as did now against the Catholics of Ireland. During a long time antecedent to his glorious administration, the war-whoop and cry of the country had been loudly and constantly raised against the jacobites in the north of Scotland. When that illustrious statesman came into office, he found the army in a state of decay—and how did he raise it? Not by fomenting the prejudices which were then so prevalent, but by calling those very jacobites into the service. He from their ranks recruited the ranks of the army: and a braver or more loyal set of men never fought with more energy and constancy the battles of their country. Such, he had no doubt, would be the case of the Catholics of Ireland, if confidence were placed in them, and opportunities given them to shew their gratitude and attachment. For their endeavours to effect this great national purpose, he considered the late ministers as entitled to the highest praise, and as such the present motion had his hearty support.

Lord *Sidmouth* said, that the motion of the noble baron had relieved him from a considerable degree of difficulty. He could not have concurred in giving a negative to a resolution which expressed regret at the late change in his majesty's government, and which also stated the impropriety of acceding to any pledge, that might fetter the conduct of ministers in the discharge of their public duty. To the previous question he should have objected, because he was of opinion, that such a proposition as that brought forward by the noble marquis (Stafford) ought not to be entertained under any circumstances; and it therefore appeared to him, that the proper mode of disposing of it, was by a vote of adjournment.—The resolution proposed by the noble marquis must be considered as arising out of the discussion which immediately preceded the Easter recess, and the renewal of it only served to increase the regret which he had felt at the time, and ever since, that such a discussion should have taken place. Every allowance was however to be made for the situation and feelings of the noble baron (Grenville), by whom the explanation had been then given. The circumstances, which occasioned it, were new, and extraordinary: a mutilated extract of a cabinet minute had appeared in a public paper, even previous to the change of government; and no efforts had been spared to place the conduct of the noble baron in the most unfavourable light.—These circumstances were sufficient to account for, even if they did not fully justify, the steps which he had taken in his own vindication. But, whatever might be the cause in this particular instance, it must be admitted to be highly desirable and important, that such a proceeding should not be drawn into precedent. Some of the consequences of it already began to be seriously felt. Their lordships were now called upon to vote a resolution, founded on alledged facts, to be collected from a speech, delivered on a former occasion, of which, consistently with the privileges of that house, there could be no existing memorial;—but without any record on their journals, or any document on their table; in fine, without such a basis as the house would require to sustain a proceeding even on an occasion the most unimportant. As, however, certain particulars had been stated, it was indispensably necessary that they should be fully detailed and correctly understood, in order that the transaction to which they applied, might be placed in its true and proper light. Under this impression, he relied on the patience and indulgence of their lordships, whilst he laid before them such information as appeared to him to be material for this purpose; which however he should not presume to do, without the sanction of that authority, under which the noble baron (lord Grenville) had himself addressed them on a former day. [Lord Sidmouth was here interrupted by the earl of Radnor; who objected to his lordship's proceeding in the detail upon which he appeared to be entering, as being irregular in point of order, and not to be justified even by the permission to which lord S. had alluded. His lordship said he should have given the same interruption on a former occasion, if he had been present when similar topics were first introduced by a noble baron, lately at the head of the government.] Lord Sidmouth replied, that, whatever might have been the objection to the agitation of this question in the first instance, which he felt, and had before expressed; he could not but throw himself on the justice and impartiality of the house, to be allowed the same indulgence, which others had experienced, whilst he endeavoured to state such circumstances, as came within his own particular knowledge, and which, he thought, were absolutely necessary to the right understanding of the transaction; professing at the same time, that he was not apprehensive that he should have occasion to disclose any thing which would not be sanctioned by the allowance he had received, consistently with the obligation under which he had acted, as a confidential adviser of the crown. He then proceeded to state, that the noble baron had asserted on a former day, that, upon his entrance into office at the commencement of the last year, no declaration, or pledge had been required of him on the subject of the Catholic question; of this he could entertain no doubt: and he further owed it to that noble lord, and to those of his colleagues who concurred with him (lord G.) in opinion on that subject, to declare, that he believed it to have been their earnest wish and fixed intention to avoid any discussion of it, or of any topics connected with it, as far as it could be done consistently with what appeared to them to be due to their own character and to their conscientious sense of public duty. As to himself, he had at the period when the late administration was formed, and at his first interview with the noble baron, and with a right hon. gent. now no more, (Mr. Fox,) strongly expressed his hope that the subject would not again be agitated in parliament, and he had stated distinctly, that, if it should be brought forward, as his sentiments upon it did not depend on feelings, and opinions, entertained in any other quarter, or on circumstances which were temporary, no consideration should prevent or controul his determined opposition to it.—During a period of more than 12 months, nothing occurred which indicated a probability that the Catholics in Ireland were disposed to press the agitation of the question in parliament: but soon after the commencement of the present year, it became too probable, that their quiet forbearance was temporary, and that it was only by fresh concessions that their dissatisfaction could be restrained from venting itself in the form of petitions to the legislature.—At a meeting of his majesty's cabinet at earl Spencer's, on the 9th of Feb. various expedients which had been suggested for allaying this sort of irritation, were discussed, without being finally approved: a dispatch, however, to the lord lieutenant was produced by the noble lord at the head of the government; which, from a misconception of the objects, that it appears to have been intended to embrace, gave rise to those embarrassments that ensued, and which ended in a change of ministers. That dispatch, and the reasoning by which it was recommended, appeared to him, and to other members of the cabinet, to refer exclusively to three objects, to which the attention of ministers was called, as was then stated, by considerations of policy, good faith, and consistency. His majesty having been empowered, by the Irish act of 1793, to grant military commissions to his Roman Catholic subjects, in Ireland; it was deemed necessary from the considerations above stated, first, that persons holding commissions under the authority of that act, should not become liable to penalties, if called upon to serve in Great Britain: secondly, that there should be secured to Roman Catholic officers, and soldiers, the same toleration in the exercise of their religion, which was afforded to all other classes of his majesty's subjects: and thirdly, that the capacity of holding military commissions, which was conferred by the Irish act, should be extended to his majesty's Catholic subjects in this part of the united kingdom. Such a measure was stated to derive importance and urgency from the circumstances of the times, which called for the united zeal and strength of the whole population of the empire, to enable it to cope with the immense military power, and insatiable ambition of the enemy.—Much stress was also laid upon intimations given in the year 1793, by lord Clare in the Irish house of lords, and by Mr. Hobart, now lord Buckinghamshire, then chief secretary to the lord lieutenant, in the house of commons, of an intention on the part of the English government, to propose to the parliament of this country a measure, similar to that which was adopted in Ireland; but though Mr. Pitt's administration continued 8 years from that time, no such measure was brought forward, and though he had since been 5 years in office with his noble friend the earl of Buckinghamshire, he had never heard of this supposed pledge till the present occasion. It had however been explained by his noble friend on a former night, in a manner which had materially weakened, if not destroyed the argument, which was founded upon it.—When this dispatch was first under discussion, he had stated explicitely that he would not agree to any new concession, and that if it was a question whether the king should now, for the first time, be empowered by law to grant military commissions to his Roman Catholic subjects, he should entertain strong doubts of the expediency and policy of such a measure; but it appeared to him that there was no alternative but to repeal the Irish act, or to go the length proposed; and it was upon this ground, and to the extent of this act only, that his concurrence had been given.—The dispatch was sent to the king at Windsor on the evening of the 9th, and returned on the following day with a note expressing his majesty's disapprobation of the measure which had been recommended; and "the hope he "had entertained that the subject would "not again have been agitated." In the evening of the 10th, another cabinet meeting was held; at which a minute was prepared, describing in terms the most respectful, the precise ground on which his majesty's servants deemed it incumbent upon them to solicit his majesty's permission to propose to parliament a clause, to the effect before stated, to be inserted in the mutiny bill, then pending in the house of commons; without adverting, however, to the expediency of repealing the exceptions in the Irish act, or of extending the measure to the naval service. To this minute of cabinet, which was communicated to his majesty, not by himself (lord S.), as had been erroneously supposed, but by the secretary of state, no answer was returned the next day; but a council being then held at the Queen's palace, he had previously to it, at an audience on the business of his office been questioned by his majesty on this subject; when he informed his majesty, that he had been induced to concur in the proposed measure, as a necessary consequence of the Irish act of 1793, from the consideration of which, combined with the act of Union, it appeared to him that there was no alternative but the repeal of the Irish act, or the adoption of this measure. His majesty declared, that he could not consent to any new concession, but that, in consequence of the Irish act, and on that account alone, he would take the proposition of his cabinet into further consideration, and return an answer on the following day.—The answer stated, that, "however painful his "majesty had found it, to reconcile to his "feelings the removal of objections which "may have the most distant reference to a "question, which had already been the subject of such frequent and distressing reflection, he would not, under the circumstances, in which it was so earnestly "pressed, and adverting particularly to "what took place in 1793, prevent his ministers from submitting, for the consideration of his parliament, the propriety of "inserting the proposed clauses in the mutiny bill. Whilst, however, the king so "far reluctantly conceded, he thought it "necessary to declare that he could not go "one step further."—Hence it appeared evident, that his majesty conceived the proposition to be grounded entirely on the act of 1793; and to have no other object than that of extending its operation to Great Britain. This, as he had before stated, was the light in which it had been regarded, not only by himself, but by other members of the cabinet. By the lord chancellor it had been described to his majesty on the 11th of February, as nothing more than a corollary from that act; and in this view of it, lord Howick, on a subsequent day (Feb. 20), gave notice to the house of commons, of his intention to propose some additional clauses in the mutiny bill. In that light it was so far understood by Mr. Elliott, the secretary to the lord lieutenant, that he made his communication to the Catholics accordingly, and referred to the government at home a question which had been put to him at a meeting at Dublin, whether it was intended to repeal "the limitations of "the act of 1793, and render Catholics capable of holding the situations of commander-in-chief, master-general of the "ordnance, and of generals on the staff?"—It must also be observed, that the dispatch, according to the terms in which it was conceived, was, strictly speaking, applicable to no other than this limited construction. It proposed to give to the Catholics a competency to "hold any military "commission whatever:" but military offices, excepted by the act of 1793, are not understood as being held under military commissions: and it is remarkable, that, in the clauses which it was intended to insert in the mutiny bill, the words, "or appointments" were added to the word "commissions," as being apparently necessary to repeal the limitations of the Irish act: and so strongly was the supposed import of these words impressed on the minds of some most intelligent members of the other house of parliament, that, for the purpose of giving effect to their opinion of the expediency of confining the measure to the Irish act, they had intended to propose that the additional words "or appointments" should be omitted; which alteration would have rendered the clauses not only conformable to their wishes, but to the terms of the dispatch of the 9th of February, as well as to what he had conceived to be the true construction of it. It therefore appears, that the dispatch itself, as well as the reasoning upon which it was recommended, was not calculated to impart to his majesty's mind a knowledge of the extensive import which it was actually intended to convey: and that it was not only not extraordinary that it should have been understood by his majesty in a limited sense, but that it would be justly a matter of surprise if it could have been viewed in any other light.—Lord Sidmouth then proceeded to state what had occurred after he had learnt that the measure was designed to be carried beyond the provisions of the Irish act. His own objections were immediately stated to the noble lord at the head of the government, accompanied by a declaration, which was frequently repeated on subsequent occasions, of the necessity under which he should feel himself of opposing the extension in parliament. A few days afterwards, upon being informed by the judge-advocate-general, that he had been directed to prepare clauses, to be inserted in the mutiny bill, which would have the effect of repealing the limitations in the Irish act, he went to the Foreign office, the noble baron (lord Grenville) being out of town, and expressed to lord Howick his own sentiments respecting the measure, and his conviction that the extent of it was not understood by the king; and he owed it to that noble lord to declare, that he manifested the utmost anxiety, that means should be taken to prevent or obviate any misapprehension on the part of his majesty, before the measure was submitted to parliament. On the return of the noble baron (Grenville), he made a similar communication to his lordship; and on the 1st of March, this subject was discussed in cabinet.—At that meeting, he (lord S.) declared his persuasion, founded on his majesty's language to himself on the 11th of February, and on his majesty's answer to the minute of cabinet on the 12th, that his majesty was not aware of the extent of the proposed measure, and likewise expressed his own sense of the indispensable necessity of putting an end to all doubts on a point of so much delicacy and importance. The noble baron, however, then stated, that he had seen his majesty on the 11th of Feb., subsequently to the audience granted to himself (lord S.), and that he had no reason to doubt his majesty's full comprehension of the measure, as now intended to be submitted to parliament. After much discussion, it was proposed by lord Howick, to transmit to his majesty a copy of the clauses intended to be inserted in the Mutiny bill. Of this suggestion he (lord S.) declared his entire approbation; but added, that it would be necessary for him to accompany the communication of these clauses, with a note from himself, expressive of his dissent from those parts of them, which carried the measure beyond what he had understood to be intended by the dispatch to the lord lieutenant, of the 9th of Feb., and the minute of cabinet, of the subsequent day. In the result however, the suggestion of sending the clauses was not then adopted, and no communication on this point was made from the cabinet to the king. In the evening of the following day, he pressed the re-consideration of the subject on lord Grenville, and was informed by his lordship in answer, that the clauses had been sent on that day to his majesty;—they were accompanied, as he had since learnt, by a dispatch to the lord lieutenant, and a note from the secretary of state. On the Tuesday evening (March the 3d) he found, that the clauses were returned by the king without any comment; from which circumstance, his majesty's acquiescence had been inferred; an inference somewhat hastily drawn, as he thought, and upon insufficient grounds.—On the following day, he waited on his majesty at the Queen's palace, on his official business; and then stated, at an audience, what it would have been more satisfactory to him to have expressed in a note at an earlier period, and which he should have had an opportunity of doing, if the clauses had been communicated to his majesty, in consequence of a minute of the cabinet. On that day the king having been fully apprised, not only by himself, but by lord Howick, of the nature and details of the measure, communicated to lord Howick his sentiments, in a manner which had unquestionably been misunderstood by that noble lord: but it was also an indisputable fact, that it was intended by his majesty explicitly to declare that his consent was confined to that part of the measure to which he had before reluctantly acceded, viz. the extension of the act of 1793 to Great Britain.—On the Friday following, it having been judged proper to relinquish the mode of proceeding by clauses in the Mutiny bill, lord Howick moved the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill, the object of which was to open both army and navy, without restriction or limitation, to the Catholics and Dissenters of the United Kingdom. The bill was accordingly brought in, and ordered to be read a second time on Thursday the 12th of March. Under these circumstances, and having been apprised of the favourable manner in which lord Howick's proposition appeared to have been received in the house of commons, he (lord S.) wrote, on Monday the 9th, to lord Grenville, stating, that "He found it impossible to act up to his own opinions on "parts of this bill, in the manner which "their influence on his mind necessarily "required, and, at the same time, to satisfy his sense of what was due to the "government of which he was a member."

On the next day, he had a conversation on the subject with the noble baron, and, on the day following, he informed him, by letter, of his determination to retire from the office of president of the council, "as "the only course he could pursue with justice to the noble lord, and with honour to "himself." On that day (March the 11th), he made a communication to his majesty to a similar effect, and immediately received his majesty's gracious commands to remain in his office. The noble baron (lord G.) having also expressed to him, by letter, his wish, that his resolution might be suspended, he acquiesced, upon a distinct understanding, that he was to be considered as completely at liberty to take such steps as he might think proper for opposing the bill then before parliament.—On that day (March the 11th), his majesty expressed to lord Sidmouth in strong terms, as soon as he entered his closet, his surprise at the extent of the proposition which had been opened in the house of commons; his majesty having, as he conceived, apprised lord Howick, on the preceding Wednesday, of his decided repugnance to that part of it which went beyond the Irish act of 1793. There could be no possible doubt but that on this point lord Howick had misconceived his majesty. Lord H. was incapable of opening a proposition in the house of commons in his official character, contrary to the known opinion of the king, and in the face of his authority. Lord Howick however stood not in need of any farther vindication on this subject; ample justice had been done him by the gracious declaration of his sovereign. It should be stated, that, on that day, lord Grenville was distinctly informed by his majesty, that to that part of the bill which exceeded the limits of the act of 1793 he could not be induced to give his consent. —From this statement, lord Sidmouth said, it appeared, that his majesty, having received the clauses on Tuesday the 3d of March, took an opportunity, on the following day, of expressing to lord Howick, in person, his objection to the extent to which the measure was proposed to be carried: that his majesty, unaware that he had not been so understood by his lordship, manifested, on the 11th, (the day on which his majesty was next at the Queen's Palace) his surprise at the proposition which had been submitted to the house of commons; and on that day declared his sentiments to lord Grenville in a manner upon which no misconception appears to have arisen.—Under these circumstances, he (lord S.) entertained a hope, which he expressed to the noble lord at the head of the government, that the bill might be so modified as to free it from objections which were evidently insuperable: that hope was however disappointed.—On the 15th, a meeting was held of a large majority of his majesty's confidential servants, to which neither the lord chancellor, the chief justice of the king's bench, nor himself, were summoned; and of which they were not apprised. At that meeting, it is understood that a minute was prepared, declaring a willingness to abandon the bill, but accompanying the offer with certain reservations, which were, he thought, deeply to be lamented, and which appear to have been the immediate cause of the events which ensued.—The effect on his majesty was such as might have been expected. He probably apprehended that a question from which he had already suffered so much, was never to be at rest: that his mind, made up as it was from a combined sense of religious and political obligation, was to remain perpetually exposed to a recurrence of importunity and anxiety. Having expressed his hope, but a short time before, that he might not again be distressed on this subject, he now required that he should hear of it no more; and claimed from his ministers a written declaration to that effect. This he (lord S.) understood to be the case; though at the time when he was speaking, he had neither seen the minute of his late colleagues, nor his majesty's answer. He believed, however, that the statement was correct; and he had no hesitation in declaring, that, under any pledge whatever that was to fetter him in the performance of his public duty, he would never accept office, nor remain in it. But this requisition was to be considered with reference, not only to the abstract principle upon which he trusted there could be no difference of opinion, but to the peculiar nature of the case, and to the circumstances with which it was attended. The question to which it applied was not, in his majesty's estimation, merely political; it was one of honour and of conscience, connected with the deepest sense of public duty, and of religious obligation; deriving its importance from the conditions which established the house of Brunswick on the throne, and which at the time of his coronation had been solemnly ratified by himself.—Was it then possible for the house of lords to fix on their journals a recorded censure of a step which could only be ascribed to such feelings, and such principles? For his own part, had he been one of those to whom the answer was addressed, he should have considered it in no other light than as a painful but decisive proof, that he no longer possessed that portion of the royal confidence, which could afford him a prospect of carrying on the government, to the satisfaction of his majesty; and he should accordingly have asked permission to retire from his service. Such would have been his conduct; and here was a material point of difference between his late colleagues and himself. He could not forbear adding, that his majesty, he was confident, had no intention to part with his ministers, previous to the communication of the 15th of March: and he had no other reason for supposing that such was his intention afterwards, excepting as far as he thought it might be inferred from his majesty's answer. Lord Sidmouth then proceeded to state what appeared to him to be the meaning and tendency of the noble marquis's motion. It was founded on the supposition of a wrong done; and that, by the intervention of a secret adviser; a supposition unsupported by evidence, or by any reasonable presumption, and therefore manifestly inconsistent with justice. No one, he said, could feel more strongly than himself the sound wisdom of that great constitutional principle, that the king can do no wrong: that is, that for every act of executive government, there must be a responsible adviser. But he contended, that there were many functions of the sovereign, which, though strictly legitimate, not only might, but must be performed, without any such responsibility being attached to them, and which must therefore be considered as the personal acts of the king. Of these the constitution does not take cognizance; nor can they be fit subjects of public discussion. In the present instance, there were few indeed who did not believe that the answer was the answer of the king himself; that it proceeded from the uninstigated impulse of his own heart. If so, (and there was not only no evidence, but no rational presumption to the contrary,) where did the resolution point? To the throne, to the king himself! Such, he was bound to admit, could not be the intention of the noble marquis, or of those who supported the motion; but such was its obvious and necessary direction, and such must be its effect. From these considerations, he was compelled to resist it.—Inconsistent, however, with justice, and with the best principles of the constitution, as this proposition appeared to him to be, it was also objectionable, because the supposition which it implied, even under its most favourable interpretation, was utterly unwarranted by experience. He denied, that there was a pretence for imputing to the august personage, whose name, and whose conduct had been too much brought into discussion, a disposition to listen to secret advisers. That great and distinguished man, who had served his majesty with unrivalled ability, and with signal benefit to his country, during a period of 17 years, had, to his own personal knowledge, rendered ample justice, in this respect, to his royal master; and to his attestation he thought it incumbent upon him to add his own, founded on an experience of that degree of confidence which fixes the most unqualified, but at the same time the most honourable responsibility on a servant of the crown.—It had however been said, that to resist such a motion would be to excite and justify apprehension and distrust in the minds of the Catholics; feelings ill suited to the spirit of toleration, and to the benignity, by which his majesty's whole reign had been so eminently distinguished. The great body of the Catholics, he was persuaded, would not forget the liberal and magnanimous policy, of which they had experienced the advantage since his majesty's accession to the throne. It was during the present reign, that the penal code, and various disabilities, to which they had been liable for nearly a century, were done away; and they were therefore fully assured that nothing could be withheld from them in consequence of a want of benevolence on the part of their sovereign. His majesty's gracious disposition, so long tried, and so frequently manifested, was, they well knew, only restrained and limited by a sense of duty to his whole people, and by his view of the obligations which at the time of his coronation, had been solemnly contracted by himself.—It was not, however, true in fact, as had been stated by a noble lord who had spoken against the original motion, that "the obstacle to the wishes of the Catholics "was to be found in the honourable and "conscientious feelings of the king." This position he absolutely denied. A decisive obstacle was to be found in the declared opinion of parliament, and in the prevailing and undoubted sentiments and feelings of the people.—What, however, were, in fact, the claims against which the door said is to be shut? Claims, for the success of which no great degree of solicitude had either been expressed, or could be felt, by the great mass of the catholic community in the united kingdom. It had been said, that the policy of the measure, which had lately been so much discussed, was to substitute a system of conciliation for one of persecution. He was, however, at a loss to conceive, at what period of his majesty's reign it would now be said that a spirit of persecution had been manifested by the government, or the legislature, towards his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. His majesty's accession had, on the contrary, been, as he had before stated, the æra not only of an enlightened toleration, but of a liberal and enlarged policy towards persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion in every part of the kingdom; and, with respect to Ireland, it could not be seriously contended that of late years, to say the least, such a spirit had appeared to actuate the government of that part of his majesty's dominions. No one would impute it to the administration of the duke of Bedford: that of lord Hardwicke was a subject of general and unqualified panegyric: and he would ever contend, that whatever instances of violence and cruelty might have occurred during the disastrous period of the rebellion, they were in no degree imputable to the system of government either in Ireland, or at home. Without recurring to an earlier period, he would only add, that in the year 1793, the measures adopted towards the Catholics in Ireland had not only been marked by a spirit of toleration and liberality which he admired and applauded, but by a prodigality of concession, which broke down the constitutional barrier between Catholics and Protestants, and made it, as he admitted, very difficult to take a distinction in point of principle, between what had been granted and what was withheld. For himself, who thought that too much had been granted, it was competent to say, that he would not consent to grant more. He was convinced that concession beyond the point at which it had long since arrived, instead of being the cure, was and would be a fresh cause of discontent; that, to preserve the tranquillity of Ireland, it was necessary to act on a firm, steady, and at the same time temperate system: to abstain from raising hopes, which could neither be realized, nor disappointed, without public inconvenience and danger; but, at the same time to let the Catholics feel, that, though, an increased portion of political power was withheld from them from considerations of policy and expediency, they are in other respects precisely on the same footing as all other classes and descriptions of his majesty's subjects, entitled to equal favour and equal protection.—This was the system upon which Ireland was governed in the time of lord Hardwicke, (a system congenial to that which, at the same period, was adopted in England); and, as he had the happiness of thinking, with general satisfaction and success. In Ireland, whilst it animated the zeal of the loyal, it had also the effect, in many instances, of calming the turbulent, and of silencing, if not of reclaiming, the disaffected. During lord Hardwicke's administration, there was no agitation in Ireland on the ground of catholic claims, and it was a well known fact, that Emmett, whose desperate project was occasioned by other causes, declared, a short time before his execution, that such was the impression generally produced by the lenity and liberality of the government, that, if he had delayed his attempt only for a few weeks, it would have met with so little support as not to afford any chance whatever of success. It did not, therefore, appear to him, that, for the purpose of tranquillizing the minds of Catholics, it was necessary to agree to this motion. That object could alone be obtained by a wise, and temperate system of government; by firmness without rigour, and by conciliation without concession.—He then stated, that the intent of the motion of the noble marquis was evidently to censure the dismission of his majesty's late ministers, and the practical tendency of it to raise the credit of the former government at the expence of the present, so as to effect the removal of the one, and the reinstatement of the other. From the motion abstractedly taken, he could not dissent; but he disapproved of its object, and still more of the mode of pursuing it. He considered the change of government as a public misfortune, particularly in the present state of this country, and of Europe; but he would not on that account concur in attempting to force back the late ministers into the councils of the king. He acknowledged that he could not contemplate the present administration without feelings of anxiety and distrust, though he had a high opinion of some of the members of it; and for the noble earl in particular, at the head of the ordnance, he entertained the most affectionate respect, founded on an intercourse of friendship, which had neither abated nor been interrupted during a period of near 40 years. But, on the present occasion, he was not called upon to weigh the merits of the new government, but to discharge a duty to his sovereign, and to the constitution of his country; and the difference between one set of ministers, and another, important as it unquestionably was, and particularly at such a crisis, appeared to him to be of less moment, than the difference between reducing the monarch to a cypher, and supporting him in the full exercise of his constitutional authority. These reflections, however, applied solely to the appointment of ministers, and not to the measures of government. — Lord Sidmouth concluded with saying, that he thought it incumbent upon him to state some particulars which appeared to him to be material, in order to place in its true light a transaction, which, he repeated, ought never to have been the subject of public discussion; though the conduct of the great personage, who had been so much alluded to, must, he was confident, appear to have been such as to give him a fresh claim, if possible, to the veneration, affection, and gratitude of his people. In his vote on the question before the house, his lordship said he should be actuated by a determination to discountenance any proposition which might be considered as tending even by the most remote construction and inference to throw an imputation on the conduct of the king, or to fetter and controul his majesty in the exercise of his lawful prerogative; and on these grounds he should support the motion for the adjournment.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* rose and said:—My lords, in the course of my public life, I never heard a proposition more calmly, and decisively argued, than the proposition which has this night been submitted by my noble friend, to the consideration of this house. And never, my lords, was a mode of answer substituted, I will not only say, more unfair, but more calculated to excite unfounded prejudices, to propagate throughout the country a doctrine which must inevitably tend to produce improper feelings, and to mislead the general decision. Some noble lords have talked a great deal of conscientious scruples, and under the pretext of those scruples, they would call upon your lordships to judge of a constitutional question. Next, the noble viscount (Sidmouth) apprehends, and therefore concludes, that the resolution of my noble friend is directed against the character of my sovereign; but I do contend, that a question, involving the conduct of the executive government, was never, in the history of this country, submitted to the decision of the legislature, in which the principle of responsibility was more clearly and accurately ascertained. The noble viscount has argued, that in order to make valid the charge against secret advisers, it must be proved, that the advice was given previous to the adoption of the measure. To this doctrine I cannot subscribe, because I am convinced that constitutional responsibility embraces not only advice given previous to the measure taken, but goes as well to a passive acquiescence in deliberating, as to an active assistance in carrying them into effect. Suppose, for instance, that a dispatch was sent to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and that the noble secretary for the home department was ignorant of its contents; if he afterwards contributed in the slightest degree to give efficacy and extent to that dispatch, then I do affirm that he would be, in the spirit of the constitution, fully responsible to this house and to the country, for the consequences of that measure, whatever they might be. But, let us view the circumstances of this transaction. Let us, my lords, consider the various links by which the appointment of the new ministry is connected with the causes which led to the change in his majesty's councils. The noble lords on the opposite side, pretend not to be ignorant of the events, and of those circumstances which immediately led to the result. With such information, they assisted in executing the threat which was held out to obtain the written assurance from the late ministry; and, therefore, in my opinion, the responsibility upon them is much stronger. I will go further, and contend, that the very acceptance of their offices, after the knowledge they admit to have, of such a pledge being demanded, is, in the sound doctrine of the constitution, a sufficient ground for holding his majesty's present ministers responsible, both for the changes which have taken place, and the pledge which has been required. Were his majesty's present ministers even to say, It is true, we know that such a requisition was made, but we were not parties to it, and even for ourselves have refused; still the constitution considers them responsible. In the good times of this country, when the strong feeling of constitutional jealousy actuated every man in the state, there was no argument, no excuse, no palliation, for any inroad on the just and acknowledged privileges of the people. When my lord Somers himself, that able statesman, to whose talents and patriotism the country was so peculiarly indebted, when even he, I say, pleaded to parliament, upon the discussion of the Partition Treaty, that he was no party to the measure, it refused to listen to the justification. It spoke in the sound, stern, and salutary language of the constitution, that he who assists, that he who lends his name and sanction and character to carry it into execution, is the responsible person. At whatever period it might be ascertained that he engaged in it, or whether there were others who had previously introduced it, was not a matter of much consequence. The country has a concurrent judgment against them all, might bring them to the bar of this or the other house of parliament, and arraign them for the mischiefs which were the result. What was lord Danby's case? In his own defence he produced a letter, that was written by the king's order. But it did not avail him: wherever it originated, he was responsible for the execution. The present ministers might say, We have not agreed to any such pledge. The answer was, that in receiving their offices, they were bound by the spirit of that requisition, that they had virtually given it. Having shewn the late administration as a warning, the executive could say, You know the conditions upon which you are called to my councils; you are aware of the kind of men suited to my opinions. In fact, the very nature of the transaction, proves to the most common understanding, that his majesty himself felt he was acting under advice, and of course with his advisers, subjected to constitutional responsibility. The noble lord himself, who sits on the woolsack, must feel that his majesty was of that opinion, and therefore we may account for the expeditious determination, in two hours, of that noble lord—a shorter interval of time than he was usually expected to make up his mind in. But, to advert to the administration so lately formed, I am at a loss to judge in what manner the contradictory opinions of the component parts can be reconciled? How can we reconcile the opinion of the secretary of state for foreign affairs (Mr. Canning), as formerly expressed, with his present connection with the noble secretary for the home department? or in what manner reconcile the immutable opinion of the latter noble secretary, with the repeated pledges of his colleague at the head of the colonial department (lord Castlereagh) to the Catholics of Ireland? Were these contradictions to be got rid of, in what way can we conceive the repeated and long continued attachment and promises of the noble duke (of Portland) at the head of his majesty's councils! Consider the present ministry, my lords, in their individual characters, or in their collective capacity, and you must conclude in one of these two opinions, either that there is no principle or cement of union amongst them, or that they have agreed to give up every doctrine and opinion to which they were most sacredly pledged.—The noble earl here took a retrospective view of the parliamentary opinions of some of the leading members of the present cabinet, and on the views they entertained of the necessity of catholic emancipation. If that question was not now discussed, or brought forward before parliament, it was not owing to the exertions or delicacy of the present ministers, but to the genuine loyalty and unfeigned affection of his majesty's late ministers. He must repeat, that he had no hopes of any great national objects being accomplished by the present administration, for they had not the advantage to be well connected with any considerable body of persons in either house of parliament. They had nothing on which to depend, except the personal favour of their sovereign and the sheer influence of the crown, having rendered themselves obnoxious to all those who loved independence, by the servility with which they had accepted their situations, having recognised the pledge which their predecessors scorned; besides which, the discordant materials of which they were made up, left no room to hope any good from their exertions, differing so essentially as they had done on the most essential points; and upon none more than on the very point which had occasioned their coming into power. But it was said that the motion now before the house was a mere abstract proposition, and as such, unnecessary to be voted; now, he admitted it to be an abstract proposition, but he denied that on that account it was unnecessary to be voted; on the contrary, he thought it became absolutely necessary to vote it, on account of what had happened previous to the dismissal of the late ministers, and on account of the terms on which the present ministers came into office; for the maxim, that the king can do no wrong, had been brought into great danger by the conduct of the present ministers, if it had not been overthrown by it. What was meant by the maxim, that the king could do no wrong? Did that maxim mean so absurd a proposition as that the king was formed by the hand of God without defect, and different from every other mortal? Certainly nothing so stupid as that idea could enter a sound understanding; but it meant, that as all government was originally founded for the good of the people, and as ours had been fortunately so kept up a long while, the people had a right to say, when any mischief was done in government, there was a fault somewhere; and it was convenient to fix it on some other person or persons than the king; and as the king followed advice in his acts, it was said that the king can do no wrong; but, whenever any thing was amiss in his government, it was considered, not as the act of the king but the act of his advisers. That adviser was responsible to the people; and it was upon this principle that the maxim that the king can do no wrong, was founded. Hence the present resolution became necessary to support that maxim, because the present ministers had come into office in direct violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution; and unless the house marked that act with its disapprobation, part of that constitution would be lost. For these reasons, the present resolution had his most hearty concurrence.

Lord *Mulgrave* observed, that notwithstanding the violent epithets used by the noble lord who had preceded him, he should discuss this question coolly on its own grounds. He contended that a resolution like the present was not to be found in any part of our Parliamentary History. He reminded their lordships of what took place in 1783, when an administration was removed; we saw then what we see now, an administration discharged, greatly dissatisfied on account of its removal. Opposition carried with it great talents, but with as little discretion as marked its conduct on the subject which was the cause of its removal: but not then as now, did such a resolution appear; nor was the king's name used so freely then as on the present occasion; and here he could not help reminding their lordships of the established rule, by which it was held disorderly to mention the king's name in a house of parliament to influence a debate. He thought that the late ministers had been puffed up by silly and idle flattery, as if they possessed All the Talents of this country, and it made them think they could dictate to the crown; but this was not to be done by them, nor by any set of men in this kingdom. It was said, that the course they were now pursuing had been rendered necessary by the conduct of their sovereign; but that was not so, they were not put upon their defence, although they were pleased to say so. Their sovereign made no charge against them; but under the idea of making their defence, when they were not charged with any thing, they thought themselves at liberty to say something by which they ought to impute something to the conduct of somebody whom nobody knows, whom they call the adviser of the king, in a case in which it is manifest his majesty could not have had any adviser; and, as far as his own individual feelings went, he must say that he felt considerable doubt of the propriety of making the disclosures which had been made in this case. The oath of a privy counsellor had been much insisted on; but that did not call on them for their own justification in a case wherein there was no charge made against them, to bring forward resolutions in parliament indirectly tending to reflect on the conduct of his majesty. The substance of the measure before the house was, whether his majesty did not from the first signify his discontent to the measure which was proposed by the late ministers in favour of the Catholics. There was no question but that his majesty gave his reluctant and tardy consent to the clauses in the mutiny bill; that he meant to confine the whole matter strictly to the Irish act of 1793; and that his majesty then said he would not go one step further: and the papers now before the house established beyond dispute that fact. Now, considering how the business was conducted upon this, the measure attempted to be carried was grounded on the idea of preserving peace in Ireland; grounds on which his majesty's late ministers could not themselves agree, and yet they went on with the measure after they knew that his majesty could not assent to it according to his own conscientious sense of the oath which he took at his coronation—an oath which his majesty was awfully impressed with the conviction of its being registered in heaven. These ministers considered whether they could mend the act of parliament which they had brought into the house of commons; but finding that impossible consistently with the objects they had in view, they relinquished the matter altogether; although at the time they brought it in, they had solemnly declared it was absolutely necessary for the safety of that part of the British empire. And yet, after this, they claimed the right of proposing this or the like measure from time to time to his majesty; although they knew that the sense he entertained of his coronation oath prevented him from assenting to it, they claimed the right to do so—said they were bound to do so from the view they had of their oaths as privy counsellors; and yet they had not the same tenderness for the regard which the king had for his own coronation oath, registered, as he felt it to be, in heaven. They were not blamed for what they did; they were not bound to relinquish their oaths, for they could retire from office; and why should they ask his majesty to relinquish the sense which he entertained of his oath? He really should have been sorry that any of those with whom he had the honour to act, should have brought forward this subject before parliament in any shape; but the other side insisted on it, and the dilemma in which they had placed themselves was such, that he could not conceive how men of such understandings as the late ministers, could place themselves in it. As to the question of a pledge, he had to observe, that no pledge was asked of the late ministers, until they had set the example by laying in a claim to be at liberty to advise his majesty upon a subject on which they knew his mind was entirely made up; and that was the foundation of the pledge required by the king; nor did he see the idea of a pledge in the same light as that in which it struck some noble lords in that house. For instance, if William III. or George I. had said to any of the ministers employed by them—I have no objection to any of your principles in general, except that I think you are attached to the house of Stuart; and therefore, unless you give me an undertaking or pledge in writing, I will not employ you as my ministers. He apprehended there would not have been any impropriety in such ministers signing such a pledge; and he wished to know why his majesty should be less entitled to be satisfied against the re-introduction of popery into this land? How did the case stand at this time? The late administration gave way to the conscientious scruples of the king upon the present occasion; but they attempted to retain the right to bring forward the same subject again when occasion should require; which was as much as to say, When rebellion may rage within your dominions, and when you may be less able to resist the application, and may not on the sudden be able to form a ministry, then we will advise you to do what you have declared in your conscience you never can do. What sort of policy did these ministers call this? For these reasons the noble lord did not see the unreasonableness of the pledge demanded by his majesty from his late ministers. As to the secret advisers who had been talked of, all he had to say was, that no such existed: if the late ministers knew of such a person existing, let them bring forward proof of it. With regard to the difference of opinion which had subsisted between the present ministry on former occasions, he could only say there was nothing among them that was irreconcileable. But who were they who charged the present administration with disagreement upon public matters of opinion? Why, truly, those who never agreed on any thing until they united to form an administration. Some of them had differed from each other on the treaty of Amiens, many more of them on the subject of the French revolution, and that most substantially and radically, and had treated each other with remarkable acrimony and asperity; and therefore he owned his astonishment when he heard, from such a quarter, objections to an administration on account of its being composed of men who had formerly differed from each other upon matters of public policy. As to the principles of the present administration, the best thing he could say of them was, that they were founded upon pre-uniform and common feeling of regard and veneration for that great and illustrious man (Mr. Pitt), whose loss was so much and so justly deplored, and whose principles of policy were models which the present administration had the ambition to imitate. What was the conduct of that illustrious statesman on this very question? did he come forward in parliament to do what was now attempted to be done by the late administration? No; he abstained from it altogether. The noble lord then said, that he never had so much confidence in any other person as he had in that right hon. gentleman. All the praise the present administration could ever hope to meet was from acting on his principles, and imitating him as much as possible; for which reason, when out of power, they had never entered into any captious opposition. His lordship concluded with saying, that he hoped the present motion would not only meet the negative, but the reprobation of their lordships, pointed as it was against the sacred character of majesty itself.

The Earl of *Limerick* lamented that Ireland was always made the scene of faction and discord, by holding out and encouraging expectations that could not be gratified while the resolution of his majesty on the Catholic question was so decidedly fixed. He expressed considerable disapprobation of the conduct of the duke of Bedford, in permitting the disturbances in the west of Ireland to spread from one district to another, till at last seven different counties were involved in disorder and tumult, and this before any means were adopted for the purpose of suppressing them. At length the judges had been sent on a circuit through that part of the country; but had they brought back the misguided men to a state of order and quiet? If his information was correct, the case was very different. He said that many of the Irish Catholics were at present disaffected, and he would wish to give them a speedy and a positive denial, as to the indulgences which they claimed, that they should no further have hopes, that they should not hereafter have any ground for complaining of hopes deferred. There had lately been upon a northern circuit some persons convicted of riotous conduct, and shortly after, eight of the witnesses were murdered. Afterwards, there were great enormities committed in Sligo, as if they meant to dare the government. What! would you give up to faction and clamour what you refuse to loyal representation? There were two cases which he could instance, where two of the most loyal gentlemen in Ireland were prosecuted; they were certainly honourably acquitted, but the judges themselves observed that they had never seen such a scandalous conspiracy against any man, as that against them was; their loyalty was supposed to be their only crime. It was a strange remedy to think of removing the discontents of the lower classes of the Catholics, by promoting the higher ranks to the top of the army. From the known fact that two regiments lately raised by gentlemen of high Catholic connection, were raised by ordinary recruiting, he concluded that very little facility of recruiting the army would be gained by passing the Catholic Officers' bill. The proceedings that had been taken by the authors of that bill were calculated to make the Catholics think the English the enemies of themselves and their religion. He reprobated the versatility of system pursued with respect to Ireland; a system at one time maintaining high Protestant ascendancy, and at another time conceding all to the Catholics. Either concede every thing, or come to a firm resolution to concede no more. He reprobated the practice of governing Ireland by a faction; and recommended not to discourage loyalty, nor to practise on the people for party purposes. It would be unbecoming the dignity of parliament to grant any indulgence to men who were in the temper that the Catholics of Ireland at present were in.

Lord *Holland* expressed great surprise at the language which the noble earl who had just sat down had held respecting the government of Ireland and the conduct of the duke of Bedford, a lieutenant who had endeared himself to every class of his majesty's subjects in that part of the empire, and whose departure was the subject of universal regret, as his administration had been the subject of universal approbation. Though he had not the local information of the noble lord, and was connected with no factions and no factious families in Ireland, he would venture to assert that the duke of Bedford's vice-royalty was looked upon in a very different light from that in which the noble lord had placed it. And, after all, what was the amount of the charge against the duke of Bedford, and the anecdote which had been alluded to, but that the lord lieutenant had refused to listen to those, who pressed for violent and extraordinary measures to put down some disturbances which unhappily had prevailed, and persisted in employing the vigour of the law alone in maintaining and restoring the public tranquillity? Indeed, respecting the state of Ireland, different noble lords had given different views. One said that Ireland was quiet, and to bring forward any question about the Catholics was unnecessary. The noble lord who spoke last, however, said that disturbances prevailed; and seemed to censure the duke of Bedford's administration on that account. If any thing, however, more than another, recommended the conduct of the duke of Bedford to the people of Ireland and to the lovers of he constitution, it was that he claimed no xtraordinary powers, and had put in execution no measures of severity. These opics, and several others, seemed to ave been introduced with little application o the immediate question before the house, which consisted of two parts. The motion expressed two things, regret at the change which had taken place at this time in his majesty's government, and asserted that it would be unconstitutional for any minister o give any pledge not to give his majesty advice on any particular subject. It was said, that this was dragging the king before parliament, and sitting in judgment upon him. This doctrine had been most ably answered by several of his noble friends who had already spoken, and particularly by his noble and learned friend (lord Erskine) who had delivered a speech of so much ability and constitutional information, that to those most familiar with his eloquence, it seemed to excel any of his former exhibitions. If, however, he understood any thing of the constitution of this country, its freedom, its tranquillity, nay its safety, were involved in the maxim, that the king could do no wrong; which the doctrines on the other side tended completely to overthrow. He was much surprised to find that his noble friend (lord Sidmouth) had given countenance to such doctrines, and had maintained that there were circumstances in which the king was his own adviser, and instanced the remarks on measures submitted by the cabinet. But surely this was no proof that the king could act without a responsible adviser, but the contrary. If ministers, after receiving such remarks and suggestions, thought proper to adopt and act upon them, most undoubtedly they became responsible. In no instance whatever did the constitution presume the king to be without a responsible adviser. A stronger instance than the case of lord Danby could not be conceived. That was a case when lord Danby had been engaged in something relative to a negociation; but it might have been a matter in which the king's conscience might have been concerned. Yet, though the king, in the most authentic manner, and not in any garbled extract of a cabinet minute published in a newspaper, expressed his opinion and satisfaction of lord Danby's conduct; though the king took the seals and gave them to the purse-bearer to affix to the pardon, yet the house of commons voted, that lord Danby's defence, pleading the king's commands, was an aggravation of his offence, as it tended to hold up the king to public odium. Who, then, are the persons responsible for every act of the king? Those surely who publicly appear and give effect to the views of the king. It was not necessary therefore to seek for secret advisers. Those who gave effect to the resolutions of the king, were responsible; and if a contrary principle were once to be sanctioned, and to be supposed the law of the land, the constitution was at an end, the functions of parliament were a jest. Nothing more would be necessary than to make any public measure a question of conscience, and from that moment acts might be done for which there was no responsibility. Parliament had, in every case, in the exercise of the king's legislative authority, as well as every other, always presumed that he acted by advice, and they had addressed him, to know who were his advisers. In the present case the pledge of itself, though highly unconstitutional was little in comparison with the principle that the king can do no wrong; which must be totally subverted if it was established that acts could be done, from which the most important consequences proceeded, and yet there were no responsible advisers.—The noble lord here proceeded to illustrate these positions, and alluded to the letters under the signature of Scævola, which had appeared in the Morning Chronicle on the subject. Sir William Temple had told the king that he doubted whether it were not a contradiction to suppose that he could make counsellors that were not to counsel. What sir W. Temple thought a contradiction, the appointment of the present ministers seemed to render matter of fact. An allusion had been made to a supposed pledge given by Mr. Pitt on the Catholic question previous to his coming into office in 1804; but if such a report was well founded, it was clear that some person had been the bearer of the pledge of Mr. Pitt, who then was out; and if so, it was obvious that secret influence and agency had been employed in removing the noble viscount (Sidmouth) from power in 1804. Next, with respect to the misunderstanding which had prevailed on the subject of the bill brought into parliament, he would say little. It was not doubted that such a misunderstanding existed, and this circumstance alone could have led him to concur in its being withdrawn. But when the bill was withdrawn, and that sort of amende honorable made with respect to it, he could not see with what propriety a discussion of that measure was necessary to decide the present question. With respect to the bill itself, it was well known that its principle, indeed in a much larger extent, had received the approbation of almost all the leading men in this country. Mr. Pitt had expressed himself in the strongest terms as to the policy, nay the necessity of catholic concession. Another person of the most extraordinary talents, Mr. Burke, had, to his last moment, earnestly recommended the repeal of all the disabilities in the Catholic body. Was it not shameful, then, that an outcry should be raised against the late ministers as enemies to the church, for proposing part of what Mr. Pitt and so many others had so much approved of? Nay, several of those in the new ministry, and connected with it, had entertained similar sentiments, and he left it to the noble viscount (Melville) to argue the policy of the measure with those of the new ministry, who attempted to raise clamours and disturbance on pretence of danger from popery on account of this measure. The noble lord then touched on some observations made on the minute of the cabinet, in which they reserved the right to submit to his majesty whatever advice respecting the Catholics circumstances might require. He was surprized to hear the noble viscount (Sidmouth) say that it would be unconstitutional for any member of the crown to vote in parliament in favour of any measure that had not the king's approbation. But, surely, nothing was more unfounded. It would not be pretended that Mr. Pitt had the king's permission to vote on the slave trade, or to propose parliamentary reform. As to the reservation contained in the cabinet minute presented to the king, at most it was superfluous, because it seemed only what was their duty to do, but in fact, if they had not made the reservation, it would have been said that they had deceived the king, in agitating matters he had thought to be abandoned. He now came to say a few words of the new ministers, and however amiable some of them might be in private life, or however qualified to shine in either house of parliament, it could not be forgotten, that a twelvemonth ago they had considered themselves incapable. But, when to this was added, that they came in upon unconstitutional grounds, the reason to regret the change was greatly strengthened. It had been asked, however, Would you take from the king the prerogative of choosing his own ministers, and give it to the parliament? No, surely; but parliament might give its advice on this as well as every other subject, and a more important occasion for doing so never occurred. Allusion had been made to the case of 1784, and an appeal made to his noble friend, late at the head of his majesty's councils, on that subject. But, if he were disposed to retaliate on this point, he might appeal to the duke of Portland, and claim his aid against lord Grenville. He was not disposed, however, to do so; he was content with the situation in which those noble lords stood in this matter. But there really was no inconsistency whatever in his noble friend on this occasion. In 1784, he might think that there was no occasion to advise his majesty; but at present having no confidence in ministers, he might consider it proper and seasonable for parliament to advise his majesty. But surely in every respect things were now different from what they were in 1784, when parliament was dissolved. Yet now it was unconstitutionally threatened that parliament should be dissolved if it would not support ministers. In 1784, we were at peace; now we were engaged in a most difficult and dangerous war. Then, Mr. Pitt had recently come forward in public life, supported by the immense reputation of his father, and himself affording the highest promise to many. Now, the duke of Portland was at the head of administration, and in all respects different. It would be cruel to push the comparison. But could the present administration, composed of such materials, expect to make any impression on the country by affecting the love, and following the example of Mr. Pitt? It was a degradation of parliament; it was a degradation of the country to suppose it. Often it had been remarked that breaches in free governments were made by men of splendid talents, and that they had paved the way for followers of the lowest character. Cæsar made way for Catiline and the duke of Portland imitated Mr. Pitt in establishing himself in power against the constitution. But if any thing could more thoroughly paint the ill effects of the success of Mr. Pitt in 1784, it would be the attempts now made to imitate him, and no small evil of that success would be, the country being brought to endure the present proceedings. But it was madness in the new ministers, the dregs, the lees, the rincings of all former administrations, to think that they could excite that fervour, or kindle that enthusiasm, which supported Mr. Pitt. If they attempted to procure addresses filled with the bigotry which some of them seemed to indulge, and that religious animosity they were so eager to excite, they would only be throwing a slur on Mr. Pitt, and stigmatising those opinions which he entertained. As to the late administration, he would say no more than was necessary to defend them against the reflections cast on them. He took a view of their economical regulations, their plans for auditing the public accounts, their military system, and various other points, and concluded with observing, that it was one of the evils of the new administration that they united no great portion of the people, or considerable interests in their favour, while they came into power with a pledge against four millions of their fellow subjects.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* contended that the pledge had only been demanded in consequence of the previous pledges that had been required of his majesty by the ministers. The late ministers had given a great many promises, but had done very little. They had done nothing of any consequence, either with respect to our army, our navy, our finances, or any thing else. He maintained that the system acted upon by himself and his colleagues, on all occasions, with respect to Ireland, had been one of conciliation and mercy. The late ministry, though they united "All the Talents" of the country, had realized none of their magnificent promises. The present ministers however, humble and foolish as they were, would support the king and his prerogative.

Earl *Darnley* maintained that, if the late ministers had given the pledge demanded, they would have abandoned their duty, their honour, and the cause of the constitution and the country. There could be no doubt, that it was contrary to the constitution to give a pledge of this nature. It was impossible, in considering this question of pledges, not to advert to the claims of the Catholics, which had given rise to the difference between his majesty and his late ministers. He was of opinion, that the restrictions ought to be done away; but at the same time, he was convinced, that this could not be done with advantage, without the consent of the parliament and of the king. He therefore thought it imprudent at present to agitate the question at all, as it only served to keep expectation alive, which was sure to meet with disappointment. He thought therefore, that the late ministers might have fairly told the Catholics, that they were friendly to their claims; but, that there at present existed an obstacle, which it was impossible to remove, and that therefore it would be their interest to remain quiet for the present. He was sure the sensible part of the Catholics would feel the force of this reasoning, whatever might be the conduct of a few agitators in Dublin, whose speeches had been published. He concluded by declaring, that he felt himself bound by every sense of duty and of respect for the constitution, to support the original motion.

Lord *Grenville* observed, that, late as the hour was, he must state, as shortly as he could, the grounds on which he would support the present motion, which must, in his opinion, be voted for by every man, unless he was contented to go away with the impression that the constitution was completely overturned. He did not say that their lordships must feel themselves bound to vote for the first part of the motion, though he was grateful to his noble friend who proposed it; but he must say, without affectation, that he regretted the dismissal of the late ministry, because they had a system in train, which was working for the best interests of the country. He said nothing of himself, but only looked at the talents of his colleagues, whose unwearied exertions and enlightened views, afforded the best hopes to the country: but if he regretted the loss which the country would sustain from their dismissal, he felt that regret doubled when he considered by whom they were succeeded. He did not mean any disrespect to them individually, but looked at their system, the grounds of their conduct, and the unconstitutional doctrines which they held. With regard to the origin of the difference between his majesty and his late ministers, he would not enter upon it, as he had stated it before, with the permission of his sovereign, and he felt it the less necessary, because that statement had not been shaken by any thing now said, though some attempts had been made, as on a former occasion, to garble and misrepresent it, by taking detached parts of it. A doubt had been expressed whether the draft of a dispatch should be laid before his majesty. He had had some experience in this way, had seen the practice of others, and consulted many documents; and therefore he could state with confidence, that it was both a common method and the best method that could be employed, because the king would be enabled to judge better by seeing the measure itself than by any explanation. In the particular dispatch adverted to, of which he had prepared the draft, it was distinctly stated, that the act of 1793 did not extend to generals on the staff, and it was then stated, that it was desirable to enable all his majesty's subjects to hold any military commissions whatever; and he was astonished at his noble friend when he founded an argument upon this, that the technical terms of an act of parliament were not used in such a dispatch. When he mentioned "any military commission whatever," he undoubtedly meant that these words should cover all military commissions, and nobody could read it with attention without being convinced of this. The word "appointment" was merely added in the bill in order that the shadow of a doubt might not be left; but he should be very well satisfied if the bill were allowed to pass without that word, because he had not the slightest doubt that the words of the dispatch went to the full extent to which the matter could be carried by the addition. But still he was convinced that there must have been a misconception. This misconception, however, he and his colleagues had left nothing in their power undone to remove. With a view to this, they presented to his majesty a remonstrance as dutiful and respectful as subjects could offer to their sovereign; the purport of which remonstrance was to shew, that the act in their contemplation was merely calculated to carry into effect the act of the Irish parliament in 1793, with the spirit of which it would have been manifestly inconsistent to grant those arrangements which were afterwards objected to. The noble lord, after dwelling more at large upon the arguments of the remonstrance referred to, as to considerations of general justice and of general and particular policy, proceeded to remark upon the words, that his majesty "would not go one step further than the act," which this observation alluded to. This act, he contended, was nothing more nor less than that of which his majesty had been frequently informed by the conversations held with him, and the dispatches submitted to his revision, before they were sent to the government of Ireland. With regard to those dispatches, he was really astonished to hear his noble friend on the crossbench (lord Sidmouth) state, that he had doubts as to the meaning of the first, which was sent to the duke of Bedford; for that noble lord had full opportunity of considering it. Upon a fair view of all the circumstances connected with this transaction, he was satisfied that no candid man would see any thing to justify, or even excuse the reproaches so liberally heaped upon himself and his colleagues. With the question now under discussion, however, that transaction had no connection whatever. For when the period did arrive that the misunderstanding as to the bill referred to was found to exist, and the bill in consequence was abandoned, the proposition was made which called for this motion. As to the dilemma put respecting this abandonment, he begged to make one short observation. A noble lord on the other side (lord Mulgrave) had asked, why the bill abandoned should have been at all proposed if not necessary, and if so necessary, why it should have been abandoned? but he would beg that noble lord to put this dilemma to some of the persons connected with him, to those who seceded in 1801, but particularly to put it, for instance, to lord Castlereagh, who had so particularly pledged himself to the Catholic question; who had, in fact, brought that question from Ireland with him. With regard to the coronation oath, he would ask, whether there could be any man in that house who had front enough to maintain, that after the Irish act had been sanctioned, which allowed the Catholics to hold certain commissions, it would be a violation of that oath to allow them to hold the rank of generals? The idea was quite untenable, as indeed, in his judgment, was every other proposition which would impress an opinion that to concede to the claims of the Catholics would at all interfere with that general system which the coronation oath bound the king to maintain. The noble lord reprobated in strong terms the artifices resorted to by ministers and their adherents, to excite a fanatical spirit in the country. He shewed, that so far from the present ministers being uniformly approved of by Mr. Pitt, as a noble lord (Mulgrave) had stated, that illustrious person had on many occasions marked very particularly his disapprobation of the greater part of them, and quoted the instances in which he condemned the conduct of some of them, particularly lord Hawkesbury, when presiding at the foreign department. The noble lord observed upon the explanation, which he had laid before the house with respect to the Catholic bill, and the pledge required of himself and his colleagues, and concluded with stating, that from the manner in which the present administration was formed, and the persons of which it was composed, he could not think of giving it his support.

Lord *Hawkesbury* contended that the whole of the statement made by the noble baron, and of the debates to which that statement gave rise, were proceedings altogether irregular and unparliamentary. The noble baron had accused him and his colleagues of being the first set of ministers who had shrunk from responsibility, and meanly endeavoured to shelter themselves under the wings of their sovereign. He would tell that noble baron, that he and his colleagues were the first ministers who, in order to cloak their own misconduct and absurdities, had so strangely ventured to arraign the personal conduct of his majesty at their lordships' bar. He (lord Hawkesbury) had acted from a sense of duty in accepting a place in the present administration; and as long as he was conscious of acting upon such grounds, he should never shrink from the responsibility, to whatever extent it might be carried, to which his official situation made him liable. He had always been adverse to granting any further concessions to the Catholics, and even to cherishing any such hope in their minds. It was that hope which kept Ireland in a state of continual ferment and agitation, and until it was laid at rest, there would be no permanent tranquillity in that country. The Catholics of Ireland were, he was certain, perfectly grateful for the many indulgences which the whole reign of his majesty was distinguished for granting to them: and equally confident did he feel, that they would demonstrate that gratitude by their steady loyalty, and falsify the contrary prophecies, in which the noble baron seemed so much inclined to indulge.

Earl *Camden* rose to reply to some allusions that had been made to his conduct, while at the head of the Irish government. The noble earl denied that he was tied by any pledge, on entering into the present administration, and concluded with giving his support to the motion for adjournment.

Earl *Moira* rose to explain certain points which his noble friend (lord Grenville) had omitted, and contended that it was not in the nature of man, that the Catholics should desist from prosecuting their claims, the concession of which they conceived themselves to be entitled to by the steadiness of their loyalty, and the zeal and alacrity with which they were anxious to join in resenting the common enemy.

The *Lord Chancellor* (Eldon) agreed with his noble friend (lord Hawkesbury) in representing the present and a former discussion as wholly new, irregular, and unparliamentary. Indeed, he thought the sense of their lordships should be strongly marked to that effect on their Journals. As to the insinuations that had been personally thrown out against himself, as having been one of those who secretly advised his majesty to dismiss his late ministers, he should treat them only with the contempt they deserved. The circumstance of his having had the audience of his majesty, he had stated to the noble baron (lord Grenville), and he trusted that that noble lord was perfectly well satisfied with the sincerity of his statement. The only pledge he had given was the uniform tenour of his public life. His majesty asked no other, and he should continue to serve his sovereign to the best of his abilities, without fearing any responsibility that might attach to his official conduct.

The Duke of *Norfolk* spoke in favour of the original question. After which, the question being universally called for, the house divided on the motion of lord Boringdon, that the house do now adjourn.

Contents (present) . . .	135	
Proxies	36	
		171
Non-contents (present) . .	69	
Proxies	21	
		90
Majority		81

—Adjourned at seven o'clock on Tuesday morning.

List of the Minority.

Norfolk,
Somerset,
Devonshire,
Winchester,
Stafford,
Headfort,
Derby,
Suffolk,
Thanet,
Essex,
Scarborough,
Albemarle,
Jersey,
Cholmondeley,
Oxford,
Tankerville,
Bristol,
Cowper,
Stanhope,
Fitzwilliam,
Hardwicke,
Fortescue,
Carnarvon,
Rosslyn,
Lucan,
Clanricard,
Leven,
Northesk,
Elgin,
Breadalbane,
Stair,
St. John,
Say and Sele,
Darnley,
King,
Monson,
Besborough,
Holland,
Argyle,
Rawdon,
Somers,
Braybroke,
Grenville,
Auckland,
Upper Ossory,
Dundas,
Ellenborough,
Blandford,
Kinnaird,
Reay,
Cawdor,
Carrington,
Carysfort,
Erskine,
Lauderdale,
Granard,
Crewe,

Ponsonby,
Cassilis,
Darlington,
Lilford,
Grantley,
Mendip,
Hawke.
Bishops of
  Lincoln,
  Landaff,
  St. Asaph,
  Oxford,
  Kildare.

PROXIES.
Grafton,
St. Alban's,
Bute,
Buckingham,
Orford,
Guilford,
Spencer,
St. Vincent,
Dorchester,
Fife,
Eglinton,
Anson,

Bolingbroke,
Stawell,
Minto,
Blantyre,
Yarborough,
Ashburton,
Glastonbury,
Carlisle,
Bulkeley.

PAIRED OFF.
Berkeley,
Leicester.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 13.

[MINUTES.] New writs were ordered to be issued for the election of members for the following places: for Marlborough, in the room of the earl of Dalkeith, now lord Tynedale, called to the house of peers; for Bedwin, in the room of viscount Stopford, who had accepted the office of comptroller of his majesty's household; for Mitchell, in the room of sir Arthur Wellesley, who had accepted the office of chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; for Eye, in the room of lord Huntley, now baron Gordon, called up to the house of peers.

[POOR-LAWS BILL.] Mr. *Whitbread*, in consequence of the business which was fixed for to-morrow, wished to postpone the re-committal of the bill which he had brought in on that subject, till Friday. He took that opportunity of stating, that in consequence of numerous communications which he had received, he had thought that it would be the best way to divide his original bill into three separate bills. The first of those bills would be with respect to the Poors' Fund; the second would be, for a better equalization of the county rates; and the third would contain all the remaining objects of his bill. In consequence, however, of suggestions and communications which he had received, he intended to leave out of his bill the clauses respecting the adjudication of settlements, and that for rating personal property.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* said, that the subject was one which, perhaps, more than any other, called for a most deliberate consideration and calm discussion. After the threat that had been thrown out a few evenings ago, that parliament should be dissolved if they did not agree to this or that measure of the present administration, it was almost impossible to expect, that, in the course of the present session, or perhaps of the parliament, if that threat should be acted upon, there should be time for that serious and calm consideration which was necessary for a subject of such magnitude, importance, and difficulty. The case, as it now stood, was this: the statute of Elizabeth had been found not sufficient to produce the effects which it proposed. It therefore became necessary that some farther legislative provision should be made. He gave his hon. friend great credit for the attention he had bestowed to this subject, and hoped, that a great part of his bill would be productive of the best consequences; but he was sorry that the clause respecting the relaxation of the settlement laws was to be left out, as that appeared to him to be one of the best parts of the bill. For the reasons he had before mentioned, he should wish the consideration of the measure should be postponed to a much later period, perhaps to the next session.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, it must be, indeed, a pusillanimous parliament that would suffer itself to be deterred from the prosecution of its public duties by such a threat, which was certainly as indecent, indiscreet, and unparliamentary, as could possibly have been thrown out. That threat, however, should have no influence upon his mind. He could not see any good consequences likely to result from protracting to a later period the discussion; nor did it appear to him, that that was the most likely mode to gain for the subject the fullest degree of attention and consideration. When a discussion was put off longer than was necessary, the attention of mankind was apt to relax; whereas, if it was brought on while the subject was warm in their minds, it was likely to command more attention, and to be as well considered. He had left out many parts of the bill, in consequence of communications received from a variety of quarters, and he was happy to acknowledge publicly, the great obligations he felt to those gentlemen who had thus assisted him with their observations. He had not given up that part which related to the relaxation of the law of settlements, but that part which respected the adjudication of settlements prior to the removal of a pauper. Although he had received some opinions favourable to his original idea in that respect, yet the balance of opinions was much against it. He hoped, by yielding to those opinions, the objections to his original bill would be done away, and that considerable good would be produced by it.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* begged it to be understood that, in wishing to postpone the business, he acted under no impression whatever of the description alluded to; for no threats whatever should deter him from doing his duty as an independent member of parliament.—The bill was then committed *pro formâ*, and ordered to be recommitted on Friday.

[Finance Committee.] The Hon. *J. Ward* rose to ask a question relative to a matter of the highest importance. The question related to a transaction which it was reported had taken place in the Army Pay-office, and which had been brought to light by the Committee of Finance. As the circumstance was of the greatest importance in itself, as it very much affected the individual principally concerned, and as it was a matter peculiarly fit to be taken up in that house, he hoped that some member would state, whether the report circulated on this point was or was not well founded?

Lord *Henry Petty* replied, that the chairman of the finance committee was not in the house, otherwise he would probably have given such an answer to his hon. friend as would satisfy him. Yet as he had sometimes attended that committee, and particularly as he had attended it that day, he was happy to be able to give an answer to the question. He had only to state, that in the course of the examination of a Mr. Thomas, a fact had come out which the committee thought it their duty to investigate with the most scrupulous attention; and, since the discovery alluded to, the committee had accordingly been diligently engaged upon this delicate transaction, and a member of that house, who had been formerly paymaster of the forces, had been carefully examined. What the committee meant to do on this point he did not precisely know, but it was of course to be supposed that they would not dismiss the subject without a full investigation of the matter, and making such a report as their duty and the nature of the case should seem to them to require.

Mr. *Ward* thanked the noble lord for the statement which he had made, and hoped that the committee would make a special report on the subject.

[Barrack Commission.] Lord *Henry Petty* rose pursuant to notice, to move for the production of the treasury minute for appointing a barrack Commission, to execute the duties of the barrack-master-general. As he believed there would be no opposition to this motion, he had only to put the house in possession of his object, which would best appear from a statement of facts. Early in the last autumn, the commissioners of military enquiry thought it their duty to communicate to the commissioners of the treasury part of the 4th report, which recommended the appointment of a barrack board, to be substituted instead of a barrack-master-general. The commissioners of the treasury approved of the recommendation, and thought that such a board ought to be appointed. This was communicated to his majesty, who approved of the measure, and affixed his signature to it, and the business might have been completed before the late ministers quitted office; but it had somehow happened that the privy seal was not affixed to the commission, and the noble lord who now held it had not thought proper to affix it. He would not now question the propriety of withholding the seal from it. His object merely was to have the intentions of the late ministry on this point before the house; but he might at least say on this occasion, that he hoped no definitive arrangement would take place till the report of the commissioners had been fully considered. He trusted that the house would seriously consider the report and the method of preventing the recurrence of such abuses as had been found to prevail in this department. He concluded by moving, that the minute of the late commissioners of the treasury, respecting the appointment of a barrack commission, be laid before the house.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said he had no objection to the motion. On coming into office, he had found the case to be exactly as the noble lord had stated it to be. But this matter required great consideration. It appeared that it had been referred to the barrack commissioners and the comptrollers of army accounts, and they had found great difficulty in the business, and therefore it became those who were to be responsible for affixing the privy seal, to be cautious how they appointed persons to offices, and adopted all the arrangements, without an opportunity of fully considering the subject. He certainly had no desire to precipitate measures, but at the same time, the observation of the noble lord did not very well apply here, when he recommended the mature consideration of the report; for he and his colleagues had adopted the measure, before any report at all had been presented. But he agreed to the production of the minute.

Lord *Henry Petty* in explanation said, that he and his colleagues had fully considered the subject on the report of the commissioners, and there was this difference between the two cases, that the report was now before the house, whereas then it was not expected to be brought forward for some time.

Mr. *Windham* stated, that two out of the three comptrollers of army accounts concurred in the propriety of the measure.—The motion was then agreed to.

[Loan Interest Bill.] The house having resolved itself into a committee on this bill,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said that he had no objection to the interest of the loan being secured for the present year according to the mode pointed out in the plan of the noble lord (H. Petty). He wished, however, to avoid pledging the house to approve of any part of that plan for the future. He was very ready to agree to the first object that was stated, to prevent any new taxation in the present year; he was ready to agree to the 10 per cent. which was created for the interest of the loan of the present year, and the sinking fund; but there were other parts of that very complicated system which required a more ample consideration than could be well bestowed upon it in the course of the present session. There were many objections to the principle of making permanent those taxes which were originally raised as mere war taxes, and making them the fund which was to secure the interest of the loans. He had been well informed, that a considerable degree of sensation and alarm had been excited by the idea of continuing the duties on exports and tonnage after the war, and he thought that was a part of the noble lord's plan which ought not to be persevered in. What he meant now to propose was, that the interest of the loan of this year should now remain on the war taxes as charged in the noble lord's plan; but that six months after the conclusion of peace, unless some other mode were resolved on by parliament, of securing it either by continuing the war taxes for the purpose, or by new taxes, it should then be chargeable on the surplus of the consolidated fund. He trusted, however, that the house would see, that enough had already been done in the present session for providing for the interest of the loan of this year without any new taxes; and he should wish to leave the general question open for the enquiry of the house in the next session. The completion of any permanent system must take a considerable time; and since the plan was originally proposed, a great deal of new light had been thrown upon the subject, both in the discussions which took place in and out of that house. He concluded by proposing an amendment to the clause in the bill agreeably to the observations he had thrown out.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that if the loan of the present year were secured in the manner which had been already determined by the resolutions of that house, he could have no objection to adjourn the consideration of the general merits of the plan he had the honour to bring forward to a future time, when it might be submitted to the fullest enquiry, and to the final judgment of parliament. As to the alarm and sensation produced, if any such alarm did exist, it must have proceeded from a misunderstanding of what he had said. He had stated most expressly, that he did not wish to pledge the house to the continuance of any one of those taxes, but that he meant merely to assign that portion of the taxes, which was now represented by the war taxes, as the security of the loan; and to pledge the house only to substitute other taxes for any of those which they might resolve to discontinue. As for what taxes should be continued after the war, and what should be discontinued, he had always stated, and still was of opinion, that the return of peace would be the proper period, in which that subject should be taken into consideration.

Sir *T. Turton* rose, to enter his protest against the plan of the noble lord, and particularly that part of it which made the income or property tax permanent. He had received a number of letters on the subject of the income tax, and he thought that—

Mr. Hobhouse, chairman of the committee, here interrupted the hon. baronet, and told him that the property tax was not mortgaged by the present bill, and had nothing to do with it.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that if the hon. baronet would keep his speech for 3 or 4 years, it might possibly then apply to some question relating to the property tax.

Sir *T. Turton* said, that he had no ambition to make a speech upon the subject in three or four years. However, as he now found that the property tax was not mortgaged at present, and that the loan was to be secured on the war duties on customs and excise, he felt that he could not then offer his objections to the property tax.

Mr. *H. Thornton* objected to the principle which had been proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, of throwing generally upon the consolidated fund a loan which had been contracted for on a different security. He thought that this was not only contrary to all precedent, but to that good faith which parliament owed to the public creditor.

Mr. *Huskisson* did not think the principle so very objectionable. By the present plan, the excesses of the consolidated fund were to be applied in a manner different from their original destination, which might as well be called a breach of faith. It appeared to him that it would be giving to the public creditor an additional security.

Mr. *Tierney* said, that the principle of the right hon. gent. was merely that the war taxes should be security for the interest of the loan, and that after the peace that security was no longer to be continued. There never was before an instance of any loan being secured merely on the future excesses of the consolidated fund. It had happened at different times last war, that there was no surplus, and that was a case which might again occur. Sometimes there was an actual deficiency, and in that case this would provide no security at all for the loan of the present year. He could not conceive any objection to letting the thing stand as it did at present, at least as far as regarded the loan of this year.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* would have no objection to extend the period to twelve months, after peace, instead of six; in which case parliament must meet, and would have time to decide finally on the subject. He thought nothing could be more objectionable than the principle of the present plan, which went to pledge the house to continue 9½ millions of taxes as a security for 12 millions of money. The surplus of the consolidated fund was now 3½ millions, and he thought that was a very abundant security. It certainly would be possible to avoid the pledging the whole of the war taxes, by making permanent some of the least objectionable of them.

Mr. *Tierney* again protested against looking to a supposed future excess of the consolidated fund as a security. It would be entirely departing from all the principles of finance which had been established in this country. The fact now stood thus: the original bargain with the contractors for the loan was, that it was to be secured on those taxes, and in consequence of that bargain, the ministers received their money, and had it now in their pockets. It was, then, too much now to say, that we would neither give them that security for which they bargained, nor any other security, such as was ever given for a loan, but throw them merely on the chance surplus in the consolidated fund, when peace should be restored.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the public creditor was not entitled to more from the war taxes, than a security for the interest of the loan, and for the sinking fund created. As to charging loans on the surplus of the consolidated fund, it was not so extraordinary as had been represented. The chancellor of the exchequer of Ireland (sir John Newport) had charged any deficiency in the product of the sugar tax upon the surplus of the Irish consolidated fund.

Mr. *Tierney* said, the arguments of the right hon., for he could no more call him the learned, gent., were such as could not be excused in a man who had been five days chancellor of the exchequer. If he were appealed to as a lawyer, he could not argue that it would be better for his client to have one security than two, and that if he already had two, it would be doing him no injury to take away one of them. There never was an instance of any loan charged upon the consolidated fund without making some increase to it by taxes. If the right hon. gent. would assign 1,200,000*l.* taxes, for the interest and sinking fund of the loan of this year, he would be content; but if he did not, the contractors had, in common justice, a right to the security for which they originally bargained.

Sir *John Newport* stated, that the difference in the case of the Irish loan was, that it was secured upon annual, and not upon permanent taxes.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that no absurdity could, in practice, be greater than that of assigning a portion only of the war taxes for the loan. It would be impossible to tell the collectors of the customs or excise, that they must stop collecting the taxes when they had got so much money. He did not, however, now wish to press his amendment, if it did not meet the sense of the house; but it appeared to him that the house had an undoubted right to substitute the security of the consolidated fund for that of any particular taxes.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that, in the present case, there was no substitution at all. The right hon. gent.'s idea would go merely to take from the contractors of the loan one of their securities, without giving them any thing in the place of it. As to the general security of the consolidated fund, and the faith of parliament, they were already possessed of that. The right hon. gent., therefore, appeared to him to wish to take from them the specific security of the war taxes, without giving them any thing else in the place of it.—After a variety of explanations, it was resolved to postpone the discussion till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, April 14.

MINUTES.] A ballot took place for a committee to determine the merits of the petition complaining of an undue election for Westminster; the following members compose the committee:—W. Tuffnell, esq. sir C. W. Bamfylde, sir Jacob H. Astley, lord Porchester, T. Foley, esq. sir H. D. Hamilton, bart. N. Sneyd, esq. G. Campbell, esq sir L. Palke, bart. W. Lushington, esq. A. Hamilton, esq. W. Honeywood, esq. G. Colclough, esq.; nominees, Edward Morris, esq. sir John Doyle. The petitioner having waved his right to appoint a nominee, Mr. Morris was chosen, pursuant to the provisions of the act, by the thirteen members remaining on the reduced list.

[LOAN INTEREST BILL.] The house resolved itself into a committee on the Loan Interest bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that in compliance with the suggestion thrown out yesterday by the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Tierney), he should not press upon the committee the amendment he had at first intended to propose to the noble lord's plan; at the same time, he could not see how that amendment could have by any possibility given rise to any alarm in the public mind, and furnished any pretext for charging parliament with a breach of public faith in that instance.

Lord *H. Petty* admitted that it would not have been a substantial breach of faith, inasmuch as the war taxes on customs would have supplied a sufficient surplus, but at the same time contended, that it was a nominal breach of public faith, and being totally unnecessary, would be much better let alone, if the ambition of the new chancellor of the exchequer did not prompt him to have some change or other in the plan; to gratify therefore the right hon. gent., he (lord H. Petty) should not object to it, as the change did not appear to him to be absolutely mischievous.

Mr. *Tierney* said, that the new chancellor of the exchequer entertained the newest financial doctrines he had ever heard. The right hon. gent.'s argument went to say, that the consolidated fund was as productive without as with the war taxes. He fancied, however, that the right hon. gent. would have found the plain plodding understanding of the city quite averse to the subtle genius of the right hon. gent. He denied that the intended improvement was given up as an act of grace to his side of the house, for the right hon. gent. while he was driven to an abandonment of it, would fain have the house to understand that he had volunteered in abandoning it.—After a short conversation, the amendment was agreed to. The other amendments were then read and agreed to. After which, the house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April 15.

[MINUTES.] After the names of defaulters on the two last ballots were called over, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, it was ordered, that the members who should be absent at the ballot and call of the house the following day, without a sufficient excuse being assigned, should be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms.—Mr. White then delivered in at the bar the names of the members remaining on the reduced list of the East Looe election committee, which were as follow: lord John Campbell, hon. Edw. Finch, sir J. Frederick; W. M'Dowall, esq. F. B. Foljambe, esq. Robert Cartwright, esq. lord Lismore, G. Longman, esq. W. Tighe, esq. R. Price, esq. A. Campbell, esq. C. P. Leslie, esq. sir R. Barclay; nominees, W. Jacob, esq. Hiley Addington, esq.

[CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION.] The hon. *W. H. Lyttleton* rose, and said, that in prefacing the resolution which he should do himself the honour to move, he would avoid, as much as possible, a repetition of any of the topics that were urged on the important and memorable debate of Thursday last, although so much extraneous matter had on that evening been introduced, that it would be difficult completely to steer clear of such a repetition. On the question that had been then discussed, he must be allowed to say a few words. Deeply did he lament that it had been disposed of in the way in which it had been, not so much on account of the importance of the question itself, important as it undoubtedly was, as because it seemed that the house were disposed to evade the decision of a great constitutional question; a cowardice in the house of commons which affected him beyond expression. By their conduct it appeared as if the house were ready to recognize a principle which would vest in the crown a power clearly unconstitutional because not responsible; a power which differed in nothing from that assumed by the Stuarts, and against which our ancestors had so strenuously and so successfully contended. Not hoping, however, that he could influence the house to change their determination on this subject, he must satisfy himself with submitting to them a resolution which had no direct application to the royal prerogative, and to which he could not but think that the house must accede, when he considered the majorities by which the measures of the late ministers had been supported. The country had seen the sudden and unexpected removal from power, of ministers apparently possessing the full confidence of the house and of the country, and carrying on the affairs of state as prosperously as the situation of Europe would admit. It would be worth while to enquire what was the actual state of Europe, and how far it was of consequence that the affairs of this country should be well conducted. Had the state of Europe been so altered within these few months, had the security of this country become so well established, that we could with safety entrust the administration of it to any set of men whatever? or rather, was it not expedient that an humble and dutiful, but firm remonstrance, should be carried up to the throne against the removal of men, who, in the present circumstances, were the best qualified to hold the helm of state? The ministers whom it had pleased his majesty, or, as our ancestors used to say, whom his majesty had been advised to remove, during the short period of their remaining in office, had done every thing in their power to call forth the energies of the people, and to unite all hands and hearts in the service of the country. Their conduct, considered in every point of view, entitled them to the public esteem and gratitude. In the financial department of the state, one which required such careful management, they not only conducted themselves with economy and discretion, but supported and carried into effect the appointment of a committee of finance, first suggested by an hon. friend of his (Mr. Biddulph), the only apparent means of probing the wounds of the country, and ascertaining the remedy which it would be necessary to apply. In their offer to negociate with France, while they evinced a spirit of conciliation, they avoided every thing that could be deemed derogatory from the character of this country, and withdrew their ambassador the moment that a continuance in the negociation became inconsistent with the national honour. With regard to the army, they adopted a system conformable to human nature; they had introduced the plan of limited service, which rendered the army more attractive, and which had the tendency to augment its numbers while it exalted its character; nor did they appear at any time disposed to reject any suggestion for amelioration, from whatever quarter it came. As to their successors, we had seen but little of them; but that little was not much to their credit. In some instances their conduct had already been highly censurable. They had called their sovereign to the bar of the house to be arraigned, and then skulked behind the throne, and interposed the royal robe between themselves and merited reproof. He was as loyal as any of them; but by loyalty, he understood allegiance to the state and the constitution, which taught him not to compromise the person of the sovereign, whereas the tendency of their arguments was to render the sovereign himself responsible. He thought, then, that it was necessary, that the house should express its approbation of the conduct of the late ministers, and he thought it the more necessary, as they had been assailed by the most gross and libellous misrepresentations, by minutes committed to venal journalists by perjured counsellors, for the very purposes, as appeared, of misrepresentation, and by a cry about religion, excited from one end of the kingdom to the other, serving to kindle religious animosity, and to awaken the furies of bigotry and fanaticism, to the manifest injury of all true religion. For this cry, he was sorry to say, the chancellor of the exchequer had given the watch-word, and he was almost ashamed of the credulity and blindness of his countrymen, when he saw that there were any with whom such attempts could succeed. He could not conclude without one remark on the threat which had been held out, of a dissolution of parliament, by a right honourable secretary (Mr. Canning), in case the house did not accede to whatever he chose to propose to it, or rather to impose upon it. How often were the members to be sent to their constituents? Was it whenever ministers thought it right to dissolve them upon any pretence, however unreasonable? He was not sent there to cabal, nor to endeavour to impose on his sovereign, even when in opposition to ministers. He would go boldly to his constituents, and call upon them to sanction the vote he had given. Unless they did this, he would at all events only have resigned a trust which it would be dishonourable to hold; but he had no doubt they would sanction it, and ministers, in his opinion, would gain little by a dissolution. If the present resolution was rejected, the house must be considered as only the instrument of the minister of the day. He was not the servile adherent of any man or set of men, and only offered this resolution to the house, because he thought that such a resolution ought to stand on the journals. He concluded by moving, "That this house, considering a firm and efficient administration, as indispensably necessary, in the present important crisis of public affairs, has seen, with the deepest regret, the late change in his majesty's councils."

Mr. *Hibbert* rose to second the motion. Although he had, in the measure regarding the slave trade, uniformly opposed the late administration, yet he was happy in now giving them a proof of his sincere approbation of their general conduct. His hon. friend had given a comprehensive view of the grounds on which the resolution was founded. He presumed that whatever difference of opinion there might be on some subjects, there was no disagreement as to the state of alarm in the present crisis of public affairs. To assert such a proposition, was to procure immediate conviction of its truth. A noble lord on the other side (lord Castlereagh) had said, that the late ministers ascended a bed of roses when they entered into power; but he did not think, now they occupied the same places themselves, they would persevere in that sentiment. If now they should be incommoded by fewer thorns, it would be because some had been extracted by the diligence of the late administration. These were not times in which the public service would admit of trifling: the reins of the state must be held by a firm hand, or the most painful consequences were to be apprehended. An opening for peace presented itself, which, according to the opinion of the people of England, was not to be neglected; they made the proper advances, and the attempt, however unsuccessful, was meritorious. An attempt to obstruct the power of our great enemy had been tried ineffectually, by a formidable co-operation of the continental powers, and a peace was discreetly attempted, to prevent new disappointments. In regard to the army and navy, the measures the late servants of the crown pursued, were at once constitutional, and directed to increase these two sources of the national defence. As to the army, the mode adopted for its improvement had been argued as a military expedient by those who were much more competent to determine on its policy than he was; yet, on the ordinary principles of common sense, the measures appeared to his mind reasonable, and that they were constitutional, he had no doubt; he felt great gratitude to those who proposed them, as they were manifestly conducive to remove the evil so much feared by our ancestors, he meant the existence of a large standing army; and he earnestly entreated of the ministers now in power, that they would not in this respect introduce those changes which might in the sequel be subversive of the constitution. In regard to the navy, there was at least one indication of its good management, since there was no period of our late protracted wars in which fewer captures had been made. If he were to proceed further and to examine the positions of the squadrons expanded over the seas, new proofs would be supplied of the politic conduct in that important department. With respect to the finances, it was seen that the greatest economy had been applied, although perhaps the great capitalists of the country were among those who were the least satisfied with the arrangements. Discontent under such circumstances was in human nature, and could not be separated from it. It was impossible that there should not be a predilection with persons of large fortune, in favour of those who would enable them to employ it to the greatest advantage. But although he would not depreciate men of great pecuniary resources, yet there was a middle order of men who had patiently sustained the burthen of this expensive war, and who would do their utmost to sustain it, as long as they had confidence in those who directed his majesty's councils: that class of men would perceive, that the plan laid down by the late ministers was calculated to relieve them, under such extraordinary pressure, and would feel mortified and disheartened when it was abandoned. Had not these advisers of the crown met every enquiry into their financial system with a manly and temperate spirit, in order to adopt every improvement; and to give the fullest satisfaction to those who were to sustain the heat and labour of the day? In this situation of things, his friends, who had retired from office, had carried with them the approbation of their own consciences, confirmed by the respect and gratitude of their country. It had been asserted, that the late administration had been inactive, in not affording to our allies the assistance they expected. He granted, that they had not subsidized the nations of Europe, as had been done on former occasions; but they had acted more wisely; and by stationing the naval force in proper directions, they had most powerfully co-operated with those who defended the common cause. He was astonished to hear it said, that there might be an exercise of the royal prerogative, for which no one could, or ought to be responsible. If it might be so in one instance, it might be so in all cases, and nothing could be more unconstitutional than such a principle. With regard to loyalty, the term itself was too tame and cold to express that empassioned attachment which a British subject felt towards his sovereign. His majesty had constantly shewn his attention to the interest and happiness of his people, and his veneration for the constitution of the country; yet the subject would be in danger of losing the best character of his loyalty, and the most important part of his honourable immunities, if he were not to be permitted to question the exercise of the royal prerogative. On a late occasion, the king's ministers recommended a measure which had recently received much discussion; he alluded to the concession to the Catholics in the army and navy. This was not brought forward, that gentlemen might indulge themselves in fine speeches: it was introduced to tranquillize the mind of the subject, in a particular part of the realm; and when from opposition, either at home or abroad, that important design was to be disappointed, it was consistent with every notion he could form of wisdom and duty to withdraw it. They did this, however, with the proper reservation, that their opinions should be unbiassed and unfettered, that they should be allowed to declare that they had not abandoned their former sentiments, and that when the occasion should testify it, they might be permitted again to submit to their royal master the propriety or necessity of such a measure. This appeared to him to be a fair and respectful proceeding, but they could not condescend to become time-serving ministers, or to barter the interests of their country for the power and emoluments of office. It was said, that the king could dismiss his ministers at his pleasure, and that therefore there could be no ground for demanding the pledge. Into that he should not enquire, but it was perfectly clear to him that ministers could not constitutionally enter into such an engagement. They could not be restricted in the advice they should give to the crown; they were the guardians of the country, and must respect the relation they sustained to it. He would assert yet more—that, had they acceded to the pledge, such ministers would have been the proper objects of parliamentary impeachment. The new ministers were said to be confined by no such pledge, but he would contend that they were pledged by the very act of undertaking their present situations. Supposing the concession that had been proposed to the Catholics, should be necessary to preserve the rights of the crown, and the tranquillity of the people, was it to be expected that, contrary to truth, they should come to the house and declare, that they were erroneous in their judgment? He commended them for avowing, in an open and manly way, their sentiments; and their withdrawing the bill was capable of complete vindication, since the contrary would have given rise to serious divisions at this critical moment. Both he and the whole nation must prefer this conduct to that of accepting office under a disguised pledge, which was made sufficiently manifest from the minute which had been laid upon the table. If nothing which had fallen from his hon. friend, or from himself, in this debate, should induce the house to declare its confidence in the late administration, he hoped, at least, it would not be prevented from this bold acknowledgment of its feelings, by the indiscreet threat of the right hon. secretary (Mr. Canning), to advise his majesty to dissolve the parliament. He would confidently assert, that there was no example of such a menace. Was it to be considered as a specimen of the talents of the new secretary for the arduous duties of his office, in which station he had succeeded a noble lord of extraordinary powers, and who was the follower of an illustrious statesman, who, to the greatest suavity of manners, united the greatest strength and dignity of intellect. He hoped that the right hon. secretary would not suppose he meant any personal disrespect to him; without any intention of that kind, he was discharging what he conceived to be an imperious constitutional duty. He might think as humbly of himself as any man: he might sacrifice in his private capacity all the emotions of pride; but the honour of that house was a sacred trust which could not be resigned, which must not be stigmatized with impunity; and if the right hon. secretary's threat were to be patiently endured, the constitution of our ancestors must soon be surrendered.

Mr. *Milnes*, in a maiden speech, opposed the motion. Although the question and the observations to which it had given rise, extended to the detail of all the acts of the late administration, it ought yet to be recollected that most of those acts had before been singly considered and approved of by the house. Before he proceeded he would make one observation on the form of the resolution, which did not appear to him to be calculated to include in the concurrence to it all those whom the hon. mover must certainly be desirous to include. It contained this proposition, that because the late administration might in many points have deserved well of the country, yet that their dismissal was not expedient or necessary. Did it follow that, because the house, or any member of the house, had approved of part of the conduct of the late ministers, they must necessarily extend their approbation to that part of their conduct which occasioned their dismissal? Certainly not; and the hon. mover must therefore forfeit the support of those who, while they applauded the late ministry in several points of their administration, were not disposed to give to that administration their unqualified approbation. He would not, on this occasion, go into an examination of the merits of the late administration, or of the circumstances which led to their dismissal. A particular review of their public acts, few as they had been, it would require more than one night to accomplish, and a general review might be productive of a delusive inference. Whether the war had been carried on with the activity which the affairs of Europe demanded? Whether every possible means had been used to excite the energies of the people at home? Whether the financial system had been arranged with ability? Whether recent accusations against a gallant officer (sir Home Popham) had been prompted by private prejudice rather than by public duty? These were points on which he would not presume to determine. With regard to the measure so honourable to humanity, which had at length been carried into effect, the abolition of the slave trade (although the stigma of having allowed it to remain so long could never be effaced), the glory of that measure belonged to his hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce), in whose philanthropy it originated, and by whose unwearied exertions it had at length been brought to a successful issue. That the late administration possessed ability he was ready to allow, but that ability, however great, by no means stultified their opponents, whose measures, if calculated, as he was convinced they would be, for the advantage of the country, the house, he trusted, would not suffer to be impeded by the operation of party spirit. With regard to what had been termed the threat of a right hon. secretary, he had said nothing that could be new to the house; expectations of a dissolution had been very generally formed. Was the absence of disguise censurable? Besides, the right hon. gent. did not make use of the expression which had been alluded to as a threat; those alone converted it into a threat who insinuated that by any declaration from any man, the house of commons could be deterred from doing their duty. With respect to the conduct of the present administration, he was confident that by an anxious desire to obtain peace, if an honourable peace were attainable; if an honourable peace were not attainable, by a vigorous prosecution of the war, in conjunction with our allies; by a wise and persevering attention to the proper management of the domestic concerns of the country, and by that eloquence which would enable them to refute their antagonists, and to maintain the excellence of their own measures, his majesty's present ministers would secure an influence in the house, over which the violence of opposition would be unable to triumph. To what did the present motion tend? Not to shew that the house approved of several parts of the conduct of the late ministers, or that approbation had been expressed by heir votes. Not to inform the king of heir merits, for, according to the statement made by a noble lord, his majesty had expressed his approbation of their conduct up to the circumstance which led to their dismissal. The house had not been told of the answer which had been made to the approbation so expressed by the sovereign. Would it not have been proper for the late ministers, on quitting office, to assure his majesty that in retiring from his service, it was their wish still to support his government; that they should be happy at having the power o afford it their aid; that they knew their dismissal was occasioned by conscientious motives alone; and that, so far from shewing any animosity against their successors, they were disposed by every possible means to contribute to the success of those measures which they might bring forward for the service of the country? Discarded from his majesty's councils, they should retain their respect to the monarch, and their affection to their country. By such motives they ought to be influenced; at least, he hoped they would not madly surrender themselves to a blind and headlong opposition; and that their friends and adherents would have the modesty to suspend their condemnation of the new ministers, until some opportunity should have been afforded of witnessing heir conduct; or, in other words, until they had been tried. No doubt could arise on he terms in which the resolution was expressed; its general purport could not be misunderstood. Before, an abstract point was to be discussed; now, the words were more clear and precise, and precluded the possibility of any misapprehension. Such were the sentiments he had to express on the present occasion. He was anxious that a temper of conciliation should prevail; and he should be sorry if the late ministers ould not have the dignity to retire from heir stations, without repining at those who had succeeded them. Whatever might be he influence of the speeches of the two hon. entlemen upon others, upon his mind they had no effect but to increase his objections to that they had recommended; he should herefore conclude with moving the order f the day.

The Hon. *John W. Ward* rose and spoke s follows:—I can assure the house, sir, hat it is not without considerable reluctance that I rise for the purpose of occupying any portion of their time, however mall. But as the question now before us is of great magnitude, and as I had no opportunity of stating my sentiments upon one which was brought forward some days ago, and which if not in form, at least in its understood purpose, and in the way it was discussed, resembled this, I trust I shall be excused if I say a few words. Indeed, sir, I hardly know how I should discharge my duty either towards myself, or towards the country, one of whose representatives I am, if I were to refrain from expressing any opinion at all upon a change so extraordinary as that which we have lately witnessed, particularly as that opinion must be at once the guide and the pledge of my conduct in parliament, perhaps for as long as I have the honour to sit in it.—But before I touch upon these points with which it is connected, I beg to be clearly understood, as to what has been made the subject of so much wilful and malignant misrepresentation. No pains have been spared, and no falsehoods have been abstained from, in order to convince the people, that the late ministers were inclined to avail themselves of what, it seems, they fancied was the secure and permanent possession of power, in order to thwart the wishes and insult the feelings of their sovereign; and that their friends in both houses of parliament are prepared to support them in this line of conduct, and are consequently the enemies both of his person and his prerogative.—Now for my own part I solemnly declare, that if I could see any thing in their conduct that could warrant such a suspicion, if I could see any thing inconsistent with the most delicate regard for his individual feelings, and the most profound and constitutional reverence for his authority, I should be among the first to desert and to reprobate them. No man can feel more deeply than I do, the respect with which every good Englishman ought to approach the throne, nor am I at all inclined to countenance those subtle distinctions between the person and the office, which might tend to weaken a sentiment so closely interwoven with the very frame of our constitution. With regard to his present majesty, I am as sensible as any one of what is due to a monarch so venerable by his age, by the long period during which he has reigned over this great empire, and, more than all, by his piety and virtues. I have thought it necessary to say thus much in limine, in order to exonerate myself from a charge which has been so diligently disseminated by anonymous libellers out of doors, professing, falsely, no doubt, to speak the sentiments of the present ministers, but which, I flatter myself, no member of this house will be uncandid enough to impute either to the friends of the late government, or to the late government itself, which contained among its leading members, some of the oldest and most faithful servants of the crown, to whom his majesty neither made nor even hinted the slightest reproach of that kind upon dismissing them from office.—It is of the utmost importance that the late ministers should stand well with the public as to that transaction, and I am perfectly willing to declare, that I would on no account concur in a vote conveying a general approbation of their conduct, if it appeared that in the course of it they had acted in a manner inconsistent with their duty. But, fortunately for themselves, and fortunately for the country, nothing can be more clear, more concise, and more satisfactory, than the whole history of those circumstances which ended in their dismission. When stripped of those details by which, though curious and interesting in themselves, the substance of it is not affected, it is, in one word, this: His majesty's ministers proposed to the house, in their ministerial capacity, a measure for which they imagined they had his consent. It turned out however upon further communication, that it had been given upon a misunderstanding of the real nature of the bill. They immediately withdrew it. But his majesty having accompanied his dissent by a very singular demand—namely, that they should give in writing a promise never to mention the subject to him again, they felt themselves obliged to acquaint him, in a firm, but respectful manner, that their sense of duty would not allow them to abstain from offering to him from time to time, such advice upon this and all other subjects, as his interests, and the interests of his empire, might in their judgement require. Upon this, his majesty resolved to dismiss them his service—following, no doubt, the advice of most disinterested persons, of persons who were not to profit by the change, and who had no other object at heart than to give to their country the strongest and wisest government that could be formed, at a time of the greatest danger by which it was ever menaced!—Now, sir, in all this, I can see no insolence, no folly, no desire to insult their sovereign, no deep-laid plot for making themselves Mayors of the Palace; nothing that could endanger the establishment and call upon the right hon. and learned gent. opposite me to desert that profession of which he was an ornament, to quit the study of the year-book for that of your finance reports, and to take upon himself the lucrative office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, for life if he could, or if not for life, for so long as he can hold it, in order, I presume, the better to enable him to make that gallant stand for the religion of his country, of which he has himself made such honourable mention in his address to his constituents.—And now, sir, that I have mentioned this address, I cannot forbear stating to the house, the impression it made upon my mind, and which it was, naturally, though I am sure unintentionally, calculated to produce. If I had merely seen such a paper in circulation, without any name annexed to it, and if I had been to judge of the author by the paper, and not of the paper by the author, I should have said, without hesitation, that it proceeded, not as it really did, from a man of blameless character and honourable intentions, not from an eminent lawyer, not from a minister of the crown, but from some mischievous and desperate incendiary, urged by fanaticism or the hope of plunder, to rekindle among us the flame of religious discord, and to renew in every town in the kingdom, those disgraceful scenes that were acted here in the year 1780.—But to return to the late ministers: The fact is, that they sacrificed their own wishes and their own feelings to the feelings and wishes of their sovereign—they gave up all they could give up without disgracing themselves in his eyes, and in those of all the world—every thing but consistency, every thing but principle, every thing but honour; these they neither could nor did abandon. To deal quite fairly with the house, as I shall always feel myself bound to do, even at the certainty of differing from, and the hazard of offending those for whom I have most esteem and most regard, I must confess, that if there is any thing in the course of this transaction for which I should be inclined to cast blame upon the late ministers, it would be upon grounds very different from those that have generally been taken. That they went far enough in concession, I am quite sure—my only doubt is, whether they did not go too far. I am inclined to think that upon the strict principles of better times, of times more favourable to the people—and when I use the word people, I mean to include every thing that is not the creature of court influence and court intrigue.—I am inclined to think, that, according to the doctrines so long and successfully maintained by our ancestors, the proper moment for resignation was that in which his majesty was advised to demand the total abandonment of the Catholic bill, and that they ought not to have waited for the pledge, that last insult which their enemies were already preparing for them in the dark. If such had been their determination, I, for one, should cheerfully have stood by them and been content to abide the consequences. But I am not disposed to urge this point too far: —perhaps there is something in the nature of the times in which we live, and of those deplorable prejudices which it has been the singular effect of the French revolution to revive, by a sort of re-action upon the fears of the tranquil and well-disposed part of society, just at the moment when they were gradually but rapidly falling into utter contempt, which would have rendered this an imprudent step even with a view to the object it was designed to promote, the people it was intended to serve, and to better purposes than a mere continuance in office —perhaps it would have enabled their adversaries to excite against them a foolish and mistaken clamour, the mischiefs of which can be best estimated by those who, like myself, consider their popularity with the great mass of the people, and their ultimate return to power, as the only remaining hope of the friends to religious liberty, to civil freedom, and to the constitution of this country.—And now, sir, to say a few words as to their general conduct: —I regret this change much, because it has deprived the king and the country of a strong, able, and patriotic government—I regret it still more, because it has replaced it by one directly the converse of it in all respects.—I believe, sir, that no government ever did so much for the good of the people in so short a time. Their merits have been stated in detail already, and will probably be stated again by persons far better qualified for the task, both by their authority and talents, than I am. I will however take the liberty of again calling to the mind of the house, those steps towards a reform in the public expenditure which were taken by the noble lord lately at the head of the treasury, and by my noble friend near me. They afford a rare, but brilliant and successful example of a government anxiously and earnestly endeavouring to check abuses, and to save the money of the people, even at the hazard of diminishing their own patronage and power. An hon. gent. (Mr. Huskisson), I perceive, smiles at this assertion;—I can assure him, however, that I should be perfectly content to put the cause of the late government upon no other ground than the integrity, disinterestedness, and ability they displayed in this instance. I would also remind gentlemen of that plan of finance, (the work of the same persons,) on the details I am by no means prepared to give an opinion, but the effect of which, in some most important particulars, are evident to all the world.—After a long period of most expensive war, it has saved us from the necessity of imposing fresh taxes for several years to come, and, I will venture to say, has by that means alone done more than any single act of any former administration to keep up the spirits of the people in this singular and alarming posture of affairs, and to inspire them with confidence as to the final result of the struggle in which they have been so long engaged. It remains to be seen by which of those excellent, no doubt, but not very consistent or very clearly explained schemes which were opposed to it by the present ministers, the plan of my noble friend is to be replaced, and indeed whether the execution of that or any other plan will not be rendered impossible by the waste of millions to rouse unwilling cabinets to premature and ruinous exertions.—It remains to be seen by how much English gold, that is by how much English labour, and in the present circumstances of the country, by how much English privation and misery, it may be deemed expedient to purchase another third day's *victory* at Austerlitz. Whenever it occurs, I trust that the same able hand will be employed in communicating it to the public, and that my learned friend and namesake, who can so easily persuade, first himself, and then the world, that a complete defeat was in fact a complete success, will be had down by a special retainer from the Admiralty to the Foreign office, for that particular purpose. We have at least one peculiar advantage in the management of our financial affairs. The present chancellor of the exchequer brings to the subject, a mind free and unbiassed: he is encumbered by no former pledges or opinions, never having, as far as I know, touched at all upon finance during the long period in which he has been as to every thing else, so active and so distinguished a member of parliament.—Sir, I have been the more desirous to direct the attention of the house to the financial part of the late administration, because I am persuaded, that the purity and severity they displayed in that respect, contributed indirectly to their fall, and will prove a direct obstacle to their return to power. They were too sparing of the public money, and too vigilant in their enquiries into abuses not to be an object of aversion to the whole class of jobbers, defaulters, and political adventurers. These persons felt themselves in a painful state of fear and depression, and exposed to inexorable vigilance and scrutiny. The dissolution of the late ministry has delivered them from all their terrors. The good old times are returned, "redeunt Saturnia regna," and they anticipate a long period of laxity, corruption, and impunity. The new ministers know how much support has been thrown away on that side by their predecessors, and how much may be gained by themselves, and accordingly they have not lost a moment in shewing them "some token for good." What must be the satisfaction of the whole class on seeing that nobleman restored to the councils of his sovereign, who in what, I believe, was called his defence, but which to me appeared so much more like a confession of guilt, declared openly and boldly to us, the guardians of the national purse, that of a large sum of public money which had passed through his hands, he would render no account whatever?—What a glorious set-off against the committee of finance, the commission for auditing the public accounts, and all the other vexatious measures of the late penurious government! With what rapture they must hail the triumph that has just been obtained by their tutelary deity over the efforts of the friends of reform, over the feelings of the country, and over the dignity and authority of this house!—The abolition of the slave trade was not, strictly speaking, a cabinet measure, and therefore cannot fairly be made a part of their encomium in their ministerial capacity. However, the friends of that great measure of justice and policy, would do well to consider what chance there would have been of accomplishing it under the present administration, which contains almost every individual (with very few exceptions) connected with public life, by whom it was always opposed, and treated as a chimerical and pernicious speculation.—During the same government of 13 months, a plan was brought forward, and almost accomplished, for the better administration of justice in Scotland. No impartial person who has been in that country, and who is aware of the daily increasing inconveniences both to the judges and the suitors, arising from the present form of the courts, can hesitate as to the necessity of some change; yet no former government ever had the diligence, the wisdom, or the courage to attempt what became an immediate object of attention to the late ministers.—With regard to the persons by whom they have been succeeded, I am not desirous to state my sentiments much in detail, both because a good deal has been said already, and because it is a pleasanter task to praise than to blame. I cannot however avoid declaring, that whether I look at the means by which they have acquired power, or the means by which they must retain it, if they retain it at all, I consider their administration as the greatest calamity that has befallen the country since the breaking up of lord Chatham's ministry, in 1763—a transaction which this resembles in some of its most striking features, and particularly as being the result of that secret influence, of which that great man never ceased to complain, and which deprived us of his services at the highest point of his usefulness and reputation, and cut him short in the full career of his own, and of England's glory.—The house has been already reminded that these are the gentlemen who were seized with a sudden panic, and abandoned the government, almost immediately upon the death of Mr. Pitt, whose illustrious name was justly considered as forming the only ornament and support of their administration. It must be confessed, however, to their credit, that in their retreat they complied most honourably with the rules of ancient war; they did not suffer the "spolia opima" of the departed hero to fall into the hands of the enemy. His faithful myrmidons kept the field till they had fairly taken possession of his sinecure, and then retired. They have however sprung upon us again from a sort of ambush, and regained possession of their former position. They have accomplished this, by means of a successful appeal to a particular opinion entertained by his majesty, an opinion with which many of them are known so little to agree, that they thought it necessary upon a former occasion, to give up their places, because they ould not carry a measure in direct opposiion to it. And there is this remarkable ifference between their case and the case f the late ministers, that they demanded ne whole of what is called "Catholic mancipation," and refused to serve ne king any longer because he would ot grant it, whilst the late ministers asked nly a part of that measure, a very mall part, and one that had been already romised by their predecessors, and what is till more important, were content to abanon that part to the wishes of their soveeign.—Sir, the present government owe heir power to a dark intrigue, and not to ny general opinion in their favour; and they must retain it by those means which are always resorted to, in order to supply the want f public confidence. Among these, I unerstand we may reckon a profuse distribution of honours, which, without any proportionate advantage to the popular part f the constitution, degrades the aristocray, and at the same time weakens the crown. Indeed, the way these gentlemen have taken to shew their attachment to their sovereign is altogether singular; they begin by advising him to require his ministers to violate their oath, and, in so doing, to make a direct attack upon that part of the constitution on which his personal security principally depends: they then ask him to give them their places for life, that is, to make them completely independent of him, and out of the reach of any change in his opinion as to their merits; and lastly, they desire him to confer as many honours upon their friends at one blow, as would form, if properly managed, a source of influence for 10 years to come; that is, in order to confirm his authority, they persuade him to mortgage and anticipate the resources from which it is derived.—Sir, I will not abuse the indulgence of the house, by taking up more of their time: before I sit down, I will however say a single word as to another intended step of the present government; I mean the use of a prerogative of the crown, an undoubted prerogative indeed; but the exercise of which, in this particular instance, and in the actual circumstances of the country, would, I will not hesitate to say, be the most audacious, the most desperate, and the most revolutionary measure that has taken place in England for a century past. This step has even been held out in terrorem by the right hon. secretary, in order to influence the vote of a former night. With what decency, and with what good sense, I leave the house itself to determine. We all of us remember Mr. Pitt, the greatest and proudest minister this country ever saw, sitting in the place where the right hon. secretary now sits; a man whose commanding genius and irresistible eloquence might have excused a somewhat too high tone of authority: but Mr. Pitt himself, in the zenith of his power and glory, a power which even a dissolution of parliament will hardly give to the present ministers, and a glory which will hardly be rivalled even by the present first lord of the treasury; even he always treated the house of commons with respect, nor did he so far lose his temper, and along with it his prudence and his sense of propriety, as to threaten at the conclusion of a debate, when he apprehended that the vote of the evening was not likely to satisfy him, to appeal to the country, and send us back to our constituents. Sir, I trust that the house will treat this menace with proper indignation and contempt, and that it will shew by its decision this night, that it knows how to appreciate those ministers, who are, by their own confession, unable to maintain their ground a single moment, except by expedients which a strong government would despise, and of which a good government would be ashamed.

Mr. *Hawkins Browne* did not think that any ground had been afforded by the present ministers, in consequence of any act of theirs, for a remonstrance against them. They had all served his majesty before the present time with fidelity, why then should they be stigmatised by anticipation? they had given proofs of talent, and fully justified the favourable opinion entertained of them on former occasions; was it fair, then, to dismiss them now without a trial? He had great respect for the late ministers; but their successors certainly did not yield to them in public spirit, integrity, or virtue, and were superior to them in constitutional feelings and conduct. The late ministers meant well, he had no doubt, but they proceeded sometimes to extremes. He felt astonished at the panegyric pronounced on them for financial economy and financial system; but the house would recollect, that the whole merit of their plan should be attributed to Mr. Pitt. It was his sinking fund which enabled the late administration to form those arrangements respecting finance for which they claimed the thanks of the country. The present chancellor of the exchequer was alluded to sarcastically as having left the inns of court and his profession for the arduous office which he held; and from the circumstance of having been lately a professional man, it was inferred that he could not be fit for his present situation. The best answer to this cavil was, that Mr. Pitt, the greatest financier this country ever saw, had stepped, he might say, from Lincoln's Inn to the treasury, at the head of which he presided, with credit to himself, and advantage to the country. He did not conceive, therefore, any reason for imputing incapacity, on the ground just stated, to his right hon. friend (Mr. Perceval). Gentlemen seemed to lay great stress on the pledge required by his majesty. This at the utmost was only an implied engagement that they would not offend his majesty by the introduction of a measure repugnant to his feelings.

Mr. *Macdonald* could not refrain from returning thanks to the hon. mover, for the opportunity which he afforded him of expressing his opinion of the integrity and meritorious conduct of the late ministers. This would be an easy task, and might be done in a few words; but under the circumstances of the country at this moment, the question could not rest here, for it involved the public interest and public opinion, which should be regarded, notwithstanding the menaces of a dissolution of parliament. The house would feel that this was a moment of the greatest anxiety in every point of view. We were engaged in a most expensive war against the most formidable enemy this country had ever encountered; it was a moment at which our great northern ally was looking towards us for support and confidence; it was a juncture at which the eyes of Europe were turned to our situation. Under these circumstances, what was so necessary as that we should be all united, heart and hand, in the great cause we had undertaken? What more desirable than a firm, determined, efficient government, capable of calling forth our resources, and directing them against the enemy? The late ministers had done all in their power to promote the interest, and maintain the honour of the country.

Mr. *Tighe* felt it to be his duty, as belonging to that part of the empire where the dismissal of the late ministry was a subject of deep and universal regret, to state his opinion on the question before the house. In whatever light he viewed the conduct of that administration during the short time they were in power, it was entitled to his approbation. Whether he considered their economy in the public expenditure, their probity in the arrangement of the finances, their firmness, vigour, and decision in the conduct of the war, the general rectitude of their conduct in every other branch of administration, he found that they were entitled to his unqualified approbation. They had, it was true, been but a short time in power, but it was long enough to deserve the thanks and gratitude of the nation. They had governed long enough for their own glory, but, unfortunately, not long enough to promote and confirm the advantages of their country. They continued in power, "satis sibi, sed non patriæ." Considering the principle upon which the present ministers came in, it was impossible he could give them his support. For what was that principle? Most certainly, it was either upon an express or implied pledge not to stir a great constitutional question. If they did not come in under a written pledge, assuredly they did under a virtual pledge, not to advise his majesty upon the Catholic question. Accepting office upon these terms, what confidence could they hope from the people of Ireland? It was well known that hopes were held out to the Catholics of Ireland previous to the Union, that whenever that great measure should be effected, their claims would be heard and discussed with temper here. Were it not for these promises, the union would never have been carried. In order to procure the concurrence of the Catholics, the bishops were made the instruments of influencing the priests, and the priests were bribed to cajole the people. The present administration brought with them into power, all the odious parts of Mr. Pitt's principles with regard to Ireland, and superadded the principle of eternal exclusion to the Catholics. Ireland, at present, might be considered as a paralized member of the political body. It affected the whole frame; but, let it be restored to life and vigour, and the cripple would throw away his crutch, and grasp the sword in defence of his benefactor. As to concessions to Catholics, he was astonished at the inconsistency which prevailed with regard to them. He was at a loss to discover why principles, which were admitted in framing the constitution of Canada, should be considered as subversive of the constitution in Ireland. He was happy in the opportunity of expressing his approbation of the conduct of the late ministers, and of condemning the principles upon which the present administration came into power.

Mr. *Robinson* said that when the hon. gent. attacked the measure of the union between the two countries, he seemed to overlook the consideration, that the noble lord (Grenville) who was at the head of the late government, was one of the persons most forward in carrying that measure into effect. He felt sorry he could not assent to the motion of his hon. friend; a motion which he had introduced in a manner creditable to himself; and there was no man in the house more ready to give credit to his motives than he was. There were some points on which he could not feel inclined to support the late administration. In their military measures, he could see nothing but speculative plans and fallacious hopes. They had totally and completely ruined the volunteer system, by their inattention and disregard; and there was left no moral possibility of now ascertaining the discipline and force of that establishment. The next point on which he could not support them, was, their conduct relative to the catholic question. In his opinion they had imprudently encouraged expectations which they could not gratify, and were now predicting evil consequences, which he did not think the circumstances warranted. He thought the house might fairly expect, that the government of the duke of Richmond would be as popular and as lenient as that of lord Hardwicke. The late ministerial changes he regretted upon general grounds; yet still he could not accede to the proposition of condemning their successors by anticipation, and much less, when he recollected the peculiar circumstances under which they were called to the councils of their sovereign.

Mr. *Gore* said, he had the honour of being a representative of a great and populous county in the sister island. Some months back, every thing was peaceable, and the people well affected; within the last month, no less than four murders had taken place, and a number of individuals had been arrested for treasonable practices. He trusted, that when the present ministers should retire from office, the house and the country would not be obliged to witness similar proofs of their policy and measures. The bill which opened the military service to the Catholics, had his warmest support; a support which he would have continued, had the late ministers persisted in carrying it through its stages. It was true that the Catholics of Ireland looked to the late ministers as their staunchest friends, as those characters upon whom they might fully and confidently depend for the complete fulfilment of their promises and sanguine expectations. But the late administration must deceive themselves grossly, if they imagined that the measure they proposed was of a nature and extent to gratify the claims of that body. No; the Catholics considered it only as an excuse for ministers not redeeming their numerous pledges; they estimated it as a paltry subterfuge to escape expected solicitations. Had the late ministers been sincere in their regard for Ireland; had they really been inclined to promote its happiness and to augment its comforts, they could have embraced many opportunities of extending the benefits of education and knowledge. Had they come forward with that great and inestimable blessing, which would have taught the brave but ignorant peasantry of that country to choose between real good and airy speculation? Had they endeavoured to rescue them from those numerous evils which result from the collection of tithes in that country, and thus preserve them from that variety of distress to which the present system has long committed them? In a word, what one act had they done to ameliorate the condition of the people of that ill-used country? a country, the brightest gem in the British crown, and of which, in the words of the poet, he would say,

> "Long from a nation, ever hardly us'd,
> At random censur'd, wantonly abus'd,
> Have Britons drawn their strength."

Mr. *Roscoe* began with considering the great and important good consequences that must have resulted from the adoption of any measure that went, in the present crisis, to conciliate the people of Ireland, and to the truth of such a principle he required no stronger testimony than that of the hon. gent. who had just sat down. As to the bill in its original form, he could not conceive what objection could be urged against doing that in those times, when the idea of a Popish ascendancy was laughed at, which was done when such a motion was really formidable. He could not for his part understand the distinction which had been attempted to be set up between the subjects of the king of these realms. His majesty, no doubt, expected allegiance from each and every of his subjects; it was but reasonable that each of those subjects should expect their due share of constitutional privileges. As to its great impolicy in taking from the national strength, it had been argued, by a right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Perceval) upon a former night, that if the army and navy were so crowded with Catholics, the service did not suffer by reason of their political disabilities; but was it no discouragement to a set of men in any profession, to know that they were for ever prohibited from acquiring the ordinary rewards of perseverance, ability, and zeal? As to the present ministry, he could not give them his confidence. Had they never been tried, he should object to them on the principles upon which they had succeeded to power. It had been asked, why condemn men before they have been tried? He thought they had been tried, and tried sufficiently; they had been "tried in the balance, and found wanting." In the debate on the grant of the duchy of Lancaster, some comparisons had been made between the present and the late chancellor of the exchequer; there was no point of view in which the contrast appeared to him to be stronger, than in the disinterestedness of the noble lord, and in the very interested manner in which the right hon. gent. appeared to him to have been seduced into the hazard of supporting the new administration. Much had been said about the alledged impropriety of introducing the king's name into a discussion of this kind: if this was a crime, it was in his mind, attributable solely to his majesty's present ministers; for what did they say—they admit the pledge to be unconstitutional—they admit, first, that it was wrong to demand such a pledge, and then they contend that in demanding that pledge, the king acted for himself, and without any advisers whatever: this certainly appeared to him to be a very curious way of defending their royal master.

Sir *John Newport* rose and spoke to the following effect:—It was my intention, Mr. speaker, to have immediately replied to the observations of the hon. gent. who spoke last but one. I felt anxious to have commented on some statements which fell from him, with a view of answering those charges which he attempted to insinuate against the late servants of the crown. If upon those charges I shall be able to do what I think I shall, then do I trust for his vote, then do I call upon him to support those very measures, the supposed non-performance of which he has, this night, stated to be the causes of his objection to the late administration. Certain that I shall be able fully to convince him on these points, I now feel it my duty to call him back to that opinion, which, to my knowledge, he entertained within the last month, with respect to the national services performed by the late servants of the crown, and to the probable and practical benefits which would result from their administration. How this transformation in his opinion has taken place, I am at a loss to ascertain; but if it be only founded on the allegations which he has this night advanced, I can feel no difficulty in bringing the hon. gent. back to his former sentiments. He has told the house, that he did expect, from the late administration, on their coming into power, an immediate attention to the diffusion of education amongst the population of Ireland. He asserted, that it would be difficult for them to prove that any endeavour was made to support the condition of the people of Ireland, by an amelioration of the system of mental improvement. In answer, I call upon him to look to the statute book, to refer to that act of the legislature which constituted a commission for the express purpose of enquiring into and completely sifting the gross misapplication of those funds, which were particularly set apart, and specifically intended, for supporting a system of national education; an act, the framers of which were anxious to make as comprehensive as possible, and which embraces every information, however discordant, on other questions of policy, the source from which it flowed. The commissioners appointed under that act proceeded to their enquiry; much information has already followed, and at this moment the commission is actually sitting. How therefore will the house receive the allegations of that hon. gent. when on a subject with which it was his duty to be acquainted, he is actually uninformed? How, I ask, can the house repose confidence in the loose and undefined charges which he has this night been pleased to make, when of an act of the legislature, passed about a year ago, he is perfectly ignorant of the origin or operation? When the late administration directed their attention to an amelioration of the system of education in Ireland, the first act, of necessity, was to enquire into the state of those funds, which had been intended for that purpose, and which were grossly misapplied. This charge of gross misapplication, I state not either without sufficient grounds of justification, nor with any inclination to avoid the responsibility of my statement. I speak it in the face of the noble lord (Castlereagh) opposite. I charge him with having known and suffered those funds which were intended for the support of a system of national education, to have been grossly and unjustifiably perverted for purposes of personal aggrandisement, and for the furtherance of the most criminal views. [Hear! hear!]. The report of the commissioners proves it; and the evils of the misapplication are lamentably felt in the decline and degradation of those establishments, for whose uses these funds were originally appropriated.—Mr. speaker, I can appreciate the nature and temporary stability of that power which can fix its basis upon religious distinction. I can clearly ascertain the strength of that support which originates with delusion, and is propagated by bigotry; which appeals to all the bad, the base, and malignant feelings of the human heart. In estimating, I say, the nature of political power, so influencing and so operating, I can sufficiently comprehend the transient facilities it possesses over a bold and honest policy, which, in a state where human corruption is so prevalent, manfully wages war with every thing in the shape of public abuse, and sifts the sources of national distress through all the recesses of official peculation and plunder. When funds, appropriated for public charities, were absorbed in private expenditure, when they were calculated on as parts of the family estate, and bequeathed to the descendants as a portion of the patrimonial inheritance, it became high time to meddle with them; and I do not hesitate to declare my strong and decided conviction, that no small part of our political sins arose from our endeavours to correct abuses, to convict delinquents, to restore to the public that money of which it had been shamefully defrauded; and to make even the highest in rank, and most elevated in political connection, return those public funds upon which they had so unjustifiably and illegally drawn.—The next charge to which the hon. gent. adverted, was the inattention of the late ministers to the regulation of the tithes in Ireland. I have answered his first accusation from the statute book. I have now to throw myself on the confidence of the house, when I do assure them, that one of the first objects which would have engaged the attention of the late administration, previous to their dismissal, was an amelioration of the tithe system; and I do conjure the present ministers, if they regard the peace and security of Ireland, and the general safety of the empire, to take the state of that system into their immediate consideration and regard. But great and commanding as this necessity is, I can indulge no such expectations from men who have set up the cry of church and state. They, the advocates of the church! some of whom have left nothing undone to degrade the character of religion in its most vital part, by uniting parishes, almost for the length of counties. This, I do assert, was the system of the present lord privy seal, when lord lieutenant of Ireland (the earl of Westmoreland); who, during his government, had raised to the highest station a prelate, who in a moment of alarm had dared to expunge the mitre from the arms on his coach. But this was not all. The broken down in fortune, and the degraded in character, were elevated to the highest dignities in the church, to the exclusion of the religious curate, who had worked for years in the vineyard. [Hear! hear!]. But need we ask a more convincing proof of the disregard of those men for that church, to which they now, with the purest views, feel so zealously attached, than to recollect the changes which they effected in the various parishes in Ireland? I call upon the house to rest its opinion upon experience, and to deduce this plain conclusion from that experience, that whilst they had power, every other principle was sacrificed to personal emolument.—I come now, sir, to that measure which his majesty's late ministers had thought expedient to propose for the relief of the Catholics of Ireland. This boon, of which so much has been said, and to which such frequent allusions have been made, did not comprehend but one forty-second part of the restrictions under which that body of subjects labour. At the passing of the union, there were forty-two offices from which Roman Catholics were excluded; and that great measure, I do most seriously assert, was gained under the positive pledge given by the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh), first to the Catholic clergy, and next, through them, to the laity, that every existing disability would be removed, and the whole of those 42 offices would be immediately opened to the Catholic subjects of Ireland. And yet these are the men so pledged and bound by every principle of honour and consistency, who have the effrontery to raise this unfounded clamour of the church in danger, because the late administration had endeavoured to open the army and navy to the Catholic officer! It has been observed, that the noble lord at the head of the last administration was a friend to the great measure;—so was I; and my support to it was under the faith of those sacred engagements which I now find the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh) had never even in contemplation the least intention to fulfil. I did hope that the situation of Ireland would be committed to the consideration of the British parliament; that its interests would be impartially consulted, its grievances redressed; that, as it had surrendered itself to the protection of an imperial parliament, its affairs would be considered of imperial importance. Had I not been deluded with those hopes, and deceived by those expectations, I would have sooner suffered my right arm to be cut off, than to have willingly surrendered those rights and advantages, which Ireland, in its independent state, did certainly enjoy. In surrendering that independence, she made a great sacrifice; but it is an unreasonable position to assume, that, because I voted for that measure, therefore am I to submit to the violation of every engagement, to the infraction of every pledge which accompanied it in its progress, and accelerated its execution. To Ireland, I say, it was a great sacrifice; and let this country, for a moment, suppose itself in her place. Let it reflect on what was given up, and on the manner in which that surrender has been recompensed. I unfortunately have seen an indisposition in this house to attend to the concerns of Ireland. Be assured it is a mistaken policy; for it is that component part of the British empire, which will press itself upon British consideration. It is, I say, that component part of the British empire, deprived of whose assistance and support, England would be reduced indeed. At present I will say no more, but revert to those changes which have so lately taken place in the councils of the crown. And here I cannot refrain from expressing my decided conviction, that more than a common secret influence has been exerted to work upon the benignant feelings of a most gracious monarch. Upon those who have used this unconstitutional influence, no common risk of responsibility devolves. But that principle equally extends to the ministry who have succeeded to power, after the demand of the pledge, as it does to the secret advisers of the crown. They entered upon a vacancy created by the refusal of their predecessors to give an unconstitutional pledge. And to accept office with such a knowledge, fully commits them to the responsibility of the measures which led to their accession. Will they say, they are not really or virtually bound by that pledge? Will the noble lord opposite (lord Castlereagh) venture to state in his place, that he is now at liberty to fulfil his repeated promises to the Catholics of Ireland? Could the noble duke (the duke of Portland) say, he had not given this, as well as innumerable pledges to the Irish Catholics? What would the house believe, and what must the country suppose, when they are informed, that that noble duke had actually written two letters to two officers high in rank, of the Irish brigades, wherein he promises this measure for Ireland; and assures them, that it was determined to open the whole of the military career to the Roman Catholics? Thus we see promises made only to be broken; and, when we call upon the government to fulfil its engagements with the people, we are answered with calumny, and assailed with intolerant virulence. But again I repeat, that if those pledges had not been most solemnly made, not all the gold of Ireland, nor the gold of England, nor the borough compensation, nor the appointment of compensation commissioners, could have prevailed on the Irish people to have surrendered their domestic legislature. When, therefore, the chancellor of the exchequer sounds the alarm of the church in danger, when he sends forth, amidst the people, apprehensions calculated to excite religious rancour and fanatic fury, his associates should hold his hands, and, for their own consistency, repress him. They are bound to say, "We must resign our situations in a government which is founded on the basis of intolerance; we must abjure a system which goes to create religious dissension, and fixes its power on dividing and inflaming all classes of the people. We will not suffer ourselves to be compromised." This language it is their duty to hold, because, however unable to perform their pledges to the Catholics, they should not forward that system, which ties up their own hands; and which, under the pretext of religion, goes at once to pull down that fabric which protects both church and state.

Mr. *Bankes* said he was a friend to the suppression of abuses, whether in Ireland or in England, and for suppressing abuses he was ready to give his thanks to the hon.

baronet, and his assistance in the prosecution of that object. He never had been a friend to the union with Ireland, and had, at the time the question was first agitated, publicly expressed his disapprobation of the measure. He thought the time was not yet come for so great a work, and that it could not be effected advantageously if it did not settle that very question about which so much discussion had since arisen. Though the Union was managed by as great a man as ever sat in that house, yet he, with all his talents, was unable to carry the business in the manner necessary, and was compelled to desert the only proper course in which it could have been advantageously effected. Mr. Pitt therefore was obliged to leave the Catholic question unsettled. He regretted the present motion, because it brought this subject so much into discussion, and had forced the sovereign personally so much before the house and the public. He thought it hard that the new ministers should be accused as they had been, of bringing the sovereign to the bar of the house, for after the statement of the noble lord (Howick), however respectful and decorous, it was impossible that those who were acquainted with the sentiments and feelings of the party whom the noble lord's statement involved, could abstain from giving, not contradictions of facts, but such views of the transaction as had been taken by that other party. He recollected nothing like such a statement respecting transactions in the king's cabinet having ever been made, and he lamented it should have been given. Much had been said about the pledge demanded; but whether that pledge was unconstitutional or not, was of little consequence, for it could not be denied that the king had the right to dismiss his ministers, and to choose others absolutely. As far as appeared, the demand of a pledge was done without any advice, and though it had been contended that the king could do nothing without advice, he could not concur in that doctrine, for then the constitution would reduce the king to something which never had existed, and never could exist. Indeed, if there ever could be a case in which the king might, and must be supposed to act without advice, it was that in which, having differed with one set of ministers, he employed some person to form a new one. He could not see, therefore, on what grounds the new ministers appointed by the king, in such circumstances, could be considered unconstitutionally formed. With respect to the confidence which might be due to ministers, it was a general confidence that would not presume them unworthy of trust before they were tried; and indeed, as to confiding in any ministers, it was rather the duty of the house to watch them than confide in them. He saw no reason, therefore, for the house to stigmatize the new ministers in the first instance, and refuse that confidence which could enable them to discharge the trust their sovereign had conferred on them. For his own part, he was convinced that to yield the Catholic question would do mischief in Ireland; he was sure it would do mischief here; and he was convinced that the Union, instead of accelerating, had retarded the settlement of it.

Mr. *Tierney* said, that the hon. gent. who had spoken with so much eloquence and ability (Mr. Milnes), comprised the whole substance of his speech against the motion in one sentence, that it was sufficient for the house to know that the king had dismissed his late ministers. For his part he thought it necessary to know a great deal more. When so extraordinary and unexpected a change had taken place, it was proper for the house to enquire, what were the circumstances that led to it, and what was likely to be the result? The hon. gent. complained, with others, that the king's name was dragged before the house, but he must again repeat, that this was to be attributed solely to the new ministers. There was a time when, in discussing any public measure, members of the house could animadvert upon the king's advisers, but now, for the first time, it was said that the king had no advisers. Who, then, was it that brought the king's name into question, but those who declared that he acted without advice? If such a doctrine as this were to prevail, the character of public men was no longer safe; but when made the victims of intrigue, and their character brought into suspicion, they were not to have the privilege of defending themselves, because the secret advisers of the king shrunk from responsibility, and threw upon the king himself those measures they admitted to be unconstitutional. The interested advisers of the king threw upon the king that which they were afraid to avow; and he took God to witness, that he conscientiously believed that the removal of the late ministers was the result of a long and dark intrigue. The hon. gent. who spoke last had, however, expressed his astonishment that any misunderstanding should have arisen; but when that unfortunate misunderstanding did arise, the late ministers, as they ought, took upon themselves the blame, and fairly acknowledged that the king must be right and themselves wrong. But was it, then, so incomprehensible to the hon. gent., that a misunderstanding should have arisen? Could he have forgotten, that dealing with one of the clearest-headed men that ever existed (Mr. Pitt), and being a person of unquestionable perspicacity, he had been led to commit himself in a very extraordinary manner, respecting a dissolution of parliament in the year 1784, from misunderstanding what really passed between him and Mr. Pitt? Surely, after that, he might conceive a misunderstanding to exist on a complicated question, when he himself had been so much mistaken in a communication upon a very plain and simple point. Then, after the misunderstanding arose, what more could have been done by ministers than withdraw the bill? What measure more conciliatory could have been adopted? Nay, it was made a charge, that the late ministers had withdrawn the bill. But, after the sentiments of the king were distinctly known, it evidently became impossible to prosecute the measure with any prospect of advantage, as it would certainly be unjustifiable for the servants of the crown to carry on any measure as a measure of government, contrary to his wishes. But, it was complained too that they insisted on renewing the subject; whereas they did no more than remind his majesty that circumstances might render it necessary to submit measures connected with the Catholics to his consideration; so that if it had been necessary to do so, they might not be charged with agitating points which it was supposed they had given up. As to the pledge, he was fully satisfied that such an unconstitutional and so unnecessary a demand never could have entered the king's head, if he had not been wrought upon by the most pernicious suggestions of secret advisers. By the pledge the king could gain nothing, for he could dismiss his ministers at any time; but his secret advisers had every thing to gain, by forcing into action this unconstitutional pledge on the ministers they wished to supplant. The secret advisers by this had to gain the exclusion of that association of talents, property, and consideration, which composed the ministry; as nothing else but the exclusion of that ministry could enable them to remain in power. The secret advisers, therefore, gained every thing; the king nothing. It was an object, therefore, to shut out by such an artifice, all the talents which composed the late ministry. "All the Talents," he said, was a phrase which gave offence to the other side, but it should be recollected that the right hon. gent. over the way was himself the person who first had employed this very phrase when he used to argue so strenuously some years ago for the formation of a ministry, combining all the talents of the country, in which combination, however, the talents of no one person in the present ministry, except his own, did he (Mr. Canning) propose to include. It was said, however, that the new ministry were to act towards Ireland with a mixture of firmness and conciliation. As to firmness, it was easy to guess what was meant: but with regard to conciliation, which supposed mutual giving and receiving, he could not conceive what kind of conciliation that was by which the new ministers pledged themselves to take every thing from the people of Ireland, and give them nothing in return. Besides, was it not absolutely insulting to the people of Ireland, that a noble lord (Castlereagh) was to be a principal member of an administration founded upon avowed hostility to the Catholic claims? That noble lord had written to the Irish Catholics in his own name and in that of Mr. Pitt, telling them to conduct themselves with propriety, and trust to this disposition to promote their cause. Good God! trust to the noble lord! and what had been the consequences? Had not the Irish Catholics for the last six years, conducted themselves with the most unimpeached loyalty? Were they to come to the noble lord and say, "We have fulfilled our engagements; we have followed your counsels; now do you fulfil the engagements you contracted to us." What could the noble lord say, but that "all you say is true; you have been quiet and loyal; you have trusted to me, and in return I have pledged myself never to mention your names?" What sort of conduct was this? and could the gentlemen on the other side deny that they were virtually pledged never to mention to the king any question connected with the Catholics? If they had given no pledge, how stood the matter? Why, that from one set of men a pledge was demanded, and from another not, so that the king had it in his power to apply partially and not generally a test, which must operate to exclude all honourable men from the service of their country. And this system was patronized, too, by one of those (Mr. Canning) who was, beyond all others, vociferous and incessant in calling for administrations that, to use his own phrase, should combine all the talents of the country. The hon. gent. who spoke last, was of opinion that the Catholic question ought to have been settled in Ireland before the Union. That, however, even Mr. Pitt found to be impracticable. The hon. gent. said too that Mr Pitt had, before his last entrance into administration, given satisfaction to the royal mind, that he never would agitate the Catholic question. If this be true, by what means did Mr. Pitt communicate such a satisfaction or pledge? If he did communicate by any member of the administration of that day any thing to that effect, it would confirm a suspicion he then and now entertained, that the administration in question, with which he himself was connected, had fallen the victims of secret intrigues, and that the principal intriguer was the same in both instances. He had for upwards of a month before the fall of that administration, thought that things were not going well, but he was now perfectly satisfied that the same secret advisers had been at work in both cases. With respect to the satisfaction given by Mr. Pitt, he was convinced it must have related to the Catholic question as a whole, for he knew for certain that about a year before Mr. Pitt died, he had it in view to adopt some measure for conciliating the Catholics, and if this was denied, he could shew the proofs. It was clear therefore that Mr. Pitt could have given no pledge upon any thing connected with the Catholics. As to the motion before the house, he could not conceive the house of commons so limited and stinted in its functions, that it ought not to presume to ask for any satisfaction respecting the extraordinary and regretted change which had taken place. The king could undoubtedly appoint whom he pleased his ministers, as he could remove them, by his prerogative. But the house of commons had its privileges too; and it ought to express its opinions upon an event so intimately affecting the public welfare. But it was said, to represent the necessity of a permanent and efficient administration, and to express regret at the change, would tend to remove the new and force back the old ministers. As to the first, it was clear, indeed, that if a permanent and efficient administration was necessary, the new ministers could not remain; it did not follow, however, that the late ministers were to be forced back. It was asked too, would the house stultify the new ministers? That was needless, they had stultified themselves; for on the death of Mr. Pitt they publicly proclaimed their own imbecility, and threw up the government. What had happened since, but that they were thirteen months older, and had placed the duke of Portland at their head? Was the duke of Portland to supply the place of Mr. Pitt, without whom the administration fell of itself? It could not be credited by any one that the duke of Portland, old and infirm as he was, could be the real minister. No one believed it. The performers were all the same, but their parts were to be new cast. Last year Mr. Perceval was attorney-general, now he was to be chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Canning was as fit to be foreign secretary in 1806 as he was now; and lord Castlereagh quite as ready to be a secretary of state. Lord Mulgrave, indeed, was foreign secretary; now he was thought the fittest man to preside over the navy. The duke of Montrose, from having been president of the board of trade, had been qualified to be master of the horse. The duke of Portland was the only accession, and so strange did such an appointment seem, that no man could believe that it was any thing but temporary; and report gave it to lord Melville or marquis Wellesley. This really seemed probable, for why bring lord Melville into the privy council? But if such an appointment took place, he was confident it would give no satisfaction to the country. As to marquis Wellesley, he certainly was a person of infinite ability; but as certain discussions would come on respecting that noble lord's administration in India, he should not be provoked to say any thing upon the subject at present. Every thing concurred to shew, that some changes must take place, and this formed an additional reason why the house should express their opinion as to the administration which was formed. When he considered indeed, that previous to the late change not so many as seventy members in the house had ever expressed disapprobation of the measures of ministers, he would not believe till he saw it, that the same house which had approved their conduct, would refuse to express regret at their removal. Sorry he was, therefore, to see that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Perceval) had forgot himself so fa as to put his name to the assertion, that the church was in danger. It was impossible. Had he believed so he would not have been so anxious to secure a place for life, in case of removal, knowing that the constitution would fall if the late ministers came into power, and being secure that while in power himself he could retain the duchy of Lancaster if he pleased. As to a dissolution of parliament, he was convinced that it could not be intended, particulaly when he saw a religious clamour raised; because the malice of the devil himself could not have thought of preparing for a dissolution by the false and wicked cry of the church being in danger.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, it would not be necessary for him to argue at great length, after the very able speeches that had been made on the same side. He should be content to put the matter to the decision of the house, upon the single speech of his hon. friend (Mr. Milnes). He utterly denied that his majesty's ministers had been the cause of introducing the king's name and personal character so much into the present debate. The introduction of it in this manner was a novelty, from which he apprehended serious consequences to the constitution. The introduction of it, however, became necessary from the conduct of gentlemen on the other side of the house. The noble lord (Howick) had thought it due to his own character to come down to the house, and make a statement for the vindication of his conduct, which contained several confidential transactions between him and his majesty, that would otherwise not have been known to the house. That noble lord had pledged himself to the house to make that statement, even before he had obtained his majesty's permission for that purpose; but when the permission was obtained, and the statement made, it became necessary that a statement should be made on the other side; and therefore the blame of introducing his majesty's name and personal character into the debate, rested with those who went out of their way to make a formal statement to the house, which was by no means called for. Before that statement, his majesty's late ministers, or some of them, gave the minutes of the cabinet to persons who were not of the cabinet nor even of the privy council. This appeared to him a high crime and misdemeanour. The present ministers were therefore obliged to apply the antidote to the bane. As to secret advisers, his majesty had expressly told his late ministers, that he had never communicated with any body on this subject except with his secretary, to whom he dictated the communications that were sent in his name. He did not know any practical good that could follow from the motion, and he thought it hardly fair and manly for the right hon. gent. (Mr. Tierney) to talk of dismissing the present ministers, without wishing that the late ministers should come in, in their places. He should ask what third party did then exist, out of which his majesty could have formed an unexceptionable administration? It was not surprising, that when his majesty, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, thought proper to dismiss one party, he should choose his ministers from the other. He thought his majesty's late ministers were not justified in bringing forward the measure against the determined and conscientious scruples of his majesty; but when they had brought it forward, he could not conceive upon what principle they should have abandoned it, unless on the principle of throwing all the odium of the measure upon the king. His majesty must have seen that the giving it up was a mere concession of temporary convenience; but that the greater part of his then ministers were determined to support the Catholic claims when they should be brought forward, if not to agitate the question themselves. His majesty had therefore a right, after informing them that his mind was unalterably made up upon this point, to demand an assurance from them that they would not harass or disturb him any more upon the subject. Was it possible that he could have confidence in his late ministers ceasing to harass him upon this subject, when he was expressly informed that many of them would vote in favour of the Catholic petition whenever it should be brought forward. If his majesty had not dismissed his ministers upon their refusing to give such assurance, the crown would have been subservient to a party in that house. It must be also considered, that although his majesty retained all the energy of his mind, and the decision of his character, yet he was now advanced in years, and subject to infirmity. It was a very serious thing for him at present to be obliged to quarrel with his government and dismiss his ministers. If he were still to live ten or twelve years longer, it would be a most melancholy consideration to think that he was to be perpetually exposed to such a painful circumstance, when it was well known that his mind was irrevocably made up on the subject, not from political considerations, but from a paramount religious feeling. In the conduct of the late ministers, which led to their dismissal, he saw nothing of "All the Talents" which they were said to unite. Their dispatch was not only misunderstood by his majesty, but by some of their colleagues, and by their friends in Ireland. They had also omitted to summon three members of the cabinet, who differed from them, to the council. The withholding the summonses in this instance appeared to him a crime, which almost deserved impeachment. Lord Erskine, who was one of the ministers who were not summoned, was, from his office, the highest servant of the crown, and in a peculiar manner, the keeper of his majesty's conscience, and yet he was never summoned upon the occasion. He believed that the late ministers had now discovered that their conduct was rash and ill considered. It was not only his majesty that had dismissed them, but they were no longer supported by the majority of that house. The other house had also, in the fullest attendance of peers that was ever known, decided against them by a very great majority, and the general feeling out of doors was also in favour of his majesty and against the conduct of his late ministers. The parliament as well as the nation had determined to stand by the crown, and there was a general feeling of attachment to the person of the Sovereign that would not allow the latter years of his long and glorious reign to be clouded and rendered unhappy by the perpetual agitation of a question most distressing to his private feelings. He would not allow, that the dismissal of ministers would be a fatal blow to Ireland. The Catholic bill had been brought in upon a statement which was directly contrary to the information which ministers had received from the duke of Bedford, as that nobleman had expressly informed them that the disturbances in the West of Ireland were not at all occasioned by any religious question. As to his own opinion upon the Catholic claims, he had always been against giving political power to the Catholics until the Union. Before that period, he conceived that letting the mass of the population of Ireland into the constitution, would be subversive of the principles upon which it was founded. He considered, however, that that danger would in a great measure be done away by the Union, and he stated this opinion in the Irish parliament, and he stated it not only as his opinion, but as that of many of the leading members of the English government with whom he was connected; but in stating this opinion, he never did give any thing like a direct pledge to the Catholics. Although Mr. Pitt retired from office upon the Catholic question, yet when he found how deeply rooted his majesty's objections were, he never thought of agitating the question again, and declared expressly to his friends, that should the question again come on, since he found that it was so distressing to his majesty, he should not support it, but protect him against it. This resolution was communicated to his majesty some time before he again called him to his councils. For his part, he considered it his chief duty to consult the ease and comfort of his majesty in his administration of the affairs of the empire. His lordship then passed in review the whole conduct of the late ministers. From their first entrance into power, he thought they had been overbearing, and had disgusted all the principal bodies in the kingdom. They first endeavoured to force the East-India company to accept a governor-general of their appointment. They dispirited the volunteers, by speaking contemptuously of them; they disgusted the shipping interest, and lastly, they attempted to force the conscience of the king to their measures; but when they found that was not to be done, they were content to put their Catholic bill in their pockets, and to keep their places. There never was exhibited in this country, a government of such complete imbecility. They had claimed all the talents in the country, and yet had shewn no vestige of talents. They had excluded all the friends of Mr. Pitt from an administration that was to contain "All the Talents in the country." They should have recollected, however, that at the death of Mr. Fox, they lost that superiority of talents which they might have boasted of during his life-time. As to the present ministers, they came in without any intrigue or solicitation on their part, and if they had refused to enter into the service of his majesty, he did not exactly see where this third party were to come from, who were to form a new administration. If it was improper then to accept of offices under these circumstances, it would follow that the crow was to be completely subservient to and dependent on a party in that house.

Lord *Howick* denied that the late ministers had been deserving of the numerous charges which the noble lord had brought against them. The first person appointed by them to go out to India, as governor-general, was the earl of Lauderdale, a nobleman in every respect highly qualified to fill that high and important station, but against whom an opposition was raised, perhaps by the influence of the noble lord himself, and others who still retained an influence; and so far from forcing the directors, that appointment was given up, and a nobleman, who had since gone out, had been appointed, against whom no opposition had been made. He complained of the unconstitutional use made of the king's name, and insisted that nothing had been said by the late ministers that required the introduction of it; for they had admitted there had been a misunderstanding, and it had been consented to, that that misunderstanding was imputable to them; there was, therefore, no reason for using the king's name. Then came the pledge, which was proposed and refused. He had stated over and over again, that such pledge was unconstitutional, and the arguments had been admitted by the whole house. What was this pledge? Why, that his majesty's confidential servants should undertake in writing not only to abstain from bringing forward the Catholic question, but that they should not mention any thing connected with it. The present ministers, who are the legal advisers of the king, say they did not advise this measure, but that it was the king's own act, than which declaration nothing could be more unconstitutional, for they by that threw the whole upon the king, and they only are therefore to be blamed for introducing his sacred name into the present and late debate. If it were allowed that one act might take place without advisers, others might do the same; and in such case all responsibility would be at an end, and his majesty would be as arbitrary as any monarch in Europe. The noble lord had by his letter, written under the sanction of Mr. Pitt, assured the Catholics, that if they would be patient, their case should be duly attended to, and every possible means used that it might ultimately be crowned with success; for that he and Mr. Pitt would do every thing in their power to recommend it to the public.—The noble lord had also attacked the late ministers for having abandoned the bill. He had so often answered this, that he should be ashamed so far to trespass on the attention of the house, as to do it again. An hon. gent. (Mr. Gore) had asked, what the duke of Bedford had done? He would tell him and the house, that the duke had acted with firmness and mercy; he had quelled disturbances in Ireland, without infringing on the constitution, or trampling under foot the liberties of the people. If there ever was a time of peculiar peril and danger, which required a firm and vigorous administration in this country, he believed it was the present. Was the present such an administration? He thought not. He was not a little alarmed, when he saw the spirit with which they commenced their administration, by endeavouring to excite religious animosities and to set up the cry that the church was in danger. He thought the house could not place confidence in such an administration, and therefore he should support the motion. He acknowledged his majesty had a right, by his prerogative, to choose his own servants, but insisted that the house had the privilege of giving its opinion on the fitness of such servants to fill the situations to which they were appointed. He should not become a vexatious opponent to their measures, but would do his duty as a member of parliament, and narrowly watch their measures, in which he had no doubt but he should be warmly assisted by a very large portion of the house.

Mr. *Bathurst* opposed the motion, expressing at the same time his regret, that the late ministers should have been removed, and his entire approbation of every part of their conduct, with the exception of that only which led to their removal: disapproving of that part, he could not consistently support a motion which implied an unqualified approval of all their measures. But he had another and a stronger objection to this motion, and that was, as he had stated on a former evening, in discussing a proposition of a similar character, that it would serve to put a negative upon the exercise of his majesty's undoubted prerogative, in choosing his own ministers.

Earl *Percy* rose to express his approbation of the original motion. The measures brought forward by his majesty's late ministers, he could not but in general approve of. The act for the abolition of the slave trade, which had so lately passed, and the appointment of a committee for the reduction of sinecure places and fees, were measures which would ever reflect upon them the highest honour, and be attended with the greatest advantage to the country. He could not however avoid lamenting, that they should have introduced a bill into the house, for giving an extension of power to the Roman Catholics; no man, he trusted, was a greater friend to toleration than himself, yet he could not help disapproving of any measure which would enable Roman Catholics in this kingdom to hold the appointments of commander-in-chief, and master-general of the ordnance, as it had been usual for persons holding those situations, to have a seat in the cabinet, and the concession of such offices certainly went to a great extension of power, but did not contribute to the free exercise of religion; but from what had lately dropped in this house, he understood the measure had been abandoned.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* (Mr. Perceval) combated the notion, that the removal of the late ministers was the effect of a long and dark intrigue. If so, he contended that the evil spirit which conducted it, must have found its way into the minds of lord Grenville and his noble colleague on the other side, and have urged them to press forward the bill which was the immediate and obvious cause of their removal. The right hon. gent. also resisted the doctrine maintained by the supporters of the motion as to the idea that those ministers who accepted office were legally responsible for the change which led to the vacancies they occupied. He put the case of ministers being dismissed even from caprice, and asked whether other men were to refuse to succeed them, and the government was to stop merely under the notion of this responsibility? As to the notice taken of his address to his constituents, he begged it to be understood, that he did not by any means mean it as an election squib, as had been stated; for the sentiments which it contained were those which he really held. But so far from those sentiments serving to raise any dangerous outcry, he maintained that the danger was created by the proceedings of the gentlemen on the other side, and that the course which he took of resisting them was the best means of averting that danger. This, he thought, should appear to the gentlemen themselves, from the spirit which manifested itself throughout the country; a spirit, indeed, which could not be excited by any thing in the power of an humble individual like himself to offer, and which must convince gentlemen on the other side that they had been quite mistaken as to the popular feeling: for if they had been allowed to go much further, those gentlemen must now see that they would have created considerable agitation and alarm throughout the kingdom.

Mr. *Windham* entered his protest against the doctrines which the house had heard from the other side, upon the question of responsibility. If, indeed, these doctrines were to obtain; if it were allowed that the king could exercise his prerogative without an adviser in one case, so he might in another. His majesty might make his *veto* against an act of both houses of the legislature, and, if he could do so without a responsible adviser, then, instead of a balance of power in the constitution, all the power would be in the king; for, combining the maxim, that "the king can do no wrong," with the doctrine now attempted to be established, that the king can act without any responsible adviser, there would be an end of that controul of the executive authority which the constitution intended; because the king could not be personally arraigned, and because any act of the executive power, shielded by the pretence set up in this instance, that such act proceeded from the individual will of the king, could not be made the subject of accusation. But he deprecated such doctrines, as subversive of the first principles of the constitution, and ridiculed the idea of setting up the old and exploded notions with regard to any invasion of the prerogative arising out of the expression of the sentiment of that house, upon any exercise whatever of that prerogative.

The *Master of the Rolls* was for the motion for passing to the order of the day. Many ministers had been dismissed from office without any cause assigned, but never until now had a minister come down to parliament to complain of his sovereign. Lord Somers was removed without the shadow of complaint. Did he come down to parliament to institute an investigation of the cause? When the celebrated Whig administration were removed by queen Anne, did they breathe a whisper against their royal mistress in either house of parliament? If a minister were to secure to himself the right of enquiring into the cause of his removal, he would approximate his situation to that of a judge, or any other officer for life. In 1757, the dismissal of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge produced a great ferment; but was any thing said in parliament about that dismissal? Of a change in administration, parliament had no constitutional knowledge, and on such change could found no enquiry. He thought the permission given to a noble lord to detail the transactions which had led to the dismission, unconstitutional, as it was publishing the proceedings of the privy council, which ought to be kept sacredly secret. The question therefore, in his opinion, ought never to have been agitated in the house of commons.

After a few words from sir A. Pigott, a division took place, and the numbers were:

For passing to the order of the day .	244
Against it	198
Majority in favour of ministers	46

—Adjourned at half past six o'clock on Thursday morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, April 16.

[Capture of Monte Video.] Lord *Hawkesbury* rose, pursuant to notice, to move the Thanks of the house to brigadier-general sir S. Auchmuty, for the capture of Monte Video. On some former occasions, he said, doubts had been entertained by the house, whether the thanks of the house ought to be given in cases where important captures were made with little or no resistance on the part of the enemy. In the present case, however, in whatever point of view the achievement was considered, there could be no possible doubt, in his opinion, that it ought to be rewarded with the thanks of the house. The thanks of that house constituted an highly valuable and greatly valued reward, which encouraged the living and afforded the greatest consolation to the relations of those who fell. The brave exertions of the British troops, and the skill and valour of the officers, displayed in the capture of Monte Video, eminently deserved, in his opinion, that reward. The particulars of this capture had already been published. It appeared from this account, that two actions had been fought, in which the British troops had been victorious, and that subsequently Monte Video was carried by assault, after encountering and overcoming the greatest difficulties, with a spirit and a bravery deserving of the highest praise. This gallant achievement was of the greatest importance, not only from the impression which the bravery of our troops must make upon the enemy in that quarter of the globe, but also from the impression which must be made upon the people of the country, by the moderation and forbearance, the good order and discipline displayed by our troops, after the conquest was completed, and this, too, under circumstances which (if any circumstances could justify it) would have justified a contrary conduct, namely, the carrying the place by assault. His lordship concluded by moving the thanks of the house to brigadier-general sir S. Auchmuty, to brigadier-general the hon. W. Lumley, and the other officers under the command of sir Samuel, and an acknowledgement of the services of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers.

The Earl of *Galloway* thought it necessary to call the attention of the house to one or two points connected with this subject. The brave achievement which the thanks of the house were called for, deserved, in his opinion, the highest praise, and he rejoiced to hear the noble secretary of state come forward in the way he had, to move for those thanks.

Lord *Mulgrave*, after a warm panegyric on the spirited exertions of our navy in co-operating with the army on the present occasion, concluded with similar motions to rear-admiral Stirling, the officers, men, &c. under his command.—The question was then put upon these motions, and they were all carried, *nem. diss.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, April 16.

[Capture of Monte Video.] Lord *Castlereagh* rose pursuant to notice, to call the attention of the house to the brilliant and important services rendered by his majesty's forces in the Capture of Monte Video. It was impossible that a person in his situation could feel any duty more agreeable, than doing this justice to the services performed by his majesty's forces. Nothing could be more grateful to the feelings of a person so situated, than to find, that in all the variety of opinions that prevailed on all other subjects, party feeling was entirely laid asleep on subjects of this kind, and only one spirit of emulation who should be most prompt to pay the tribute of gratitude and applause, prevailed in every bosom. He was sure he could say of one individual on the opposite side (Mr. Windham), that whatever difference of opinion he might have with his majesty's present ministers on the management of the army, he would, on an occasion like the present, bury all those differences in oblivion, and be among the foremost to unite with those on that side of the house in acknowledging and applauding the service that had been done. He could assure that right hon. gent., that no difference of opinion that existed on other points could make it less grateful to him (lord C.) to acknowledge and do justice to the merits of persons called into action by his recommendation, than if those persons had been appointed by himself. He was sure that only one sentiment prevailed as to the merit of the service rendered, whether the importance of the acquisition was considered, or the nature of the execution. Though the force engaged was of a limited number, yet this was one of those military efforts which entitled those who had performed it, to the best thanks of the country. In respect to the amount of military excellence, no enterprise could be better selected than this in particular to mark with the most distinguished approbation. In the sort of attack that it had been necessary to make, the highest qualities of soldiers, the steadiest discipline, and the most undaunted firmness and bravery were conspicuously displayed. The assault was made under every disadvantage, and it was only by their eminent superiority in these great qualities that the British troops had been able to overcome all the obstacles opposed to them, and render themselves masters of the place. The breach had been in itself less practicable than was supposed, and had been rendered by the enemy, in the course of the night preceding the assault, so extremely inaccessible, that when the troops, which had been wisely sent forward before break of day, approached, they found it scarcely discernible: their discipline and firmness were put to the most trying test, by their being obliged to remain a long time exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns, before they could ascertain the breach, or attempt to enter it. The house would feel, that in expressing its thanks on the present occasion, it was discharging a debt of gratitude. The discharge of that debt would at the same time have the effect of giving additional spirit and enterprise to the army and the navy, to emulate the exploits that were so honourably distinguished. He should not trespass further on the house in a case where every feeling was already prompt to answer the call that was made, but he could not suppress an expression of regret for the officers who had fallen in this glorious enterprise, and whose loss must cast a gloom over the joy the achievement inspired. The country had suffered a severe loss in the distinguished and gallant officers who had fallen. But it was the misfortune of war, that no important services could be rendered without similar losses; and the glorious nature of the achievement, and the importance of the service rendered in this case, must be to the friends of those with whose blood it was purchased, as well as to the country, to whom the loss of such men was no less deplorable, a consolation under affliction which would otherwise be inconsolable. He concluded with moving, "That the thanks of the house be given to brigadier-general sir S. Auchmuty, for the skill and gallantry displayed by him in taking the important fortress of Monte Video."

Sir John Doyle and Mr. Windham rose together. Sir John Doyle having given way,

Mr. *Windham* said, that after the forcible manner in which the noble lord had conveyed the general feeling, he felt it rather a trespass on the house to offer any thing further. He could not pretend to any share in the glory of the brilliant achievement now under the consideration of the house, merely for his being in the office of secretary of state for the war department when the expedition was fitted out. But having turned his mind particularly to the outset and the operations of this expedition, he felt a natural disposition to say a few words on the occasion. He was sure the noble lord opposite did not feel less warmly upon the success of the expedition than if he had himself fitted it out. The noble lord would do him the justice to say, that he had felt no less warmly when it had fallen to him to discharge a debt of the same kind on succeeding the noble lord in moving the vote of thanks for the victory of Maida. He agreed with the noble lord in his observations on all the details of the achievement now under consideration. In every one of those details there was a particular claim to the gratitude of the country. The achievement, considered altogether, was one of the highest in the highest class of military services. The circumstances that attended it, called for particular notice. The fortress was strong beyond what had been calculated. It was impossible men could be placed in a more trying situation, attacking an almost undiscoverable breach, on which an immense quantity of fire had been brought to bear. These circumstances were of such a nature as to require all the high qualities of the troops which were the subject of the present panegyric. Thus, whether it was considered with respect to the value of the conquest, or the nature of the action by which it was gained, this glorious performance could not be too highly estimated. It was necessary, besides, to observe, that the loss that had been sustained, heavy as it was, had fallen chiefly, not on the whole army, but on that part which was engaged in the storm. It was a loss on 1200 men, not on 4000, and in proportion as the loss was greater, so was the glory. It was a consolation, though a mournful one, to those whose relations had fallen, that their lives were not thrown away, but that they had been the means of adding greatly to the national glory, and of promoting the most important interests of their country. The merit of our soldiers was greatly enhanced by the gallant defence made by their opponents, stimulated as they were by the influence of their priests, to the most fanatical enthusiasm. At the same time that this powerful resistance enhanced the glory of the conquest, another important effect also would, he trusted, result from it, that the valour displayed by the Spanish troops would inspire their countrymen in Europe with a kindred spirit in resisting the common enemy; an enemy who, although approaching them under the mask of friendship, was more dangerous than we were in open hostility. If a little of this spirit was displayed in Old Spain, it would be attended with consequences at which Europe would have reason to rejoice. He would say no more. What had been achieved, was beyond the power of him, or any body, to increase by words.

Sir *John Doyle* said, if he had been pertinacious in offering himself to the house at the same time with the right hon. gent., he hoped it would be a sufficient excuse to state, first, that he did not see the right hon. gent., and secondly, he hoped he should be forgiven if he shewed a little tenacity in pressing his claim to the attention of the house, when he mentioned that one of the regiments particularly engaged on this glorious occasion (the 87th), he had himself the honour of raising. On this account, he naturally wished to raise his voice in paying the common tribute of applause to the glorious deeds now under consideration. He was unwilling that his brave companions in arms, who had followed his fortunes in the last war, should have reason to complain of him for having sat silent when their glory was the theme of admiration, and when he, who was acquainted with their spirit and character from their outset, ought to be the first to bear testimony to their merit. In every situation in which his majesty's army could be employed, he was satisfied it would display the same heroism, and he hoped would obtain similar advantages for the country. He spoke from experience; for he had never known an instance in which British troops had been engaged with equal or nearly equal numbers, in which their conduct had not been such as to redound to the honour and advantage of their country. What the noble lord and the right hon. gent. had said, rendered it unnecessary for him to say more. The strength of the place, the difficulty of the breach, the quantity of ordnance brought to bear on it, and the great disparity of numbers, rendered this action as brilliant as any former one; and there was no instance of an exploit exceeding it. He should content himself with giving his support to the motion, introduced in a manner so honourable to the parties who had moved and seconded it.

Mr. *M. Matthew* commended the hon. general, for the particular notice he had taken of the 87th regiment. It was true, that regiment, led on by a gallant friend of his, had distinguished itself particularly in the assault. But what the hon. general might have added, and what he was sorry he had omitted, was, that that regiment to a man was composed of Roman Catholics. It was also a fact that 3 of the 4 thousand men composing the expedition, were Catholics. Who after this could say that Catholics were not to be trusted with arms? Whoever would say so, was ungrateful, and the worst enemy of the country.—The thanks were then voted to brigadier-general Lumley, and to the officers and men; and also to admiral Stirling, for his distinguished skill and ability in effecting the landing; to the captains and officers of the fleet for their co-operation, and to the seamen and marines. It was ordered that the votes should be communicated by the Speaker to sir S. Auchmuty and Admiral Stirling.—After a few words from sir T. Turton and others, the votes were severally agreed to, *nem. con.*

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, April 17.

[Scotch Judicature Bill.]—Lord *Kinnaird* rose to acquaint their lordships, that it was his intention to move that the lord president and the two senior judges of the court of session be ordered to attend.

The Duke of *Montrose* moved, as an amendment, that the following words be added, "and be admitted within the body of this house."

The Earl of *Lauderdale* wished the noble lords to recollect, that the order of the house which commanded the attendance of the lord president and the senior judges, also extended to such other judges as were able to attend. It so happened, that there were some other judges of that court in town, and therefore he thought it necessary that the present motion should embrace that part of the case.—The motion so amended was put and carried; and the chairman was ordered to report the proceedings to the house forthwith. The house having resumed, lord Walsingham reported the decision of the committee.

The Duke of *Montrose* argued in favour of the right of the Scotch judges to be admitted within the body of the house. At all times it was a great and wise measure of policy, to hold in reverence and estimation, those learned persons to whom was entrusted the dispensation of the laws. But the judges of Scotland had a claim from the usages and customs of the Scottish parliament; as, previous to the union, they, on all occasions, were entitled to take their seats in that assembly. Under such circumstances, he conceived that the judges of the court of session, independent of all personal feelings, were right in supporting what they supposed the privilege of their body; and, with that conviction, he was induced to submit the motion he made in the committee, "that they be admitted within the body of the house."

The *Lord Chancellor* trusted the house would believe, that there was not amongst their lordships an individual who entertained for the judicial character a higher reverence than he did; but, at the same time, he felt convinced, that no legal right existed by which the judges, either of Ireland or Scotland, were entitled to seats within the body of the house. At the period when a learned judge (Fox) from Ireland was placed below the bar of the house, he was seriously grieved; but he still must contend, that the decision of the committee appointed to inquire into the precedents, was perfectly correct. At all events, he had thought it his duty, in order to support the characteristic dignity, and the necessary reverence of the judicial character, to consider of a legislative act on that subject; and he would now assure the house, with its indulgence, that he intended to ask for leave to bring in a bill accordingly.

Lord *Auckland* was of opinion, that as it was the general sense of the house, that the judges of Ireland and Scotland had no legal right to the privilege, he could not see the necessity of any legislative interference. He was inclined to consider such interference rather as an innovation of a most dangerous tendency.

Lord *Hawkesbury* contended, that the noble baron did not put the suggestion of his noble and learned friend, in a fair point of view. If the judges of Scotland had now no right, surely it was not an improper measure, which would impart to the judicial character, both in Ireland and Scotland, that privilege. There was one great difference, at least it had so struck him, in a comparison between the right of the Scotch and Irish judges. The Irish judges were called to parliament by the summons of the king; and, of course, when that summons ceased, their right to a seat within the body of the house was annulled. But the judges of Scotland sat in the Scottish parliament, by immemorial usage; and the motion of his noble friend went to allow them that which they had enjoyed in their national legislature. He only stated these facts for the consideration of the house, and not with any view of giving a decisive opinion.

Lord *Holland* expressed his willingness to support the bill to which the noble lord alluded, and which went to grant to the judges of Scotland and Ireland, the right of sitting within the body of the house. At the same time, he must insist, that the precedent in the case of Judge Fox was conclusive against the present claim of the judges of the court of session in Scotland. He felt the force of the objection, even to the intended bill, inasmuch as it went to make an appearance at the bar of the house, a matter of degradation, and a subject of reproach. It was to be recollected, that some of the most respected characters in the history of the country, were often examined at that bar; and, therefore, he could not see that the cause of jealousy, in the Scotch judges, was at all warranted. That learned body stated a variety of reasons, which they conceived supported the pretensions they had made. But with all respect for that learned and respectable body, he could not give them much credit for the cogency of their arguments, the strength of their precedents, or the ingenuity of their inferences. Their reasonings convinced him of the liability of learned men to assume a right, which might probably have existed in distant periods of history, but which was solemnly abrogated in modern times. Thus, it was not long since a learned person from Scotland (the lord advocate Hope), was heard defending himself from a charge in the house of commons, by contending, that the whole power of the privy council of Scotland was vested in his official character; although one of the acts which followed closest on the heels of the union, was to deprive that office of such extraordinary and unlimited powers. The arguments of the court of session, on this point, shewed such an ignorance of the occurrences of modern periods, as applying to their case, that it was fair to assume, *à fortiori*, that the facts of more remote times were not either well understood, or correctly stated. With respect to the opinion, that the attendance of the judges of the court of session, on appeals in the house, was a desirable circumstance, it was not his wish to throw any censure on the learned persons entrusted with the jurisprudence of Scotland; but he could not help remarking, that he had heard within the walls of the house sufficient to induce him to deprecate such an inclination. Indeed, he thought the opinion of Mr. Boswell quite convincing; who, when told on an appeal cause, in which he was engaged, that the court of session was unanimous in passing the decree, pointedly replied, "that when that court were divided in opinion, they deliberated but little; bnt when it happened that they were unanimous, they deliberated not at all." With respect to the ingenious remark, that the precedents which denied the Scotch judges the right, referred only to the lords justiciary, and not to the court of session, he should only answer, that as the lord chief justice clerk was also a member of the court of session, he could not admit the position, that if he was in either character entitled to the right, he ought to be denied, because he might be summoned to attend with respect to the duties of another office. The noble lord concluded with expressing his determination to oppose the motion.

Lord *Melville* deprecated the elaborate attack made by the noble lord on the respectable, learned, and loyal body, which composed the court of session. He considered it a churlish principle, in any great kingdom, to deal illiberally with those of other countries, which, in their union, had given up much of national pride and independent magnificence. The services of the learned persons who were in attendance on the service of the house, he had occasion to know, when he held the important office of secretary for the home department, at a period when that part of the country was endangered by revolutionary cabals, and treasonable conspiracies. He wished the judges of every part of the kingdom to be treated with every reverence and respect, because it tended to promote that love of justice, which was the strongest fortress of the subordination of society.—The motion for admitting the Scotch judges within the body of the house was then put and negatived.—The house having resolved itself into a committee,

Lord *Hawkesbury* thought it would be the most convenient mode for him to communicate to the committee his ideas upon the subject, previous to moving any particular amendment, the different parts of the bill being intimately connected, and the amendments which he should move being those which arose out of his general view of the measure. He admitted that a great evil existed in the number of appeals to that house from Scotland, and that a remedy ought to be applied, but he disliked going further than the remedying that evil required. He approved of the division of the court of session, but thought that instead of three chambers it would be much preferable to have only two chambers, consisting of eight judges and seven; the lord president being in one chamber, and the lord justice clerk in the other. There was another principle also highly important, with a view to diminish the number of appeals to that house, and which had not been touched upon in this bill, namely, to give power to the chambers to award possession to the party in whose favour the decision had turned. This, he was convinced, would prevent a great number of appeals to that house, many of which, it was well known, were only made up for the purpose of delay. With respect to the proposed court of review, it was the opinion of many persons well informed on the subject, that it would only be an additional stage in the progress of litigation, and would not prevent any appeals to that house. To the court of review, as proposed in the bill, he was decidedly hostile, and he could conceive no other object in view in its establishment than the creation of a new and important office in the person of the president of that court. He could not, however, consent to the establishment of a court in Scotland superior to the court of session, such being, in his opinion, a violation of the act of union; if such a court should be deemed advisable, he thought it ought to be formed out of the court of session itself. With respect to the proposed introduction of trial by jury in civil cases in Scotland, he was friendly to the experiment, but it was a measure which he thought ought to be proceeded in with great caution and deliberation. He disliked in theory the compelling juries to be unanimous, although long experience in this country had sanctioned the principle, but he thought it somewhat extraordinary, that whilst juries in criminal cases in Scotland decided by a majority, that it should be proposed to compel them to an unanimous decision in civil cases. His lordship concluded, by moving an amendment in the first clause of the bill, to the effect of dividing the court of session into two chambers instead of three.

Lord *Grenville* contended, that it was incumbent upon the noble lord to give some reason for his proposed division of the court of session into two instead of three chambers; at present he had given none, except that it was his opinion. Experience in this country was in favour of three courts, with a few judges in each, and all theory on the subject pointed out the expediency of having the smaller in preference to the greater number of judges. He had, when he first proposed this measure, not thought it adviseable that the number of the judges of the court of session should be reduced, but if the proposition for two chambers was persisted in, he should then contend that the number of judges ought to be reduced, inasmuch as five judges would be amply sufficient for each chamber. The noble lord had somewhat unfairly charged the late ministers with having only in view the creation of a new office in the establishment of the court of review; but if the division into two chambers was to be persisted in, and the number of judges not reduced, the truth would be, that noble lords on the other side were continuing five useless and unnecessary offices. With respect to the proposed court of review, when that subject came fairly under discussion, he would undertake to prove to their lordships, that it was not a violation of the act of union, and that without such a court, very little would be done towards effecting the great object in view, that of diminishing the great number of appeals to that house. As to what had been said by the noble lord respecting the chambers giving possession to the parties in whose favour they had decided, it was noticed in the resolutions of last session, but he had seen no proposition upon that subject which was not liable to many objections. He objected strongly to giving an arbitrary discretion to courts upon this point. He had heard the noble lord with great surprise upon the subject of juries, and he was utterly astonished that an Englishman should, in an English house of parliament, declaim against trial by jury.

Lord *Hawkesbury*, in explanation, said that he had not argued against the establishment of juries, but as to the principle of unanimity.

Lord *Grenville* resumed, and again expressed his astonishment that the noble lord should object to that which the experience of ages had sanctioned in this country, and proved to be highly beneficial. He was not surprised, however, that to the minds to whose consideration this measure now devolved, and with the advice now likely to be taken upon the subject, that the difficulties in the way of the establishment of trial by jury, in civil cases in Scotland, should appear so insuperable. He thought a most extraordinary principle had been advanced by the noble lord, as the foundation of his opinions upon this subject; for it amounted to this, that in remedying a great evil we should not look to any enlarged theory, but should do as little as possible. He contended that it still remained for the noble lord to state his reasons for the alteration he proposed.

The *Lord Chancellor* coincided in opinion with his noble friend, as to the division of the court of session into two chambers, because he did conceive it would fully answer the object required. With respect to the number of Scotch appeals presented to that house, he conceived the best remedy to consist in affixing large costs to those which were presented on improper and untenable grounds. The house was aware that until such a remedy was adopted, it would be impossible to check an evil which was supported by the parties who brought forward those appeals, as well by the profit arising from the interest of money, as the benefit of possession. He fully coincided in the opinion with the late lord Mansfield, that it was impossible to introduce the trial by jury into Scotland, generally.

Lord *Grenville* replied, that he saw nothing in the noble and learned lord's observations, but an opinion without any solid argument.

Lord *Erskine* supported the principle of the bill in all its branches, and thought it exceedingly strange, that the introduction of trial by jury, generally, into Scotland, should be matter of such extreme apprehension and caution, particularly as it was already partially known and valued in that country, as the source of all the blessings of liberty enjoyed in this. He observed an illustrious personage, on the other side of the house (the duke of Cumberland) smile, and he must be bold to tell him such a smile was inconsistent with the decorum with which that house was in the habit of hearing every noble lord express his sentiments; but it was particularly indecorous and indecent in that illustrious personage to smile at a panegyric upon the trial by jury. Trial by Jury was the means of placing the present family upon the throne of England, and trial by jury had preserved our most gracious sovereign, that illustrious person's father, throughout his long and glorious reign. Trial by jury was the best security for the freedom of that house; and he should never cease to feel and know, that Trial by Jury enabled him to address their lordships upon equal terms with the highest man among them.

Lord *Redesdale* coincided in opinion with his noble and learned friend (lord Eldon) that the bill in its present state would be a violation of the act of union, and totally unnecessary; but if such a measure should be found necessary, he thought it first ought to undergo the investigation of a commission of inquiry.

Lord *Holland* expressed a hope that the noble and learned lord who spoke last, and who had acknowledged that he had been often induced to change his opinion, upon various subjects, had now from conviction, changed that prejudice and opinion, he had some time since entertained, with respect to one-fourth of his majesty's subjects, he meant the Roman catholics. An opinion and prejudice most disgraceful to this country, in the eyes of every enlightened nation on the globe.

Lord *Melville* entered at large into the nature and object of the proposed change. He did not see the benefits which the noble baron was so sanguine as to expect from the measure. It was, in his mind, an innovation on that system of jurisprudence, which the Scotch nation, at the period of the revolution, were so anxious to preserve and perpetuate. But he acquiesced in the proposition of the noble baron (lord Hawkesbury) with respect to making it a measure of temporary experiment, until a commission was appointed for the purpose of fully ascertaining the general grounds of the measure, and the general feeling of the nation to whom it peculiarly related.

Lord *Kinnaird* could not contemplate, without surprise, the conduct of noble lords relative to this measure. They had taken advantage of the late ministerial changes, totally to new-model the object and detail of the system so ably proposed by his noble friend, and so long desired by Scotland. Such conduct went to mock the expectations of the people of Scotland, and to cheat them of their hopes.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* rose to oppose the intention of the noble lords, in trying to take an advantage of the house, and in proposing to a committee, in the form of an amendment, a measure altogether new in its principles. Such conduct was a violation of the privileges, and a complete disregard of the opinion of the people; that opinion which his noble friend, who first introduced the measure, had used every means fully to acquire and understand. The noble viscount (Melville) had talked of innovations: Every remedy for an existing evil, was throughout the whole period of his administration for that country, considered by him as an innovation. But was it a measure to promote a system of jobbing and of favouritism, it would have fully accorded with his views. He thought the noble lords ought to be ashamed of attempting to pass such a juggle on the house.

Lord *Auckland* stated, that notwithstanding the very extensive information that he had heard communicated upon this subject from both sides of the house, he confessed that his mind was not sufficiently informed as to how far this measure might be considered to affect the administration of justice in that part of the island to which it was directed. He had listened attentively with the hope that some noble lord might so far enlighten his mind, and set his doubts upon this point at rest. However, as he was disappointed in this respect, he must beg leave to solicit the assistance of some noble lord, as to how he should now proceed in order to obtain the opinion of the judges on this subject.

Lord *Hawkesbury* expressed his regret that the noble lord had not thought of suggesting his desire to obtain further information at an earlier hour.

Lord *Auckland* repeated, that he had hoped to have heard the legality of the question placed beyond all doubt by one of the learned lords on the other side of the house. The judges, however, were at hand, and might easily be called in, if it was their lordships' pleasure. [A call of move! move! from the treasury bench.] His lordship accordingly moved, that the judges be now called in.—Upon which lord Hawkesbury and the lord chancellor suggesting the great inconvenience that would result from commencing such an inquiry at that late hour, it was agreed, at half after two o'clock in the morning, that the subject should be resumed on Monday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, April 17.

[Minutes.] Lord Robert Seymour, from the select committee appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of Henry Allan, Deacon of the Fleshers of the city of Edinburgh, and one of the persons having right to vote in the election of a member for the city of Edinburgh, complaining of an undue election and return for the said city, informed the house, that the said committee had determined, that sir Patrick Murray was duly elected, and that the said petition appeared to the said committee to be frivolous and vexatious.—Lord Temple called the attention of the house to a circumstance, of which he had yesterday given notice. He was glad to see the noble lord in his place, and was sure that noble lord would satisfy the house why when he had obtained leave of absence on the plea of a sick certificate, he had been told upon the division the other morning. Lord Henniker said, that the certificate alluded to by the noble lord had obtained him exemption merely from sitting on election committees. It was a particular certificate, not a general one; he threw himself upon the indulgence of the house. Lord Temple said, that as the explanation just made to the house must have been deemed satisfactory by the noble lord, he should persist no further in the business.—Mr. Huskisson, in a committee of supply, moved the following sums: Three millions, for paying off outstanding exchequer bills for the year 1806; 1,500,000l. for ditto; 139,138l. loyalty loan; 10,306l. to the Swedish convoy; and also that provision be made for clothing the English and Irish militia, and for allowances to subaltern officers in time of peace. On the house resuming, the Report was ordered to be received on Monday.—Mr. Huskisson moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to order that the Report of the Royal College of Physicians on the progress of the Vaccine Inoculation be laid before that house. Ordered.—Mr. Bankes brought up a bill to prevent the granting of Offices in Reversion, or for joint lives, with benefit of survivorship, which was read a first time.

[Poor Laws Bill.]—Mr. *Whitbread* moved the order of the day for the house going into a committee upon this bill, and that it be an instruction to the committee to divide it into two or more bills as they may think fit. Previous to going into the committee, however, he thought it would be proper to say a few words explanatory of his intentions in regard to the bill he had originally had the honour to introduce, as several gentlemen were not present upon a late occasion, when he briefly stated them. In consequence of intimations he had received from different parts of the country, of the opposition it was likely to meet with in certain points, he had thought it best to propose the division of it, and the abandonment of some portions of it. He intended, for instance, to abandon, 1st, that part of it which gives the power of requiring a previous adjudication of settlements. 2dly, that relative to the vestries, in so far as it gave two or more votes to persons possessed of large property in the parish. 3dly, that relative to the declaration of the assessments of stock in trade and personal property. After abandoning these parts of the original bill, he should propose to divide the remainder of it into four separate bills. The first of these would relate to education only; the second comprehend the relaxation of the law of settlements, by a residence for a certain number of years in certain parishes; vestries to be held at certain times, and notice to be given thereof. He meant to press upon the consideration of the house, the power of exempting cottagers, under a certain amount of income, from being included in the poor's rates, upon their own request; and the power of giving rewards to labourers under certain very limited circumstances, and also to repeal a part of the 9th of George I., which goes to drive into the workhouses, oppressively, all persons applying for parochial relief. He should likewise include the power of building cottages at certain rents, for the residence of the poor, with a power of summary ejectments. These, and other topics, were to be comprehended in two bills, which he should press forward in the present session of parliament. The third bill, viz. that relative to the parochial fund of assurance, as being more novel than the other parts, he should propose to be read in the committee, but to be afterwards deferred to another session of parliament; and fourthly, the other bill relative to the regulation and equalization of the county rates. Having given this explanation, the hon. gent. concluded with moving that the Speaker do leave the chair.

Mr. *Curwen* commenced his speech with a handsome eulogium on the purity of the motives which actuated the hon. gent. but said he was sorry to add, that from many of that hon. gent.'s views upon this subject he materially differed. The hon. mover, in introducing this bill, had drawn a comparison between the Scotch and the English poor: he, for his part, could see no analogy whatever. He strongly deprecated the present system of poor-rates, and thought that it called loudly for parliamentary interference. The burden of the poor-rates on the middling orders was almost intolerable. He did not think that the proposed bill went in any way to alleviate that burthen. On the contrary, he contended that if the relaxation that was proposed was adopted, it would increase the poor-rates twofold; instead of their being three millions, they would be then six millions. Besides, it was to be recollected that the poor required immediate remedy; and even admitting that to be a remedy which was proposed, it was a most distant one. To the principle of funding he also objected. He did not think that the poor could fund, and even if they did it would encourage idleness. The plan of education he thought too expensive, and the system of building cottages and adjudging them to different tenants, would be productive of endless contention. He thought the corn acts of Mr. Pitt every way entitled to a preference, and though not in the habit of approving of that right hon. gent.'s administration, he felt it but justice to say, that his measures on this subject reflected the highest honour on his memory. He concluded with stating, that the poor-rates at present bore severely upon a deserving and industrious set of people: the lower orders of shopkeepers in England.

Mr. *Plumer* approved highly of the system of education, and thought it was the most desirable object of the whole plan proposed by the hon. member. He was of opinion, that the poor's rates, if well and properly administered, were fully adequate to the support of the poor, and of a system for their education. He did not think it necessary to abrogate the existing poor laws, because he was persuaded that an amelioration in the mode of administering them, would fully answer the purpose.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* suggested the propriety of letting the bill go into the committee, in order that the hon. mover might have an opportunity of bringing it out of the committee in the form in which he wished to submit his measures to the consideration of the house. This would divide the consideration of the complicated question, and save a great deal of observation. After this proceeding, he hoped the hon. member would have no objection to give the house an opportunity of considering each of the distinct bills, by consenting to their recommitment.

Mr. *Fellowes* said, that as the hon. gent. had signified his intention of letting two of the four bills lie over till next session; he thought it would be very adviseable in him to postpone the four bills, until they had been submitted to the cool and deliberate consideration of the country.

Mr. *Patteson* took occasion to observe, that since he had presented a petition from Norwich, against one of the clauses contained in the original bill, he had been informed by the hon. mover that the nature of that clause had been entirely misunderstood by the petitioners.

Mr. *Fuller* wished to see distinctly the whole extent of the plan proposed by the hon. gent. and, to give time for mature deliberation, he wished the measure to stand over to another session.

Mr. *Davies Giddy* was fearful, lest, whilst endeavouring to remedy partial evils, more serious ones might be introduced, and particularly animadverted on that part of the bill for building cottages.

Mr. *Parnell*, in allusion to what had fallen from an hon. gent. respecting Mr. Pitt's Corn acts, adverted to the great advantage derived by Ireland from the Corn Intercourse act, passed by the late ministry, who had always paid so much attention to the interests of Ireland.

Sir *Ralph Milbanke* observed, that the present system of poor laws was a bad one, and that something ought to be done to remedy the evil, and the sooner the remedy was introduced the better.

Mr. *Shaw Le Fevre* would not oppose the committal of the bill, but he wished to know whether it was intended to abandon for the present the equalization of the county rates, as there was a bill now before the house for the equalization of the rates in Kent, which might be stopt, if the thing should be done by this bill.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that he would endeavour to shew that the object of his hon. friend, (Mr. Curwen) for stopping the accumulation of the poor rates immediately, was chimerical. It was very fine in language, but how was it to be done? As to the equalization of the county rates, he would wish to go on with it at present, and if he should abandon it for the present, it should be only in consequence of the opinion of others.

Mr. *Windham* would not object to the committal of the bill, but he had such serious objections to the greater part of it, that he thought it would be better to postpone the measure till next session.—The Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Hobhouse stated that the best way would be to read first, all the clauses that were to form the first bill, postponing the rest, and so on, with regard to the four bills into which it was intended to divide the present bill, and to negative such clauses as were not to be passed this session.

Mr. *Wilberforce* proposed that his hon. friend (Mr. Whitbread) should be allowed to proceed to form his four bills for the present, and that each should be re-committed, when they might be discussed.—Mr. Simeon, Mr. Fellowes, and Mr. Pole Carew, wished the bills not to be pressed this session, as the house would not have an opportunity of discussing them in all their stages, usually allowed for discussion on bills of importance, the bill having already gone through some of its stages.

Mr. *Bathurst* observed, that when each bill came on, gentlemen would have an opportunity of urging what they should think necessary.—The proposition of Mr. Wilberforce was at length agreed to. Mr. Whitbread presented his four bills. The house resumed, and the whole were reported.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, April 20.

[Scotch Judicature Bill.] Lord *Auckland* suggested to the house, whether it was really fair in the noble lords opposite, to engraft upon a bill, which had undergone the most mature consideration, both in the house and in the country, a new bill, extremely varying, and altogether different in its principle? If the noble lords disapproved of the measure, would it not be more consistent with their duties to reject it at once, and then to come before the legislature with their own proposition, having given that proper parliamentary notice which the usage of the house had heretofore sanctioned, and which was peculiarly incumbent on the proposal of such an important measure, affecting as it did so great and respectable a part of the empire. But, if it was the intention of the house to go into a committee, he was anxious to know from the noble and learned lord (Eldon) in what way the necessary questions should be put to the Scotch Judges? and whether they were to be examined upon oath or not?

The *Lord Chancellor* thought the noble baron fully competent to decide, both on the manner and the matter of examining the Scotch Judges. With respect to the inconsistency and want of fairness attributed to those who supported the proposed amendments, he should only for himself say, that he never pledged himself to any further support, than a bare admission, that some alteration was necessary in the manner of administering civil justice in Scotland. Whether the present bill was rejected or not, he was not prepared to say what line of conduct he would pursue; whether, in the first case, he would propose any new measure; but he would certainly, if the house went into a committee, follow up his own opinion, by proposing and supporting such amendments, as to him appeared correct and advantageous.

Lord *Grenville* would not desert his duty and opinions, although other noble lords were careless in the performance of the one, and the recollection of the other. Whatever might be the fate of the bill which he had the honour to propose, he would continue to support its principle and provisions; and he trusted, for the credit of the house, that it would not suffer a measure to drop, to which, scarce a month ago, it gave the most unanimous support.

Lord *Hawkesbury* denied that the proposal for dividing the court of session into two chambers, instead of three, as originally proposed, was any violation of the principle of the bill, and therefore was a just and correct object for amendment.

Lord *Kinnaird* contended that the amendment, as proposed by the noble baron, was a complete alteration of the principle of the bill, which, after such uncommon industry, his noble friend had submitted to the consideration of their lordships.

Lord *Lauderdale* took a survey of the different opinions expressed respecting the merits of the bill, and contended that not only a majority, but that of the best informed men in Scotland, had given it their approbation.

The *Lord Chancellor* in explanation, said, that he would propose a motion which might bring the matter to issue. It was now his intention to move, that the committee be deferred till Thursday next, that their lordships might have time to make up their minds upon the subject, and that then he might take the sense of the house upon it, and afterwards, if necessary, move, that the committee be postponed for three weeks, for the purpose of allowing time to prepare another bill.

The Duke of *Athol* suggested the propriety of discharging the order for the attendance of the Scotch judges.

Lord *Melville* took up the suggestion and gave notice that on Thursday next he should move, that the order for the attendance of the Scotch judges be discharged.

Lord *Lauderdale* was exceedingly surprised at this motion; and asked, if it was thought necessary to move for the attendance of the Scotch judges, upon a bill, the whole of which had been submitted for a full year to all those persons in Scotland who were most competent to form an opinion of its merits, how much more so must it not be necessary to have the opinion of the Scotch judges upon a bill, of the nature of which nothing at all had as yet transpired?—The proposition of the lord chancellor was then agreed to: the house resolved itself into a committee, pro forma, and it was next ordered that the committee do sit again on Thursday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 20.

[Minutes.] Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from W. C. Lindsey, esq. of the county of Tyrone, in Ireland, of whom he had not the least knowledge; but it was a petition complaining of a grievance which was alleged to exist, and praying for relief: he therefore thought it his duty to present it to the house. The petition being read at the table, appeared to state a number of loyal actions performed by the petitioner in Ireland, which brought on the total ruin of his family, and involved himself in the greatest difficulty. It therefore prayed the interposition of that honourable house in his behalf. Mr. Stewart bore testimony to the loyal exertions of this gentleman in Ireland during the late troublesome times. Mr. Wickham expressed himself confident that when the subject should be investigated, the earl of Hardwicke would be found free from blame. The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

[Mutiny at Vellore.] Mr. *Howorth* said, he thought it his duty to call the attention of the house to the late dreadful mutiny at Vellore; a mutiny, which he had every reason to think, had been occasioned by an ill-timed military measure, tending to violate some of the customs of the natives. He wished to put a question to a right hon. gent. opposite, as president of the board of controul, and, according to the answer he should receive, he should, perhaps, think it his duty to found a motion upon this subject. He wished to know whether, in consequence of the accounts received from Madras, any steps had been taken, either to remove those persons who were so obnoxious to the natives, or to attempt to conciliate those who were so much irritated?

Mr. *R. S. Dundas*, as president of the board of controul, answered, that he could assure the hon. gent., that the subject to which he alluded had been matter of serious consideration with the board of controul. Previous to the appointment of the present board, the court of directors did make a resolution as to the changes that were to take place in the Madras establishment. With regard to the causes of that unfortunate mutiny, he could only say, that during the very few days since the present board had been appointed, it was impossible that they could have made up their minds, or that they could ascertain that any dissatisfaction did actually still exist. The board having been so employed, no delay would take place in adopting whatever steps might be judged necessary.

Mr. *Corry* said, that, as the question was one which deserved the most serious consideration, he should think it would be advisable to delay adopting any measures, till the arrival of an officer, whom he knew to be upon his passage from India to this country. The officer he alluded to was sir John Craddock, who, from his situation at Madras, had had an opportunity of investigating the whole affair; and who, therefore, would be able to state the particulars with more accuracy than could be done in any written dispatches.

[IRISH CHURCHES AND GLEBE HOUSES.] Mr. *Wickham*, in rising to make a motion on this subject, observed, that the papers on the table would shew the necessity of parliamentary interference, by larger and more liberal grants for the relief of the protestant church in Ireland. In 1803, he had laid on the table of the house a paper for the purpose of rousing their attention to this subject. Two bills were subsequently passed; one for the loan, without interest, of a large sum from the Board of First Fruits; the other for the advance of £50,000 by the lord lieutenant. On these bills, however, no steps had been taken. Entering into a comparative statement of the population of the two countries, he asserted, that the population of Ireland was half that of South Britain; but that the number of parishes in South Britain exceeded 10,000; while in Ireland the number of parishes was originally only 2436, and, by subsequent consolidations, was in the year 1791 reduced to 1120. This reduction was highly injurious to the protestant interest; and it appeared that, in the late troubles in Ireland, rebellion raged most violently, and most successfully, in those districts in which the reduction had been the greatest. Having dwelt on the great importance of this subject, he concluded by moving, "That a select committee be appointed to take into consideration the several acts of parliament relating to the building, rebuilding, and keeping in repair, churches and glebe houses in Ireland, and to the purchase of glebe houses and lands there, and requiring certain returns to be made concerning the sufficiency, state of, and condition, of such churches, for the regular performance of divine service therein; together with the several reports and papers relating thereto, and to the unions of parishes, that were laid before this house in the years 1803 and 1806 respectively; and that they do consider the said acts and papers, and examine how far the said acts, or any of them, have been found inadequate, and in what respect, for the purposes thereby intended; and do report the same together with their observations and opinion thereupon, to the house."

Dr. *Duigenan* said he would not oppose the motion of the right hon. gent. but he contended that the poverty of the people was so great in many places, that if it were not for the union of the parishes, the clergy would have devoured the people. Besides this, there was an old act, passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he believed, which authorised the lord lieutenant and privy council to divide or consolidate parishes according to the necessity of the case, and it so happened that where the patronage of the crown was most extensive, there the union of the parishes was more frequently apt to take place; for instance, if a gentleman had good interest and connexions of any weight, a single parish might be in so low a state, that it would not be worth his acceptance. He then would perhaps give the real statement of the case to his friend or patron, and afterwards a recommendation would come from the crown, that two adjoining parishes should be consolidated into one, which the bishop in such case mostly agreed to. He did not estimate the population of Ireland at much more than two millions, and the Protestant clergy would be very much oppressed and unable to maintain the respectability of their situation, if the union of parishes were not in many instances allowed.

Sir *John Newport* said, that many erroneous calculations had gone forth as to the actual number of inhabitants in Ireland. The number as laid down by Mr. Bushe, in the Irish Philosophical Transactions, amounted to upwards of four millions. Although the lords lieutenant of Ireland had the power of disuniting parishes, he had not found any instance in which they had done so. The state of the protestant church of Ireland did require the attention of the house, and he was sure they could not bestow their labours better than in discussing such an inquiry.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should certainly forward the object of the motion. He believed the money directed to be applied for the benefit of the church, by the acts in 1803, had never been properly applied. Many of the unions had been directed by the privy council, on account of some of the parishes not being adequate to the maintenance of a clergyman. The proposed inquiry, therefore, appeared to be one of the most useful acts the house could engage in. One object on this side of the water had been to secure the residence of the clergy, but such an object could not be aimed at in Ireland, till such time as they had parsonage houses to reside in.

Mr. *Maurice Fitzgerald* stated, that, to his knowledge, some of the livings in the South of Ireland amounted to £1000, to £1500, and some even to £3000 a-year; and also that, in some instances where a consolidation of livings and parishes had taken place, an attention to the religious duties of the people had been reversed; for no place of religious worship was provided, within the reach of the inhabitants; nor could such parishioners obtain baptism for their children, or the other rights of the church; and the consequence was, that the protestant inhabitants, in such places, had disappeared. He hoped, therefore, that a strict investigation would be set on foot, with a view of correcting such abuses.

Mr. *Parnell* thought, that the house ought to be put in possession of circumstances so material as those hinted at by the hon. gent. The population of Ireland, as computed by Mr. Bushe, amounted in the year 1788 to 4,080,000 inhabitants; the population of England and Wales, as the *Census* was taken in 1801, was 9,200,000; from this it appeared, that the calculations of the learned doctor were formed upon mistaken *data.*—The motion was then put and carried; and a select committee appointed accordingly.

[Irish Grand Jury Presentments.] Mr. *Maurice Fitzgerald* rose, pursuant to notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the mode of levying money by Grand Juries, in Ireland. He could now state, from the return on the table, that the enormous sum of half a million was raised by the grand juries, for bridges and cross-roads, exclusive of turnpike-roads, and the main lines of communication between the different parts of Ireland. This sum might not appear great compared with the revenue of England; but it was prodigious when compared with that of Ireland. The hon. gent. went on to state, that a land-tax would be an unpopular measure in Ireland, and yet that country was in reality subject to a land-tax, raised in the most objectionable way. The poor in Ireland were, of necessity, obliged to have some land, and after, by extraordinary industry, raising subsistence out of it, they were obliged to pay their tythes, and then their Grand Jury Tax, which fell upon the poor occupants; while the rich proprietor, being absent, payed none of the tax as a proprietor. What he proposed, therefore, was, to follow up the analogy of the regulation adopted by his right hon. friend (sir J. Newport), who had exempted from the house tax those whose rents did not exceed 6l. per annum. He intended also to propose some new regulations with respect to presentments and the proper accounting for the money. He would bring in the bill this session, that it might be printed and considered by the grand juries during the summer assizes. It would thus come forward next session, after all the consideration that could be requisite. He did not mean to alter the system of levying money by Grand Juries, but to subject it to the most beneficial regulations. He could not conclude without stating another motive which had induced him to propose this measure. At this moment, he observed, when all the views of the late ministry in favour of Ireland had been defeated, when the hopes of all those who from honest motives supported the Union were blasted —when the Union was rendered merely nominal and barren, though there appeared no intention immediately to repeal it—when the present government was founded on an interdict against Ireland, and existed under a pledge to withhold from the royal ear the grievances and complaints of the unhappy people of that country; at such a moment as this, he hoped the house would concur with him in the opinion, that at least all the practical benefits ought to be conferred on Ireland which could possibly be obtained. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the mode of levying money by Grand Juries in Ireland.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* had no objection to the bill proposed by the hon. gent. The course of proceeding with respect to the bill, as suggested by the hon. gent., he thought altogether unexceptionable, he rose for the purpose of deprecating for himself, and those connected with him, the supposition of their being disposed to intercept the prayers of any part of his majesty's subjects in their way to the royal ear, or to the presence of parliament, however his sentiments might differ from those of the right hon. gent. on some subjects connected with a large portion of the people of Ireland. He thought it right also to offer himself to the house, lest, if he should have sat silent while the Union was represented as a barren and useless thing, as a thing, the continuance of which was problematical, and its dissolution a thing seriously contemplated, lest such things, suffered to pass uncontradicted, should give rise to false and dangerous opinions abroad. The interests of the two countries were now so intimately combined, that a dissolution of the Union could not be contemplated without involving most material injury to both, however some matters of detail might, in the opinion of some, be yet remote from a satisfactory arrangement.

Mr. *Parnell* defended his hon. friend, who might well be warranted in doubting of the policy of the Union, when the Imperial parliament was made the scene of disseminating religious dissentions, instead of diffusing, as had been promised by the authors of the union, political rights, by the extinction of religious divisions.

Mr. *Wilberforce* had listened with great satisfaction to the statements of the hon. mover, because he had thrown some light upon the situation of the Irish poor. He wished that the gentlemen from Ireland would always endeavour to enlighten the house with regard to the internal state of that country. This would be much more important with respect to the poor of that country than the discussion of any great political privileges. Dr. Mc. Nevin, one of the persons who had been engaged in the rebellion, had stated in answer to a question put to him, when examined before a committee of the Irish house of commons, that the peasantry would not give the value of the ink in the pen with which the clerk was writing, for emancipation. The real happiness of the people depended more on the nature of their connection with their landholders and tytheholders, than upon those privileges. One of the best effects which he hoped for from the Union was the additional light which it would enable us to procure with respect to the situation of the people of Ireland. If Irish gentlemen, and members of parliament, would study and point out measures, calculated to promote the internal comfort and prosperity of Ireland, they would do far more real service to their country, than by recriminating upon those who could not hazard the strong measures they might wish. Whatever difference of opinion there might be as to higher questions of policy, all, he trusted, would concur in endeavouring to promote the reformation of the abuses in that country; and with this view, he wished it to be considered, whether it might not be possible for the voluntary exertions of the great landholders themselves to correct these abuses?

Mr. *Maurice Fitzgerald* begged leave to give an accurate and entire statement of the circumstance to which the hon. gent. had just adverted. This he could do with the most perfect correctness, as he had been a member of the Irish Committee. The question asked was, "what value the great body of the Catholics attached to what was called emancipation?" The answer was, as the hon. gent. had stated, that they did not understand it, and that they would not give the value of the ink in the pen with which the clerk was writing for it. This was, perhaps, true; but then this question was followed by another, viz. "what he thought would have been the effects of granting this emancipation?" The reply was, that there was nothing the rebel leaders dreaded so much; as it would have taken the peasantry out of their hands entirely, and completely destroyed their hopes of establishing a republic in Ireland. This was the real state of the case. The hon. gent. then proceeded to state, that in voting for the Union, he had combatted his earliest prejudices and feelings, and supported it with a view to the security of all establishments, and the restoration of a firm and lasting tranquillity to Ireland. He had done so under direct pledges on this subject sanctioned by the greatest names, and he never would have concurred in it on any other terms. But now, when he saw the evils aggravated, and none of the expected good effects produced, he, speaking for himself only, declared, that the Union was barren and nominal, and that no great benefit could result from continuing it.—The motion was then put and carried.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, April 21.

[Capture of Monte Video.]—The Earl of *Moira* rose, to call the attention of the house to certain observations and erroneous reports that had been sent abroad respecting a deficiency in the quantum of ammunition with which the troops were furnished in the attack on Monte Video. Nothing could be more cruel and mischievous than the dissemination of such rumours, without any concomitant explanation to account for the circumstance they alluded to. What must the soldiers feel, if they were taught to believe that they were sent into the field to encounter all its dangers, and expose their lives, without being provided with the usual and adequate means that might render their valour efficacious, and give them an equality of chance with the enemy? So far from that being the case, he believed he might venture to assert, that so far from the troops being left without a due proportion of ammunition, he was pretty certain, that a somewhat greater proportion of ammunition than what had been allotted to a similar service (the capture of the Cape of Good Hope), had been furnished to the troops who stormed Monte Video, but who were not destined for that service. Indeed, the difference of the nature of the two expeditions would shew, that the proportion of ammunition was larger on the part of those who were not destined for an expected attack. But these matters would be placed in their proper light by the return to the motion which he should now have the honour of submitting to their lordships. The noble earl then concluded with moving an humble address to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order, "That there be laid before the house an account of the quantity of ammunition shipped on board the expedition, under the command of sir S. Auchmuty, and of the quantity usually furnished for similar expeditions".

The Earl of *Galloway* conceived himself to be somewhat the cause of the observations thrown out by the noble lord who spoke last. It was true, that he had animadverted on the deficiency of ammunition under which the brave troops laboured who had so gallantly stormed Monte Video. In making that observation he had rather in view to reflect additional lustre on that achievement, than to aim any attack by a side wind, or otherwise, on the late administration. No doubt, the inevitable inference from his remarks was a censure so far on the late ministry; but he did not single out any department of that government, much less any individual, as the peculiar object of his animadversion. If, however, the cap seemed to fit the noble earl, it was for that noble earl further to explain himself: he certainly was surprised that any noble lord, who belonged to the late administration, could have so far let himself down as to justify his conduct by squeezing it upon that of his predecessors in office, whom it was the constant study and practice of the late administration to disparage and decry in the public estimation.

Earl *Spencer* defended the character of the late ministry, and observed, that the noble earl (Galloway) should have waited the return to the motion, before he proceeded to animadvert upon the conduct of the late government. For his own part, he never disparaged the merits of the capture of the Cape of Good Hope; on the contrary, he was among those, who valued that possession much higher than any, perhaps, of the present ministry.

The Earl of *Moira*, in explanation, observed, that the deficiency of ammunition, alluded to in the dispatches, was not owing to the actual want of that article, but to the difficulty of introducing it within the trenches.

The Earl of *Galloway* would leave to the house to judge of the defence set up by the noble lords opposite. He should stand upon the ground he had originally taken, and content himself with observing, that the general, employed by the late administration, had complained of the situation in which they had placed him; the officer, who achieved the capture of the Cape, had performed his duty, and made no complaint against any one.——After a few words in explanation, the motion was agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, April 21.

[Minutes.]—On the motion of lord Porchester, it was ordered, that Drake, who was confined in Newgate under an order of the house, should be brought up to-morrow, to give evidence before the committee on the Westminster Election Petition.—Mr. White presented at the bar the following list of the committee chosen to try the merits of the Petition complaining of an undue return for Aberdeenshire: Tho. Bernard, R. Dawson, D. Jephson, sir J. B. Warren, John Patteson, Scrope Bernard, W. Taylor, D. S. Dugdale, lord Headley, E. Baillie, sir C. Hawkins, lord John Thynne.—Nominees, H. Erskine, sir J. Montgomery.

[Penryn Election — Sir C. Hawkins.]—Mr. *A. Wright* moved the further consideration of the report of the committee upon the Penryn Election, which being read accordingly, and also the order for the attendance of sir Christopher Hawkins,

The *Speaker* stated, according to the custom in similar cases, that then was the time for the hon. bart. to deliver his sentiments upon the subject of the charge advanced against him.

Sir *C. Hawkins*, being present in his place, said, he should leave his case entirely to the justice and liberality of the house, and then withdrew.

Mr. *A. Wright* said, that nothing was more remote from his wishes than to hurt the feelings of the hon. baronet in question. The proceeding he was about to take, was not matter of option but of duty. The parties in the Penryn election were strangers to him. The situation he had the honour to hold on the committee was the sole cause why he called the attention of the house to the transactions contained in the report. The report contained ample grounds for the motions he was about to submit. The laws which secured to the people a free and unbiassed exercise of the elective franchise, would be but a mere dead letter if the proceedings enumerated in the report were not animadverted upon. He was aware that no gentleman engaged in a controverted election, without depending much on the assistance of friends and agents, and the house would allow the benefit of that consideration, so far as it would weigh in estimating this case. But, he lamented to say, that in the present instance, the hon. baronet had committed the offences charged upon him, not by others but by himself. The former patron of the borough of Penryn having withdrawn, it was resolved by a large party of the electors to look out for a new patron, meaning by a patron a person who either was to be a candidate for the borough himself, or to recommend a candidate. The terms agreed upon by these electors on which to sell their votes and interest, were 24 guineas a vote, and 10 guineas to each of the overseers. A deputation, at the head of which were a Mr. Stona and the Rev. R. Dillon, waited on sir C. Hawkins, to whom he admitted the first offer was made, and the terms being acceded to, articles were drawn up and signed. These papers the committee had not been able, with every exertion, to get brought forward. But there was the parole evidence of a person of the name of Moon, who was himself one of the parties, of a Mr. Hitchcombe, and of a Mr. Chiltern, steward to sir C. Hawkins, to prove the facts, and the payment of a sum of money, by the direction of sir C. Hawkins, to Stona, how much Mr. Chiltern, though otherwise trusted in money matters, could not say, and an order to a person of the name of Rowe, to distribute this money among the voters. Mr. Chiltern could not say whether the notes were large or small, or how many were in the parcel. But there was proof that notes had been sent and distributed to the voters. The minutes of the evidence were before the house, and he felt it unnecessary to make any comment on them. The house would deal with them according to its own feelings. He should move, first, that the house should agree in the resolution of the committee, declaring that sir C. Hawkins had been personally, and by his agents, guilty of bribery and other corrupt practices in the late Penryn election; and he should then move, that the Attorney-General be directed to prosecute sir C. Hawkins, and the others implicated in the said offences.

Captain *Herbert* had hoped that he should have had abler assistance in the defence of the hon. baronet and that he should not have been left to manage the whole case by himself, inadequate as he was to such a task He had particularly to lament the absence of an eminent gentleman of the law (sir A. Pigot), on whose support the hon. baronet particularly relied. Some important affidavits also were expected.

Sir *W. W. Wynne* thought the house ought to be cautious of procrastination. A threat of dissolution had been thrown out, and reports to that effect were very current. If therefore, the house wished to mark its sense of the offences contained in the report now under its consideration, it ought to do so before it should be bereft of the power by the execution of the unparliamentary menace he referred to.

Mr. *Lee Keck* said, that as a member of the committee alluded to, he was convinced that there never was a stronger case made out for the consideration of the house, and it became them, consistently with their dignity, to come to an immediate determination thereon. He looked upon the proceedings by the Attorney-General as the most moderate course that could possibly be adopted, under the circumstances of the case. The Committee had shown every disposition of leaning towards the accused; and, therefore, instead of proceeding further of their own accord, had made it the subject of a special report. If the house should be of opinion that any suspension of procedure should take place, he should bow with deference to their determination; but as a member of that committee, he protested against any suspension whatever.

Mr. *Hurst* did not see the case in so strong a light as the honourable member; and in a case in which the feelings and the character of one of its Members were so much called in question, the house was called upon to give every possible facility to the defence.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* suggested, that the house could take no affidavits into account, and that his hon. and learned friend, who had been alluded to, could probably attend without inconvenience to-morrow.

Mr. *Bankes* wished to know from the hon. mover, whether there was any precedent for an instruction to the attorney general, to prosecute in a case of this kind; he had himself inquired, and he believed there was no precedent for such an instruction, without some further proceeding.

Mr. *Wright* was not aware that there was any precedent: but he thought the proceeding he suggested the most consonant to the case.—The debate was then adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS

Wednesday, April 22.

[Scotch Judicature Bill.]—Lord *Erskine* took a brief retrospect of the proceedings hitherto had relative to the Scotch Judicature Bill; and observed that he considered it of importance, previous to the motion of his noble and learned friend on the woolsack, for rejecting the present bill, that certain questions should be put to the Scotch Judges, the answers to which might perhaps give a new turn to the opinion of the house. It was his wish, if the house should agree to these questions being put, that the Judges should be treated with all that respect which the house shewed towards the Judges of England, and that they should be allowed such time as they might think necessary to answer them. He therefore gave notice, that he should to-morrow move to put certain questions to the Scotch Judges in attendance; and concluded by moving, that the lord president and two senior Judges of the Court of Session, and such other Judges of that Court as may be in town, should attend the house to-morrow.—Ordered.

Lord *Grenville* stated, that he had been summoned to attend a committee of the house of commons as a witness. Their lordships were aware, that there was a standing order which prohibited lords of parliament from attending the house of commons, or any committee thereof, without the permission of the house. If however, the house would give him permission he had no objection to attend.—The Lord Chancellor moved, that the noble lord have permission to attend. Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April 22.

[Governor of Curacoa.]—Colonel *Wood* moved, that there be laid before the house a copy of the letter of admiral Dacres to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, dated 8th Jan. 1807, inclosing a letter from captain Brisbane, dated Jan. 1. 1807, communicating the intelligence of the capture of the island of Curacoa. The hon. colonel, on being reminded by the Speaker, that it was usual for hon. members, when moving for public papers, to state the ground upon which they called for them, declared that it was with a view to an inquiry into the ground of the removal of the late governor of Curacoa, and the appointment of another (a connection of the right hon. gent. Mr. Windham), that he had brought forward his motion.

Mr. *Windham* thought the motion objectionable, because no parliamentary ground had been laid for it. The usual course on the capture of any enemy's settlement was to appoint a provisional governor, until his majesty's pleasure should be taken upon the subject, and a governor appointed under the sign manual. Captain Brisbane had been appointed the temporary governor, as sir David Baird had at the Cape, and as had been the case at the capture of the Cape, last war, for certainly lord Macartney had not been the conqueror of the Cape. If the hon. colonel should ask why captain Brisbane had not been continued in the government, he had only to answer, because another had been appointed. It would be for the house to determine, whether the hon. gentleman's motion should be entertained on this ground, and after what they had heard lately of interference with the king's prerogative, he did not think the house would go into an inquiry, why his majesty had thought proper to appoint this or that person governor of that Island. If the person who had been appointed, was not qualified for the office, either by his profession or his services, the house might inquire. It would be a bad rule in general that the person who conquered an Island should be continued in the government of it. The man who made a musical instrument was not always the best to play upon it. There was, however, another question to be considered, whether Captain Brisbane himself would have liked that office? as an active command was thought generally preferable to the government of an Island. But it was for the house to decide whether the motion should be agreed to, or not.

Lord *Castlereagh* felt himself involved in considerable difficulty by the motion of the hon. Colonel. The house would be sensible that there was no instance of the exercise of the royal prerogative in which they ought so little to interfere, as the appointment of his officers by his Majesty. Many of the officers who had achieved conquests, had attracted particularly the attention of the crown, and were continued in the government of the settlements they conquered. But that was not a general or an absolute rule. As, therefore, the hon. colonel had not stated as the ground of his motion, that the person who had been appointed was unfit for the office, he hoped he would save the house the delicacy of deciding upon a question, for which he neither had made out, nor professed to make out any case, by withdrawing his motion, especially as any discussion upon such a question, would rather detract from, than enhance the high and distinguished character of that gallant officer, who was the particular object of the motion.

Colonel *Wood* said, he had brought forward his motion only in defence of the rights of a gallant officer, who had great claims upon his country. He did not mean in the smallest degree to object to the gentleman who had been appointed; but as it appeared to be the sense of the house, that the motion should not be entertained, he had no difficulty in withdrawing it, at the same time observing, that it would be more for the interest of the country, that ministers should appoint persons of high claims to such offices, rather than provide for their own connections.

[Third Military Report]—Lord *A Hamilton* rose, and, in allusion to a notice which he had given upon a former day, of a motion on the subject of the Third Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry, respecting the case of Mr. Alexander Davison, he now begged to ask the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, whether any proceedings had yet been taken by government, in consequence of that part of the report? or whether it was the intention of his majesty's present government to follow up that business in the same spirit as their predecessors?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* informed the noble lord, that no change whatever had taken place in the proceedings or intentions of government upon that subject; but he understood it was the intention of the preceding government that some further enquiry should take place previous to the commencement of any process, civil or military, thereon. He had felt it his own duty to make some enquiry as to the further proceedings which had since taken place, and he found that no diligence or exertion had been wanting on the part of those to whom that subject was referred, towards bringing it to a speedy issue.

[Penryn Election—Sir C. Hawkins.]—Mr. *Atkins Wright* moved the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate upon the Special Report of the Penryn Election Committee.

The *Speaker* stated, that the question in the debate to be resumed, was, That the house do agree to the first resolution of the special report of the committee, namely, that sir C. Hawkins, by himself and his agents, was guilty of bribery and corrupt practices, with a view to influence the last election for Penrhyn.—On the question being put,

Captain *Herbert* rose. He said he was disposed to allow the special report of a committee every due weight and authority; but was of opinion, that the house had the right to inquire into and discuss the grounds of that report. If a special report were final, then the first proceeding of the house would be to order a prosecution. But the house, on the contrary, ordered the minutes of the evidence to be laid on the table, in order to examine whether the report was borne out by that evidence. It was for the house to consider, whether the mortification of the person concerned, and the penalties to which he was subject, were not sufficient punishment without any further prosecution. Besides, unless the evidence were such, as to be satisfactory to the minds of a jury, the question ought not to be sent into a criminal court, because the acquittal by a jury, would take from the weight of a decision by a committee of that house. The hon. gent. then proceeded to comment upon various parts of the evidence to shew that the hon. bart. had not been intentionally guilty. He shewed that the evidence of Stona and Moon was contradictory with respect to the agreement, and that there was no evidence whatever that could be made the ground of a decision in a court of law. There was no proof of any agreement, or that any agreement had been acted upon: and he put it to the house whether, upon this doubtful evidence, they would, by agreeing to the resolution, prejudge a question that was to go to a jury. It was not unusual with the house to pass over special reports of committees, for instance, in the Berwick and Cricklade cases. And upon these grounds he moved an amendment, that the debate be adjourned to this day three months.

Lord *A. Hamilton* had attended particularly to the evidence for the last five weeks, and declared the impression upon his mind to be the very reverse of that stated by his hon. friend. This appeared to him one of the strongest cases that had ever been brought before parliament. He had served upon many committees, and knew the scrupulousness with which their reports were drawn up. There was no case in which greater confidence should be placed in the report of a committee than when it went to criminate a member of that house. The speech of his hon. friend was not in mitigation, but for the complete abandonment of punishment. He should therefore vote for the resolution.

Captain *Herbert*, in explanation, asserted that he was authorised to state, that no agreement existed at the late election, and declared upon his honour, after every inquiry he could make, that no such agreement existed at that election.

Mr. *Lee Keck* argued from the evidence, to shew, that the report of the committee was fully borne out by it. He did not think it just or fair, that the hon. baronet, because he had secured his seat for another place, should be in a different situation from others under similar circumstances, because so far as Penryn was concerned, he was no longer a member of that house.

Mr. *E. Stewart* contended that the house had delegated its powers to the committee, and that it had then only to determine what proceeding it should adopt upon the report. One fact was certain, that the hon. baronet had agreed to give 24 guineas to each voter, and the gentlemen who had read the minutes would agree that this was one of the grossest instances of barefaced bribery that had ever been brought under the consideration of parliament.

Mr. *Hurst* explained the reasons that governed his conduct, both in the committee and since. He considered the evidence with reference to the criminal law of the country. The proceedings upon that evidence might be for the expulsion of the hon. baronet, or for a criminal prosecution, and before they should determine upon either, he thought the house ought to consider whether the evidence was such as to bear it out. The evidence of Stona and Moon was contradictory, and if he were to decide, he should say, that neither was to be believed; concluding therefrom that no agreement existed. He had no knowledge of the hon. baronet until after the report of the committee, when in a conversation he had with him, that hon. baronet had declared to him upon his honour, that no agreement was ever entered into by him.

Sir *W. W. Wynne* said, that whatever sir C. Hawkins might deny, still, as his agent (who must be considered as an unwilling witness,) had admitted it upon his oath, he could not but believe that there was such an agreement. If the agreement was of a different nature, and not for giving twenty-four guineas a man to the voters, why did not sir C. or his agents produce that agreement which had taken place? Mr. Stona said he burnt those papers; but it was easy to guess what sort of papers those were that people were so eager to burn. He trusted, therefore, that the house acting upon the principle, that he who bought his seat would be most likely to sell his vote, would, with a view to purify itself, adopt the same course that had been pursued in the Cricklade, Shoreham, and lately in the Aylesbury case, and throw open the borough of Penryn, with a view to prevent similar bribery in future.

Mr. *Windham* said, that he knew nothing more of the present matter than what he had heard and read in the course of this evening's discussion. He thought that too much had been said on the subject of purifying the house in the estimation of the country. We ought always to be actuated by such a motive, but the great object should be first to know our duty, and then to pursue it. Such language seemed rather to suggest, that some victim should be sacrificed for the reputation of the rest. He lamented that the house had not seen reason to hear the indirect evidence which an hon. member had proposed to introduce. He wished then to lay aside all extrinsic considerations; and concluded with saying, that he would not vote at all on the question, not feeling competent to decide upon it.

Mr. *Whitbread* professed, that he was not in the same situation with his right hon. friend. He had examined the evidence with the utmost attention, and thought the case perfectly clear. But this was not the time to enter into the evidence. The committee appointed by the house had come to a decision, and the house were now to determine whether their resolution should be adopted. They were not calling for a victim, and it was material to come to a decision, for if it was not come to now, it would not come to it at all. What would the country think, should the house blink the present question, and say, in effect, that the offending member shall not be punished?

Mr. *Rose* had read the report with attention, and thought the resolution of the committee well warranted by facts. He conceived the house were in the situation of a grand jury, and fully warranted by the evidence to send the matter to a special jury in a court of justice, where it would be tried with perfect impartiality.

Mr. *Simeon* did not think the discussion ought to be deferred.

Mr. *Lethbridge* thought that there were grounds for putting the hon. member on his trial, though the opinion of this house was not binding in any other court.—The previous question was then put and negatived.—A discussion then arose on the original question.

Mr. *Simeon* thought the resolution was not founded on evidence sufficiently clear. He observed that there had been corrupt practices, but he did not think that actual bribery had been proved. He drew a distinction between agreeing to bribe, which he thought had been proved, and actual bribery which he thought had not been proved. In support of this opinion, he commented at considerable length on the evidence in the report of the committee.

Mr. *Leycester* argued also at considerable length from the evidence, from which he drew an opposite conclusion, and considered that bribery had been made out.

Mr. *Hurst* repeated his former arguments, and added, that giving the pound notes instead of a dinner could not be considered as bribery.

Mr. *Swann* (member for Penryn), declared, that he never heard of such an agreement, at the time he joined his interest with sir Christopher, and if he had believed that there was such an agreement, he would not have joined him. He would state for himself, and for 162 freemen of Penryn, who voted for him, that they knew of no such agreement, and if they had, they would not have given sir Christopher their independent votes. [A laugh.] He knew the town of Penryn well: they had never asked from him even a single solitary shilling, and he knew they were not corrupt. [A laugh.] As for the business of the one pound notes, it was this: he had always considered it necessary to follow an old custom, which, perhaps, would be "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," of shewing some attention to his constituents. Instead, however, of opening public houses, he found that it was less expensive to distribute small sums of 5 or 10s. a man. When a compromise was made between his friends and those of sir Christopher, it was thought right that sir Christopher should give a dinner; but afterwards, the one pound notes were substituted in the place of a dinner, and were certainly only meant as a mark of attention, and by no means as a bribe, as no opposition was expected in the borough, nor was there a probability of an election soon taking place.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought the house must feel, that after the report of their select committee, they were bound to take some proceedings on it, and order a prosecution. It did appear to him, that there was upon the face of the report sufficient evidence to justify the resolution that the committee had come to. He preferred a prosecution to expulsion, as it appeared to him a little unfair that he should be first punished by expulsion, and then sent to a trial, where, perhaps, he might be acquitted. If he had been returned for but one place, the house could have done nothing more than order a prosecution.

Mr. *Bankes* said, there was no instance on the Journals of a member being ordered to be prosecuted, and yet allowed to keep his seat. He instanced the cases of Mr. J. Ridge, in the reign of queen Anne; Mr. Carnagie, in the year 1715; and sir A. Grant, who had all been expelled from the house, and afterwards ordered to be prosecuted. The Shepherds, father and son, were expelled and prosecuted for bribery, in the year 1700. If sir Christopher had been returned for but one place, the report of the committee would have immediately deprived him of his seat; and he did not think that he should be in a better situation, because he had been returned for three places.

Mr. *Fuller* was sorry to differ from the hon. gent. who spoke last; but he thought that nothing was fairer than to send the member to another tribunal, and the house might afterwards act upon its decision.

Sir *W. W. Wynne* thought that when a committee had reported any member of that house to be guilty of bribery, he should be no longer permitted to sit among them.

Mr. *S. Bourne* thought, that the house ought not both to inflict the punishment of expulsion, and order a prosecution. He much preferred the latter course, and thought that if he were found guilty upon a trial in a court of justice, his expulsion from that house would be merely a matter of course.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that he could easily conceive a case, although he would not say that this was that case, where a person might be acquitted in a court of justice, and yet where the house of commons might be so convinced of his criminality, as to think it necessary to expel him. In the present instance, however, he was for the prosecution.—The gallery was then cleared, but we understood that the resolution of the committee was adopted without going to a division. While strangers were excluded, Mr. Atkins Wright moved, That the Attorney General be directed to prosecute sir C. Hawkins for bribery, &c.; to which motion Mr. Bankes moved, as an amendment, to leave out all the words after "That," and to substitute, "sir Christopher Hawkins be expelled."—After debating some time, Mr. Bankes's amendment was withdrawn. The original motion for an address to his majesty, praying him to direct the attorney general to prosecute sir C. Hawkins, was carried, as were also similar motions for the prosecution of eighteen persons of the committee of the electors of Penrhyn, who had fixed the price for which the votes were to be sold, and who had invited sir C. Hawkins, by a deputation from their body, to purchase them.—It was moved by Captain Herbert, that Moon, an accomplice in the transaction, but who had given evidence before the select committee of the house of commons, should also be prosecuted by order of the house. This motion was resisted on the ground of his having already given evidence before the committee of the house, and of his testimony being essential to the prosecutions that had been ordered. The house divided on this question: For Captain Herbert's motion 13, against it 46.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, April 23.

[Scotch Judicature Bill.] The order having been read for the attendance of the lord president and other judges of the court of session, five of the judges of that court, namely, the lord president, the lord justice clerk, lords Glenlee, Cullen, and Newton entered the house, and took their seats in chairs provided for them in a space inclosed without the bar.

Lord *Erskine* then addressed their lordships on the important subject under consideration, the end and object of which was a considerable improvement in the administration of civil justice in Scotland. His lordship took a review of the proceedings which had taken place in the present and in the last session, in reference to the bill now pending before their lordships, and noticed the general admission that evils did exist in some parts of the administration of the Scots laws, which were even felt to affect that house in its appellant jurisdiction, and for all which a speedy and efficacious remedy was declared to be necessary. For these objects, he held the bill brought in by his noble friend to be highly beneficial. He argued forcibly for the introduction of Trial by Jury as recognised by that bill; and which, with such an arrangement of the business as would separate the law from the facts, would in the Scots courts constitute a great part of that remedy. He likewise argued in support of various other parts of the bill, and the superior advantages of a division of the court of session into three chambers, instead of two, as proposed by the other bill of which the noble lord (Hawkesbury) had given notice. A division of the court into two would be a good thing, he said, as far as it went; but it would not operate as a remedy to the evils complained of; no more than if, should he have sent for a surgeon to perform an operation on him, that surgeon, instead of the faithful discharge of professional duty, should make him a present of a horse or a carriage, or set him down in his will: these would all be very good things, and argue a very friendly disposition in his surgeon, but would be no remedy whatever for his complaint. He also argued, that the court of review, as originally proposed, was not contrary to the spirit of the Scots union; and that some establishment of the kind was essentially necessary to diminish the number of appeals. In the course of his speech the noble lord adverted to eighteen or nineteen questions, which he read, and which he proposed should be put to the learned judges then before the bar, for their opinions upon the same. The first question, which was afterwards read from the Wool-sack and the question distinctly put upon it, was to the following effect: "Whether, in the action for the recovery of personal property, or for the vindication of private wrong, especially where parole proof was necessary, the expenses of the proceedings, according to the present mode and practice of the court of session, did not, in very many cases, greatly exceed the value of the thing at issue, independent of delay and other inconveniences?" The leading propositions in the subsequent questions were—1, "To learn what degree of power the Scots courts now possessed within themselves, to reform the inconveniences and evils complained of. 2, Respecting the preferable division of the court of session into two or into three chambers, with a view to the more efficacious remedy of the evils complained of. 3, Respecting the effects of the introduction of Trial by Jury into civil causes; and of enabling the court to separate the consideration of law from that of fact. 4, Respecting the diminution of the number of appeals to the house of lords, which may be naturally expected from the establishment of a court of review; and whether an establishment of the kind would not be necessary for that purpose. And lastly, whether the establishment of such a court, with judges, as proposed by the bill, be inconsistent with the 18th and 19th articles of the union with Scotland?"—The first question was put and agreed to. On the question for proposing the subsequent queries,

Lord *Grenville* made a few observations, importing, that the whole of these should be considered as referring to, and arising out of the measure he had the honour to propose. There was no other bill before the house, no other measure could therefore be regularly adverted to. He deprecated the idea of the least ground existing for an apprehension that any thing proposed would overturn the court of session, or clash with the articles of union.

The Duke of *Athol* felt it incumbent on him to allude to the situation in which the law lords of Scotland were then placed in that house, and expressed his wish that the learned lord's proposed bill for placing the Scots and Irish judges on an equality in these respects, were brought in; and which he seemed to think might be passed before it would be necessary for them to deliver their answers

The *Lord Chancellor* deprecated every idea that the situation in which those respected personages then stood, was in the smallest degree disgraceful, and adverted to the impracticability of getting such a bill through, as hinted by the noble lord.—The question was then put, and the remaining queries were ordered to be put to the Scots judges.

The *Lord Chancellor* then inquired of these learned judges as to the time at which they could conveniently give their answers.

The Lord President replied, that for his own part, he had no objection to answer the queries forthwith, if such were the pleasure of the house; but his learned brothers might think differently; perhaps to-morrow, or Monday might therefore be more convenient. He wished permission from the house to offer a few observations to their lordships. [A general cry of go on! go on!] The lord president was then entering upon some degree of detail; upon which, the lord chancellor informed him he must confine himself to the subject of the question. The lord justice clerk observed, that much would depend on the consideration, whether the answers were to be delivered verbally or in writing. He also adverted to the inconvenience of detaining the Scots judges much longer in town; and hoped their lordships would not fix upon a longer interval than Monday for receiving the answers.

The *Lord Chancellor* stated, that the rule was, that the reasonings upon which the opinions were founded should be delivered *viva voce*; but that the results should be in writing.—The questions, as proposed, were then ordered to be printed, and that the Scots judges then present do attend to deliver their answers on Monday next at three o'clock.

[Loan Interest Bill.] The house having resolved itself into a committee on the Loan Interest bill,

Lord *Auckland* said, that the general purport of the bill was necessary towards the due execution of the great finance measure brought forward by the late government. That measure had provided an extraordinary annual supply of 32 millions, during an indefinite continuance of the present war, and had assigned, for the liquidation of that supply, certain proportions of the war duties in a revolving series of 14 years; and also certain excesses of the sinking fund. This important object would be attained with a strict regard to the public faith, and without any new taxes or new burthens for the first 3 years, nor for any subsequent years, except to a small and imperceptible amount. But the new ministers had made a change in the bill as handed over to them by their predecessors and to that change he wished to call their lordship's attention. Their lordships would recollect that in the year 1797 recourse was first had, by the pre-eminent minister of that day, to the principle of raising a considerable portion of the war-supplies within the year. That principle was pursued in the convoy-duties, the treble-assessed taxes, and the income tax. In 1802, on the return of peace, Mr. Addington (now lord Sidmouth) found the income tax charged with 56 millions, and an unfunded debt of 40 millions. The noble lord took the bold resolution to fund the whole 96 millions, and to provide permanent taxes to pay the interest. It was a resolution dictated by a judicious, provident, and energetic policy. When the war broke out again in the following year, the noble lord reverted to Mr. Pitt's system of raising a large proportion of the war-expenditure within the year, and accordingly proposed the property-tax, and various war-duties on excise and customs. Subsequent additions had been made to those several modes of supply, and particularly in the last session, when the late chancellor of the exchequer had raised the property-tax from 6¼ to 10 per cent. In the result, the whole annual produce of the war-taxes is now estimated at 21 millions; of which 11½ are furnished by the property-tax, and 9½ by the excise and customs. Lord Grenville's ministry, in adjusting their plan of finance, had determined at all events not to burthen the country with the property-tax beyond the duration of the war, and had therefore pledged only the war-duties of customs and excise for the liquidation of such war-loans as might remain unredeemed on the return of peace. This eventual restriction had been censured and resisted by their opponents as unnecessary and unwise. But what was the line now adopted? Those who contended that the whole consideration should have been left open and unfettered to the return of peace, have still further restricted the pledge in question, and have confined it to the war duties of excise. In objecting to this restriction, he (lord Auckland) did not mean to argue that the pledge was insufficient, though certainly it was a violation of the engagements made with the contractors for the loan. But he strongly censured the selection made, and thought it the worst that could have been adopted. The war duties of excise, so far as they affect the malt, cannot be continued after the war without injury to the landed property; so far as tobacco, spirits, and tea, are concerned, those duties cannot exist after the return of peace, with safety to fair trade and to the revenue. The war duties on customs, which were at all events set free by the change made in the bill, consisted of duties on imports and exports, and on the tonnage of shipping. He could not hesitate to assert, that some of those duties were the least exceptionable of any of the war duties, to be continued on the return of peace. It appeared, however, in the votes of the house of commons, that a petition against the finance measure had been presented by certain persons, on the part of what they called "the shipping interest;" and that petition was understood to have occasioned the selection to which he objected. He had reason to believe that the petition was signed by very few of the respectable men who possess the shipping property of the British empire; but at any rate it was founded in a total misconception or misrepresentation of the subject. The tonnage duty in question and its produce were so inconsiderable, that they could not have any perceptible effect, even if exclusively levied on British ships; but, in fact, the duty is imposed on the ships of all nations, and, therefore, so far as it may operate, the competition was left where it was found. The petitioners are equally inaccurate in asserting that injury had resulted to them from the encouragement given to the trade of neutral nations. It would be an untruth on their part to say that any encouragement had been given by the late government to neutral trade, beyond what the law of nations, as declared by the court of admiralty, had allowed; or beyond what is necessary to the export of our manufactures, the interests of which would otherwise be sacrificed, without doing any good to what is called "the shipping interest." Parliament had heard much of this same "shipping interest," and through the same agency, in the last session. And it had been made the watch-word against the American intercourse bill, the effects of which bill, he was prepared to prove, had been peculiarly beneficial to British shipping. He had no doubt, that if amidst the debates on that bill, the late ministry had then been removed, the whole nation would have been stunned with the same senseless and unjust cry about the "shipping interest," which is raised at the present day respecting a more serious subject. The words "shipping interest," and "the protestant church," vibrate forcibly on a British ear. He reprobated the misuse of such senseless appeals, and was not afraid to reprobate them, because no individual in either house of parliament had shewn himself more openly, more zealously, or more uniformly, attentive to the interests of British navigation, or to the more essential of all public objects, the safety of the church of England. He must lament the political depravity of those who raised such cries, and the folly of those who were misled by them. Little minds have in all ages availed themselves of these occasional perversions of popular opinion; great minds have always been apt to disregard and undervalue them. War-whoops of this description had been made the chief engines in the dissolution of the French monarchy; and the mere word "aristocrat" had brought to the guillotine thousands and tens of thousands of the nobility and magistracy. His lordship concluded his speech with stating several details of the flourishing state of commerce and revenue as exhibited in the printed accounts which he had laid before the house. Through the whole struggle of the last fourteen years, our progressive means had kept pace with our progressive expenditure: and the finance measure as prepared by his noble friend (lord Grenville), and as explained with such eloquence by the late chancellor of the exchequer, had taught the country to place a well-founded confidence in its own energies, and to look without dismay to the difficulties and dangers of the war, to whatever length it may be carried by our powerful and implacable enemy.

The Duke of *Montrose* thought it necessary to say but a very few words upon the subject. He had nothing to do with any cry that had been raised against the late ministers, and he should therefore confine himself to the amendment in the bill to which the noble lord objected. It was well known to those acquainted with the subject, that during a period of war a great quantity of tonnage was employed by government, and that on a peace taking place all this tonnage being thrown out of this employ, there was for 2 or 3 years a greater quantity of tonnage than could find a market. It was therefore of great importance to release the tonnage at a period of peace from the war duty, and it was with this view that it had been taken out of the pledge as originally contained in the bill. The security left to the public creditor was amply sufficient in the duties which remained pledged, and therefore he did not see that there was any well founded objection to the alteration in the bill.

Lord *Sidmouth* went over the financial plans of his own administration, of the administration which succeeded, and the principal points of the plan of the late ministers, of which he highly approved. He also approved of the conduct of the present ministers, with respect to the disposition which they shewed to carry into effect the plan of the late ministers. With respect to the alteration which had been made in the present bill, he thought it had better not have been made, but as it only nominally altered the nature of the security pledged to the public creditor, leaving in fact an amply sufficient security, he thought there was no material objection to it.

Lord *Kinnaird* commented strongly upon the absence of ministers on the discussion of a question of considerable importance on a former evening, and upon the continued absence of a noble duke, who from his situation must be peculiarly qualified to give the house information upon a subject like the present.

Lord *Mulgrave* defended the alteration in the bill, and commented upon the pernicious effects of the system of Necker in France. He did not mean to apply this to the plan of the late ministers, but it was necessary in point of principle, that these things should be adverted to. The public creditor was amply secured under the bill as it now stood.

Lord *Grenville* said, he differed from the noble lord on the cross-bench (Sidmouth), with respect to the disposition of the present ministry to carry into effect the financial plan of the late ministers. He, on the contrary, thought they had shewn a disposition to frustrate, and as far as possible, render it nugatory. The present measure, it should be recollected, was only a very small part of that plan; and he much feared that they would not have to discuss the remaining parts in that house. Much had been said and written, to prove that the late ministers might have easily raised taxes to provide for loans; and it had been charged against them, that they had only brought forward taxes which their predecessors had rejected. Some of those, however, who made such charges must know, that Mr. Pitt, in 1805, found it impossible to raise more than 400,000l. by new taxes, without resorting to 10 per cent. on the assessed taxes. In like manner, the late ministers found themselves equally incapable, in 1806, of raising more than 400,000l. by new taxes, without also resorting to 10 per cent. on the assessed taxes. It was, however, evident, that the assessed taxes could not be carried any further; and, under this difficulty, the late ministers had to consider of a plan by which the war might be carried on with all the energies of the country, and without imposing any additional burdens, or, at least, if they were, that they should be of trifling amount. The only effective plan which could, under such circumstances, be resorted to, they found to be a revolving series, that was to say, that so large a sinking fund should be created, by means of pledging the war taxes, for the extinction of the new debt incurred, that the debt should be extinguished before the whole of the war taxes should be thus pledged; thus leaving the portion of the war taxes first pledged at liberty to be again applied to a like purpose, and thus affording the means of carrying on the war for an indefinite period. This system had met with the approbation of parliament and the public, and on the contract being made for the last loan, which was one of the most advantageous contracts for the country ever entered into, some person near him having observed upon the favourable nature of the terms of the loan for the country, the person who was then signing the contract declared that it was the consequence of the financial plan then before parliament. Thus the whole amount of the war taxes were pledged to the public creditor. It never before had been thought of to take away a specific pledge from the public creditor. It did not become him to speak of the plan, in the forming of which he, as one of his majesty's late ministers, had a share, but the present ministers found that they could not bring forward any one better. Not being able to form a better plan, they must, however, do something; they must, they thought, make some alteration, and thus had arisen the alteration in the bill, which was a direct violation of public faith; and not content with altering the nature of the security, they placed it on those taxes which were justly considered to be the very worst which could be so pledged, and which had been so considered in another place by gentlemen now in administration. He was perfectly aware that the security which remained, namely, 6,000,000l. was amply sufficient to pay 1,200,000l.; but still he contended, that the alteration was a violation of public faith, inasmuch as the whole of the taxes included in the original plan were the specific security to the public creditor. His noble friend on the other side (lord Mulgrave) had spoken of the plans of Necker, and the ruinous consequences which they produced in France. The plan of Necker was simply this, he borrowed money without making provision for the payment of the interest, and then added the interest to the loan of the next year, and so on successively. Such a system must necessarily lead to ruin, and he wished to dwell particularly upon this system of borrowing money one year and adding the interest to the loan of the next, because he had reason to believe that a plan was in contemplation to propose to parliament, the object of which was this very system, namely, to borrow money one year and add the interest to the loan of the next. He conjured noble lords on the other side not to give ear to such a plan, if any such should be proposed to them, as it must inevitably produce the most ruinous and the most deplorable consequences. To impute improper motives to any ministers, or to any legislators, he knew was irregular; but he must take leave to say, that if his majesty's present ministers had determined upon the ruin of the new system of finance, they could not have adopted measures more effectual for that purpose than they had already pursued. He did not wish to alter the bill now before the house; their lordships knew why he did not: it would involve a question of privilege between the two houses, as it was a money bill; but he protested against the amendment introduced into it by the present ministers; and he did the same thing against the system which, he knew, was preparing upon finance. He protested too against the clamour which was raised by persons denominating themselves the shipping interest of this country, against the American intercourse bill, which was, in truth, a bill to save the West-Indies from famine, and to save us from breaking the law passed for that purpose. He protested no less against the conduct of those who circulated alarms concerning dangers which they knew did not exist. They knew, said his lordship, that the measure lately proposed to parliament did not endanger the established church of this country; they knew there was no danger in that measure, at the very time they were so busily employed in raising a clamour against it. I know they knew it; for this reason, because there is hardly one of his majesty's present ministers who has not come forward with promises to make concessions to the Roman catholics—

The Earl of *Westmoreland* rose to order. He submitted that the noble baron had transgressed the rules of order, in alluding to what was not before their lordships in any shape whatever.

Lord *Grenville*. My lords, the bill before your lordships is a bill for providing for a supply to support the public service, and the government of this country; and if the noble lord who calls me to order, knew properly the order of debate in parliament, he would be aware, that, upon the discussion of such a measure, every thing that has a bearing on the conduct of those who compose the king's government, is the subject of debate, if necessary; that a member of parliament may always bring any part of that government before the house of which he is a member, on the discussion of a question of supply.

The Earl of *Westmoreland.* I submit to your lordships, if it be irregular in a member of this house to say that any person in his majesty's confidence circulates opinions which he knows to be untrue?

Lord *Grenville.* I hope the noble earl will not forget that he concurred in a measure, when he was lord lieutenant of Ireland, when the Irish parliament was advised by him. to consider the state of the Irish catholics.

The Earl of *Westmoreland.* The noble baron is perfectly welcome to allude to any part of my conduct, and I am ready to defend it; but I do not see what appplication it has to the matter now before the house.

Lord *Grenville.* My lords, I know the right which belongs to a member of parliament; and nothing shall deter me from its exercise on occasions that call for it. I know that I have a right in this house to canvass the conduct of every part of the government, on a question of supply. I know I have a right to allude to the clamours which may have an effect on the public. My observations on what passed in Ireland was for the purpose of vindicating myself from the imputation of having said what I know would have been unparliamentary; I mean alledging of a member of parliament, that he had circulated opinions which he knew were not true. That I did not say: I had said, among other things, that to agree to the amendment which has been in this bill was, in my opinion, highly impolitic; and I then observed, that endeavours had been made to circulate unfounded clamours; but I think it impossible for any of his majesty's present ministers to countenance such clamours, because there is hardly one of them who has not been a party to a proposition which was made in parliament, for much greater concessions to the Roman catholics than that which was lately proposed, and upon which such endeavours have been made to excite a clamour; to create a false and unfounded alarm of danger to the country, and especially to the established church. I say, again, that his majesty's present ministers must be convinced of the fact, that no danger could arise to this country from the measure which was proposed in favour of the Roman catholics; because there is hardly one of them who has not in parliament assented to a measure of much more extensive concession to the Roman catholics; and more especially the noble earl, who has thought it proper to call me to order; for the measure he proposed to be adopted in Ireland was much more in favour of the Roman catholics than the measure lately proposed. I say farther, that the system of finance which I suspect to be about to be adopted by his majesty's present ministers, but, above all, the clamour which is about to be introduced into this country on the subject I have alluded to, may, if not repressed, lead to the miseries which we have witnessed in France.

Lord *Harrowby* observed, that he had never known an instance where the terms agreed to by a chancellor of the exchequer, in his private room, were held to be binding on parliament and the king.

Lord *Grenville* informed the noble lord, that resolutions had been passed by the house of commons previous to the negotiation of the loan.

Lord *Harrowby* still maintained that there did not exist sufficient ground for him to alter his opinion on the subject. Was not the faith of the public pledged for 20 years? The great and comprehensive mind of his noble friend, might enable him to have a view of things which were not cognizable to persons who possessed a more moderate share of understanding; but, from all the details of the circumstances relative to the loan, and from the application of the war taxes, it appeared clearly to him, that the measure was too extensive in its nature and effects, to be considered binding on parliament. According to this plan the sinking fund would be lowered, when other funds were raised by the general prosperity of the country. He insisted that it was imprudent to state what we should do at a time when it was impossible for us now to ascertain what contingencies might possibly arise.

Lord *Grenville* maintained that every possible care was taken to provide against every contingency. The public faith, in fact, was more than kept with the public creditor, whilst, at the same time, the plan was such that it secured the public, as far as any general and comprehensive system possibly could do, on the different changes in the price of the funds.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, that although he felt serious objections to this financial measure, yet he should not object to the bill's going through parliament for the present year, trusting that it would still remain open to the future and deliberate examination of parliament, and that the opinions which other persons might be inclined to offer on the subject, would meet with due attention. From the collision of such sentiments, he trusted that they would be better able to form an opinion as to the measures most proper to be adopted. He denied that there was any breach of faith with the public creditor, although the duties upon exports and imports, and upon tonnage, were excluded from those war taxes mortgaged for 20 years. The most that could be advanced was, that the contractor had a diminished security, but that remaining security was amply sufficient. He also denied, that the faith of parliament was, in any measure, pledged to abide at all events by any proposal entered into between the chancellor of the exchequer, and the contractors of the loan, so as to preclude all examination and discussion in that house of parliament. He considered that it was, in itself, a step, rash and improvident, that the duties upon tonnage, and upon exports and imports, should be mortgaged and pledged to the loan contractors. The duty upon tonnage, in particular, was originally and professedly imposed by the late Mr. Pitt, as a mere temporary war tax, in order to pay for the expenses of convoys. The ship-owners had therefore felt themselves aggrieved, when they found this war tax was to be continued after the conclusion of peace. For his own part, he approved of the system of our navigation laws, to which we were indebted for much of our naval superiority; and he considered it therefore unwise to submit to a relaxation of that system. He denied what had fallen from the noble lord (Grenville), that the opposition to the late ministers' measures respecting the Roman catholics had arisen from clamour; on the contrary, he believed this opposition to be the result of sound good sense; and that a great majority of the people of this country had disapproved of the measures adopted, and in contemplation, by that noble lord and his colleagues, for making farther and farther concessions to the Roman catholics.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* declared that he had never heard within the walls of that house an assertion which tended more to sap the foundation of the credit of the country, than that which had just been made by the noble secretary of state. Was it an assertion to be gravely listened to at this period of the world, and under the present momentous circumstances, that the public should not give credit to the resolutions of the house of commons until the assent of the house of lords had been obtained? Was this the rule of conduct that was observed by Mr. Pitt, on his negotiation for a loan with the house of Boyd and Co.? Did not parliament then think that they were in some measure bound even by the pledge of the minister? And could noble lords who had come into office, at least under an implied pledge, could they be the first to recommend the breach of a pledge which had been made by his majesty's ministers? There was another circumstance to which he begged the attention of their lordships; some allusion had been made to the excitement of popular clamour; but he would ask the house, in what part of the country that clamour was most excited? Let noble lords look to Northampton; let them look to the election advertisement of the chancellor of the exchequer, and let them then say whether, at the time of the riots in the year 1780, more diligence or more zeal was then used by lord George Gordon to excite popular clamour, than had been made use of on the occasion to which he alluded. He considered, in fact, that the act that gave sanction to such an outcry, without daring to avow its object, was most highly culpable. If, on the other hand, the circumstances which occasioned the late ministers to go out of office, were taken fully and seriously into consideration, he was firmly convinced that every liberal-minded man would most unequivocally declare that those facts were most highly honourable to his majesty's late ministers. For the part of the country with which he was most particularly connected he could answer (and they were a thinking set of people), that the great majority of them applauded the liberality of intention, and the firm and dignified constitutional conduct of his majesty's late ministers.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* felt it necessary to make an observation on the allusion that had been made respecting the conduct of a noble friend of his whilst lord lieutenant of Ireland, under whom he had acted at that time. It was true that his noble friend, in his speech to the Irish parliament, recommended the granting of certain privileges to the catholics; but these privileges were not intended to be extended farther than was specified in the bill afterwards passed. Beyond this act, passed in 1793, it was not intended to go one single step.

Lord *Grenville* remarked, that he was sorry to notice a difference between the present statement of the noble earl, and the speech which his noble friend had delivered from the throne in Ireland. In that speech it was stated, that the advantages given to the catholics of Ireland would be extended to Great Britain. This, therefore, was a promise beyond that act.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire*, in explanation, said, his meaning was, that no greater privileges than those contained in the act of 1793, should be extended to any of the catholics.

Earl *Spencer* felt it incumbent on him to contradict the assertion of a noble lord on the other side, who stated, that no measures had been resorted to by the present ministers to influence the public mind, on pretence of supporting the protestant religion. He could assure the house, from personal knowledge of the fact, that, in the town of Northampton, at the late election, the most inflammatory hand-bills, tending to excite the most dangerous riots in that town, had been universally circulated, which began with the words "Popery! or no Popery!" He never witnessed a more barefaced attempt to create disturbances; and the attempt had the desired effect; for the ignorant and illiterate people, having their prejudices and passions once put into motion, knew not where to stop; and this town, which only a few months before had been remarkable for the tranquillity and good order that prevailed in it, was now one continued scene of contention; and private families, who had long associated with each other in the utmost harmony and friendship, were now thrown into a state of party hostility and rancour. He could state several other facts upon this subject; but as he supposed the merits of the late and present administration would be discussed on some future occasion, he should, until then, reserve what he had to say.

Lord *Holland* contended that the conversation was perfectly regular, as on a money bill it was always permitted to discuss general topics. The financial system of his noble friend, was a grand feature in the history of the country. If the ministers chose to raise an unfounded clamour among the mob, it was in parliament that they would stand and justify themselves; and this bill afforded the opportunity. It was relevant also to enter upon general topics, as the amendment, it would appear from what had been stated by the noble lord on the other side, was only the harbinger to the total destruction of the system. Though he, and those with whom he acted, had differed from his noble friend (Grenville) on some important points, they had not attempted, when in opposition, to take advantage of the mistaken feelings of the mob. He remembered, when the country was in a calamitous situation, when the scarcity had disposed people to acts of violence What would have been the situation of the country if they had then encouraged the cry against forestallers and regraters, as the present ministers had stirred up and inflamed the cry of no popery? The whole country might have been thrown into the utmost confusion. But though ministers had raised that senseless clamour out of doors, he was glad to perceive that they had not dared to attempt it in that house. With regard to the catholic bill, many of the present ministers had agreed to go further in favour of the catholics; the only real ground of objection to the bill therefore seemed to be this, that the late ministers were not willing that the protestant dissenters should be in a worse situation than the Roman catholics. As far, therefore, as the cry of "no popery" was concerned, nobody surely could accuse them of being enemies to the protestant establishment, who had not proposed to go so great a length in favour of the catholics, as had been done by many of the present ministers. He wished a noble person had been present under whose administration proposals had been made to the officers of the Irish brigade to enter our service, promising them the same rank as the English officers, except the appointments on the staff. He maintained that the cry of "no popery" had been raised and encouraged by persons in high situations, and even by protestant clergymen, whose religion might have taught them more liberality. And yet ministers said that the whole was the effect of popular feeling left to itself! They then boasted of having the people with them, but they certainly were not the sensible part of them. But when they talked of the mob, they ought to recollect that nearly a third part of the population of the empire were catholics. And one of the great mischiefs with which this conduct was attended, was, that it separated the British from the Irish populace. If such a storm as this was raised; if you held out the principle that the protestants and catholics could so little coalesce, that they could not serve together in your fleets and armies, it would be in reality a disunion between England and Ireland, and one which no legislative measure could remove. To produce this disunion, however, was certainly the tendency of the conduct of ministers. The noble lord then came to the clamour about the shipping interest, which was followed up with the same spirit as the clamour of no popery. The assertions on the other side would go to maintain that the late ministers were enemies not only to the shipping interest, but even to the fleets of the nation. He contended, however, that the late ministers were the true friends of the navy, by encouraging all those interests which formed its foundation, instead of favouring, in a particular and partial manner, the shipping interest, which formed but a very small part of them. But the clamours of ministers might perhaps be intended, in some measure, for electioneering purposes. When some person talked to Wilkes about taking the sense of his constituents, Wilkes replied, that he would give him all the sense of his constituents, if he would give him (Wilkes) all their nonsense. Ministers were, therefore, perhaps, applying to the nonsense of the people; but while these things were going on, it became the house to consider the situation in which the country stood. Notwithstanding the superiority over the other countries of Europe with which we were disposed to flatter ourselves, he could safely affirm that there was no country in Europe, catholic or protestant, that was not astonished at our conduct in not availing ourselves of our catholic population. Our navy had increased, not in consequence of the restrictions imposed, but in spite of them, and because, on the whole, we had fewer restrictions than what had prevailed in other countries.—Then we had the opinion of ministers as to the new system of finance Their objection to it was, that it was too vast, and embraced too great a number of years. But, however, they had acted on this plan for this year, which they were under no necessity of doing if it was a bad one, since so many better plans, in their opinion, had been proposed by some of themselves. If the plan was a bad one, it ought not to be continued for a year, if it was a wise one, then its embracing a number of years, in the manner actually done, was no objection. The amendment must have been introduced for one of two objects, either to overthrow the plan, or to gratify the ship-owners. If the latter was the object, why did they not for this purpose repeal the late West India act? This was in fact governed by the same principles as the rest of their conduct. The object was to secure popular clamour in their favour by any means. In the present situation of the country it was the duty of every member of parliament to watch the conduct of a government of this description with the utmost jealousy and distrust. After they had got into the 'elysian fields,' as it had been called, he thought they might have abandoned such conduct. But they still persisted, and were the only persons who had employed, in an open and undisguised manner, a threat of dissolution to influence a decision of the house of commons. He could not avoid saying, that considering the situation in which the country stood, it was unfortunate, indeed, that the affairs of the nation should be in such hands.—The bill was then committed, and ordered to be reported the next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, April 23.

[Minutes.]—Sir Vicary Gibbs, the attorney-general, took the oaths and his seat.—A new writ was ordered to be issued for the county of Louth, in the room of the right hon. John Foster, who had accepted the office of chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland.—Mr. Bankes moved, that there be laid before the house an account of the regulations established in the British Museum since February, 1805, for the preservation of the collection, and for the more free and easy access of the public; and also an account of the numbers admitted from the 9th of February, 1805, to the present time, specifying the numbers in each month of that period. Ordered.—General Fitzpatrick brought up the bill for paying the pensions of half-pay officers, their widows, and persons on the compassionate list, at their several places of residence. He stated that the bill was approved of by his successor, who would follow up the arrangement. The Secretary at War said, that the object of the bill was highly proper, that he entirely approved of it, and would contribute every thing in his power to carry it into effect. The bill was then read a first time.

[Calico Printers' Bill.]—Mr. Sheridan moved the second reading of the Journeymen Calico Printers' Bill.

Sir *Robert Peele* said, that although, on account of his ill health, he had been given leave to absent himself from his duty in parliament, yet he should feel great self-reproach, if he should allow a bill so mischievous as he conceived this to be, to pass, without giving it his decided opposition. He was himself a friend to the Journeymen Calico Printers, and he conceived that he and the other Master-Printers had done them more service than they would ever receive from the speeches of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Sheridan). The Journeymen in their first demand of limiting the number of apprentices, seemed to act upon the principle, that they were able by combination to give he law to the masters. This scheme, however, ailed, and only occasioned the masters to ring many new hands into the trade. There were many masters who seriously thought of removing themselves and their capitals to some other country, where their property would be better protected, and their trade be more free from restriction; for a man of roperty could never bear the idea of receiving the law, in every instance, from his ourneymen. If it could be proved that this ill would be for the advantage of the journeymen, he should not oppose it, as he considered that the interests of the greater number should be attended to in preference to he interests of the few; but he was convinced, that a bill like the present would be njurious to the whole trade, and consequently to the journeymen. He concluded by moving, that it be read a second time on this ay three months.

Mr. *D. Giddy* supported this motion. He considered that in the present state of society, it was not so much the tyranny of ings and great men that was to be apprehended, as the tyranny of the many over the few. He considered that nothing was more dangerous than combinations among journeymen. If the agricultural labourers were to combine in a similar manner, and demand for their labour more than their fair proportion of the land, the country must apidly fall to ruin.

Mr. *Jacob* began by observing, that in 791, this country only exported to the value of one million annually in cotton goods; but, now, in sixteen years after that period, the quantity exported amounted to 9,750,000l., being more than one third of the whole amount of our exports. This great increase was owing to the skill and talents of the Calico Printers. In the infancy of this trade, some degree of philosophy was necessary, and a considerable knowledge of chemistry; but now, by the division of labour, the business of a calico printer did not require more skill than any other handicraft trade, and therefore the present race of calico printers were not entitled to better wages than most other mechanics. It was allowed, that a boy of 14 could, in a few months, learn the whole business. and yet the average wages were 25s. a week, although the workmen lived for the most part in the Northern counties, where those wages would go much farther than they would in a Southern county. He did not see that the Journeymen Calico printers had any serious subject of complaint, and therefore he should oppose the present bill.

Mr. *P. Moore* declared that the anxious wish of the committee was, that the masters and journeymen should regulate the matter among themselves, without bringing it before parliament. The complaint of the journeymen was this; that a large number of loyal, dutiful, and faithful subjects were now without employment and without bread, in consequence of the grievances of which they complained. He conceived it the first duty of government to see that the subjects of the realm had bread. He felt a good deal for the rights of journeymen; his constituents were either journeymen, or had been journeymen, and he had, therefore, considered that kind of right which was derived from having served an apprenticeship. He considered, that from the system of apprenticeships was derived, not only the superior skill of our workmen in every department, but a great part of the practical morality of the British nation. He admitted, that on account of the division of labour, a boy could be taught to do the business in a very short time, as well as a journeyman. The consequence was, that as soon as the boy was out of his apprenticeship he also found himself out of bread. It was therefore in this branch of trade, more than in any other, that some regulations were wanting to insure a subsistence to the journeymen.

Mr. *Henry Erskine* considered, that whatever might be the grievances of the journeymen, the present bill would not afford the remedy. It was against the first principles of civil liberty, as well as against all the commercial maxims which had hitherto been received. The first clause of it was to prevent masters from taking more than a certain number of apprentices. This was a regulation, which had never before been demanded from parliament. Every man had an undoubted right to teach his trade to as many people as he chose. He thought the cry against the numbers coming into the trade was as ridiculous as if he or others, old journeymen in the profession of the law, should come to parliament to complain of the number of young men of talents that were educating for that profession, and beg that the house would shut the door against them, for fear they should interfere with the old practitioners. As to the wages given, he thought that that, as well as the price of the article, would of themselves find their level. He therefore was decidedly in opposition to the bill.

Mr. *Sheridan* defended the bill. He said it would have been well if his hon. and learned friend (Mr. H. Erskine) had con-descended to read the report of the commitee upon which this bill was founded, before he exercised so much of his ingenuity in condemning it. If he had read that report, he would have found, that, so far from being a measure for the encouragement of combinations amongst the journeymen calico-printers, it was one for the relief and protection of the industrious and oppressed. His hon. and learned friend had declared, that, whatever was the nature of the disorder complained of, he would not give this bill as a cure, because he considered it absolute poison. But he (Mr. S.) believed it was the practice of all regular bred physicians to consult a little the nature of the disorder, before they rejected one remedy to prescribe another; and, in this case, he certainly felt that he had the advantage of his hon. and learned friend. He intreated, however, that the house, before it should reject the present bill, would first condescend to read the report of its committee, which it was always customary for the house to respect, and not to libel or stultify that report, without ever once reading or considering the evidence upon which it was founded. Before the house consented to reject this bill, he begged they would consider, that the necessary consequence must be inconsistency with their own justice, to repeal the act of the 5th of Elizabeth, by which every other trade in the kingdom, except that of the calico printers, was regulated and protected. But before that house would agree to such a repeal, he was sure they would pause very deliberately, and consult their own reflections upon the necessary consequences to the manufactures of the country. What was the case of the complainants in this instance? For a series of successive years had they been mendicant suppliants at the bar of that house, offering petition after petition, praying relief, but in vain. The moment, however, they found their petition entertained, and felt any ground of hope that their grievances would be fairly considered, all combination ceased, and their reliance for redress was entirely founded upon the justice and liberality of parliament. What was their complaint? Why, that after having served seven years to a business confessedly injurious to their health, and which rendered them unfit for any other occupation, they were to be turned loose upon the world, supplanted in their employments by whole legions of apprentices, at 12 or 14 years of age, for the wages of 4s., 6s., or 8s. per week, instead of 25s., the usual average of the journeyman, by whose previous skill and ingenuity the operations of the manufacture were so amplified that children could do the work as well as journeymen. And what was the alternative proposed to those unfortunate men? To be satisfied with the average wages of 9s. per week, usually paid to common daily labourers throughout their districts, or left to become soldiers or sailors; occupations for which their state of body, after devoting 7 years to an unwholesome business, rendered them totally unfit. Would the house consent to a proposition so monstrous, as that those young men, after having devoted 7 years to learn a trade, to the ruin of their health, by which their industry had so eminently contributed to the wealth of their masters and their country, should be deprived of all employment, and be turned loose upon society, as burthens to the charity, or freebooters upon the property of their neighbourhood? He never was a proselyte to the doctrines of Adam Smith upon this subject. It was the wisest policy of a nation to provide employment for the matured vigour of its population; and those manufacturers, who derived immense fortunes by the early industry of those journeymen, would ill deserve the encouragement of the legislature and of the state, if they were ready to sacrifice the comforts of their men to their own avarice, and consign them to beggary the moment they became entitled to receive the wages of journeymen. He instanced one particular house, which entertained above 50 apprentices, and only 2 journeymen; and he begged to ask how many thousands of artisans must be devoted to famine, if this system was to become general. His hon. and learned friend had compared the state of the bar to that of the calico-printers, and said, what might be very true, that many of the members of that learned profession were much distressed. It might be so, and was to be lamented. But, if it were possible, by the operations of that machinery, philosophy, or chemistry, which had been so learnedly spoken of that night, so to simplify the business of the bar, as to render it practicable to little boys and girls at 12 or 14, he believed there would be more clamour from the gentlemen of the long robe in Westminster Hall, than from all the combining manufacturers of Lancashire put together. The right hon. gent. mentioned some other instances of oppression from the masters to their apprentices, and their illegal modes of securing their services, sometimes for 9 or 10 years, by a bond from the parent instead of a stamped indenture. He concluded by supporting the bill, and declaring, at the same time, that he disclaimed all countenance to combination; that he should belie the uniform tenor of his whole political life, if, while he had a seat in that house, the cause of the weak should want an advocate against the strong, who revelled in wealth and luxury upon the fruits of their hard industry.

Mr. Horner opposed the bill as did Mr. Dent; and the question being put for the second reading this day 3 months, it was carried without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, April 24.

[Minutes.] Sir J. Henderson gave notice of his intention to move, on Tuesday, for leave to bring in a bill for making better provisions to enable members against whom election petitions may be presented, to recover costs from such petitioners as may afterwards abandon their petitions without due notice to such members. The hon. bart. stated, that in consequence of due notice not having been given in a recent case, the sitting member was at the expense of bringing several witnesses from a distance of no less than 400 miles, and was proceeding to remark upon the probability and injustice of many similar instances, when the Speaker stopped him, by stating the irregularity of offering more on this occasion than a mere statement of the motion he meant to bring forward.—Mr. Vansittart appeared at the bar, and read the report of the committee upon the Shrewsbury election. This report stated, that the hon. H. G. Bennet was not duly qualified according to law, and therefore that he ought not to have been elected; that the petitions against him from Mr. T. Jones and others, and the defence made against them, were not frivolous or vexatious; and that the election, so far as regarded the said H. G. Bennet, was void. After the report was delivered in at the table, a new writ was ordered for the election of a representative for Shrewsbury, in the room of Mr. Bennet.—Mr. Horner gave notice of a motion for Wednesday, for the production of papers relative to the Polygar war, adding, that he should bring this motion forward, after the business with regard to the Carnatic, which an hon. baronet (sir T. Turton) had announced his intention to bring forward, should be disposed of.—Sir P. Francis said, that he meant in the course of next week, upon a day, which, early in the week, he should take occasion to mention, to bring forward a motion for the production of all the papers and information received by government or the India company, with respect to the late transactions at Vellore, or the probable consequences of those transactions. At the same time, the hon. member seeing the chancellor of the exchequer in his place, took occasion to ask, whether it was intended on the part of ministers, to propose, or to support any grant to the India company from the public money, by loan or otherwise, in the course of the present session: and if so, whether it was meant that such grant should be made before the statement of the general concerns of India (the India budget) should be laid before the house. The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, stated, that government did not entertain the intention to which his question referred.

[Poor Laws Bill.] Mr. *Whitbread* moved the order of the day for the recommitment of the first of the four bills, into which, at the suggestion of the house, he had divided his general bill. The bill now to be committed, was that for establishing a Plan for the Education of the Poor. The order of the day being read, and the question being put that the Speaker do now leave the chair, Mr. Whitbread rose to state the nature and object of this bill. It was not meant, he said, to supersede any parish schools for the education of the poor, already established; it was not meant to increase unnecessarily the charges upon any district, where parish schools were already instituted for the education of the poor, by establishing therein additional schools; his object was, that in every parish where there was a number of poor who could not afford to pay for the education of their children, there should be a school established for their instruction. But, as he proposed the education of the poor to be the incipient principle and grand foundation of all the benefits to be derived in future from the measures of reform in the Poor Laws, he thought this bill, which went peculiarly to that object, should be first established. If, therefore any hon. member had any objections to the principle of the bill, this was the proper time to state them.

Mr. *Ellison* said, that, upon the first introduction of these bills, he had, in compliance with the hon. gent.'s injunction, forborne to enter into any discussion on the merits of the plan, understanding that it was first to go forth in the shape of a proposition to the country at large, and that time would be given to gentlemen throughout the kingdom fully to consider and digest the subject, before it was finally passed into a law. He hoped still this would be the case; for it was impossible that a measure, which required so much mature consideration, and so materially interested the country at large, could, on so short a notice as the house had received, be so fully communicated to the whole kingdom, as it could be in a printed form. He therefore hoped that this bill, and the others, would not now be pushed forward into the shape of a law; but that, after such amendments as the committee should think proper to introduce, the bills should be printed, and time given till next session for gentlemen to turn the subject in their minds, to consult their constituents, and to come forward fully prepared to discuss the merits of the bills, and render them as complete as possible.

Mr. *Rose* was of the same opinion; but although he thought the hon. member who brought forward this subject entitled to the thanks of the country, yet he had his doubts, whether educating the lower orders of the people, upon the principle laid down in this bill, would have the effect either of ameliorating their condition in the degree which seemed to be hoped, or of alleviating the burthens of the poor's rates, by that means, within such a period as should in any degree convince the country of any benefit to be derived from a measure which, for a considerable time, must go to increase those burthens. The bill proposed, that the poor children of each parish should be entitled to two years education between the age of 7 and 14: the consequences naturally would be, that the earlier part of this period would be chosen by the parents, as that in their children's labour would be the least profitable to them. Now, the advantages to be derived to the minds and morals of children in that class of life, from two years of education at that early part of life, did not appear to him so very considerable as the hon. gent. professed to expect; and to carry the system of education to the labouring poor still higher, would, he feared, tend rather to raise their minds above their lot in life, and by no means strengthen their attachments to those laborious pursuits, by which they were to earn a livelihood; pursuits to which, at present, there existed, throughout the poor of this country, a very strong reluctance. If, therefore, care was not taken to blend with their education early habits of industry, he feared that schooling would rather injure than serve them, in the result. The subject of the Poor Laws had occupied, for a series of years, much of his own earnest attention; and of all the plans that occurred to him on the subject of education, the most feasible was, that of establishing schools in the maritime counties of this kingdom, and to which parents from the interior parts might send their children. At those schools, in addition to other instruction, they might be initiated in a naval education, and practised in fishing. They might thus draw, from the surrounding ocean, a great part of the means for their own maintenance. All British shipping, employed coastways, or sailing outward from the several ports in each district, might be obliged to take four, five, or more of those boys, at a proper age, and initiate them in naval service. At all events, they might be maintained and educated at one half the expence of £14, now the usual average expence of each boy at charity schools. Eighty thousand boys might be thus kept in the continual progress of useful instruction, and acquire the opportunity of gaining a livelihood by maritime pursuits, affording thus an inexhaustible source of supply to the British navy. Nor was there ever a time when such a resource was more necessary than the present to the public security. But to prove the truth of the adage, that "there was nothing new under the sun," after he had for years considered this plan, he accidentally met with a tract, printed some years before, which exactly proposed the plan he had been considering as originally his own, and of the utility and importance of which he felt the fullest conviction.

Mr. *Fuller* observed, that as the hon. gent. had thought fit to divide his original bill into four bills, this shewed that he had not at first fully considered the subject of the poor laws in all its bearings; he could therefore wish that the subject should be deferred to another session, when the bill might be introduced *de novo*, with the benefit of all the improvements which might in the meanwhile be suggested. As far as the principle of the bill went to increase the comforts of the poor, he sincerely wished that object might be obtained; but it behoved parliament to endeavour to give the poor virtue and morals, as well as instruction; and he also wished, that some general principle should be adopted, that rewards as well as punishments might follow; nor did he approve of taxing parishes, in addition to the heavy poor's rates, for the education of their children.

Mr. *Buller* supported the bill, and instanced the happy effects of parochial education upon the population of Scotland.

Mr. *Roscoe* thought the improvement of the lower classes an object highly desirable, as nothing could be more disgraceful than to leave them in a state of ignorance. The only distinction between this country and a savage nation arose out of knowledge, and of course the diffusion of that blessing must operate to advance our superiority. He contended that the alleviation of the poor's-rates must follow as a natural consequence of the measure before the house. For the uneducated man, having nothing but his bodily strength to depend upon, became of necessity a burthen upon the parish when that strength was gone; whereas the man of education, in consequence of the wider range which his mind naturally took, could find other resources to maintain himself when he could derive no support from his mere animal powers. Thus he conceived that education must tend to diminish the amount of the poor's-rate. In support of this opinion, the hon. member quoted the good effects of national education in Scotland, which had progressively improved for a series of years, and in which, before the system proposed by this bill was introduced, there were no less than 200,000 beggars, who not only formed a burthen upon the public, but a most mischievous example with regard to morality, industry and law. But the most important end of national education, the hon. member conceived to be that which appeared in a Letter from Mr. Malthus to the hon. mover of the bill, namely, as the learned writer stated, that "as the first object was to elevate the general character of the poor, this or any measure which tended to it was entitled to support." After such an opinion, from such a quarter, he thought that no sound objection could be made to this measure.

Mr. *Calcraft* was friendly to the principle of the bill, and was for carrying it into effect as speedily as possible. He thought also, that industry ought to be combined with knowledge. It was the advantage of the plan which was called Mr. Lancaster's, but which was really discovered by Dr. Bell, rector of Swanage, that it afforded, in the rapidity with which it conveyed learning, full time for industry. But though he was most anxious to have this part of the plan carried into effect, he feared it would hardly be received with satisfaction in the country, unless it should be accompanied with a relief from some part of the burthens of the poor's rates. The execution of this measure was, besides, to lie not in the best hands. He allowed the clergymen of the parishes were the fittest men to superintend the execution of measures of this kind. But the parish officers were associated with the clergymen; and, from the little time these men could devote to their public functions, abuses would attend the execution of this plan, as well as the other duties intrusted to these officers. On these grounds, he wished this part of the plan to be postponed, till the whole system should have been passed in the form that parliament should think proper to give it.

Mr. *Henry Erskine* found it impossible for him to give a silent vote upon the subject. He could not help hailing this bill as a measure auspicious in the highest degree to the industry, the morality, the happiness, and good order of the people of this country. He was happy to give an example of the practical effect of education in the country from which he came (Scotland). It was to that that he attributed the total exemption of Scotland from the heavy burden of the poor laws, which oppress so much the middling classes of society in this country. It was education which gave the poor of Scotland too much pride and spirit to apply for parochial relief in their own country; and it was education which enabled them to distinguish themselves so much in every line when they left it. As to the emigrations from Scotland, they were generally supposed to proceed from the barrenness of the country, and from the principle of the proverb, "need makes the old wife trot;" but he considered that it rather proceeded from their talents being cultivated by education, and their having, in this respect, an advantage over the people of most nations to which they emigrated. Scotland was, to be sure, a barren country, and yet there were no people on earth more distinguished in horticulture. Scotch gardeners were to be found every where through England and Wales, and it was not only in this art that his countrymen excelled, but in such a variety of arts and sciences, that unless the house were to attribute it entirely to the *ingenium Scotorum*, they must allow that those advantages had been derived by the diffusion of education, and therefore they might expect the same results from an equal diffusion of it in this country. The Scotch had also learnt the virtue of frugality from education, as it gave them all that pride that was necessary to maintain themselves in independence.

Mr. *Davies Giddy* mentioned, that in the part of England that he lived in, (Cornwall), education was pretty generally diffused; at least so much of it, that almost every person there had learned reading, writing, and something of arithmetic. He thought it was easy to persuade parents, that it was to their advantage that their children should be brought up in the habits of industry. He thought that education would not be the better for being made compulsory; it was better that it should be voluntarily, and not be forced; that "it should descend like the gentle dew of Heaven," and be received as a general blessing. He did not think it would be easy to induce parents to consent to any forced system of education for their children.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* did not think the opinion of the country yet fully collected on this measure. His opinion was, shortly, that the expence of the plan was certain, and the benefit very uncertain. Schoolmasters and schoolmistresses were very difficult to be got. The value of learning had risen less than any thing else, in proportion to the depreciation of money; and, therefore, the number of persons competent to be schoolmasters and schoolmistresses was much diminished. He thought that if the schoolmasters could be got, it was doubtful whether the scholars could. The poor were anxious to make profit of the labour of their children as soon as possible. He gave the hon. gent every credit for his praiseworthy exertions, though he saw these impediments in the way of his plan.

Mr. *Sharpe* did not see how any of the objections that had been made affected the principle of the bill. All of them went to delay; though no good reason was assigned for this delay. He wished to shew the country, that the house could suspend its political and party contests, in order to join with common accord in matters of avowed public utility. The poor children would at all events be educated. The only question was, whether they should be well or ill educated? It was not in the school, nor under public or private masters alone, that education could be had. Children, if left alone, would educate themselves. But he who educated himself, generally had a fool for his master. He did not think it possible that education could give sentiments above the condition of the individuals. Education would give habits of industry and attention. He wished for more than two years of instruction; but even in this short period the children, though they should forget all their learning, would have collected many beneficial habits of an indelible nature; habits of submission and respect for their superiors; habits of cleanliness and exertion, and the fear of punishment. He thought the measure should be carried into effect without delay.

Lord *Porchester* adverted to the reference that had been made to the difference between the education of the people in the northern and those in the southern part of Great Britain; and declared it to be his belief that, if it were not for the introduction of the Scots into England, there would be a great vacuum in many stations of society in this part of the island. That their steady, industrious, and thinking habit was attributable to their different mode of education, he thought was extremely probable. But, as to the idea of engrafting a system of national industry on a system of national education, that was in his opinion extremely chimerical. Instead of doing any thing of that sort, which might tend to render the bill intricate and oppressive, he should give his vote for the house now resolving itself into the committee on the bill, which was now before them.

Mr. *Simeon* thought there was no need of going to the North for illustrations, nor to say much to that house upon the value of education. He thought it desirable that every one should be taught to read, but did not see the necessity of teaching every one to write: he disapproved of an addition of one shilling in the pound on the poor rates, which would be the effect of this bill, laid on for the prospect, at some years hence, afforded to some poor educated person of raising himself from his situation. He contended it was by no means to be admitted that, because Scotland, in 1698, had received an establishment of schools, and had profited by it, that, therefore England, in her present civilized state, in 1807, should adopt similar regulations. He had taken great pains to examine the state of the poor, and should particularly speak of the town he represented (Reading), which contained 10,000 inhabitants, of whom 7,500 were poor; but hardly a child of ten years old was to be found who had not learned to read, at some of the threepenny schools which are kept by the poor old people. He saw no necessity for writing or arithmetic. He knew of no deficiency in the number of candidates for bankers' clerks, and such situations. He condemned the mode in which the bill was to be carried into effect, but praised highly the Sunday schools, which he regretted he found great difficulty in prevailing upon the poor people to attend. He censured the conduct of those in the higher classes of society, who thought the poor should receive no education, but felt his objections to the present plan to be radical and fundamental. His opinions resulted from experience, and not from speculation and theory.

Mr. *George Vansittart* was of opinion, that the establishment of parochial schools in the manner proposed by the bill was much too expensive. He did not think at first, that the occupiers of lands and houses should be taxed, in order that all the children in the country should be taught to read and write, especially when it was doubtful, whether writing would be of any real use. However, he would vote for the bill going into the committee.

Mr. *Bragge Bathurst,* though he could not but admit that the principle of diffusing instruction among the lower classes was good, could not say that he approved of this bill. He had received a communication from the part of the country with which he was connected, that the whole of the bill of the hon. gent. was disapproved of at the quarter sessions, as extremely burthensome, without any adequate advantage. One of his objections to this bill was, that it tended to give an education to the lower classes above their condition, and comprehended objects too great for any one measure. The hon. mover of the bill had not yet made any statement of the present means of educating the lower classes. If his bill were to pass, there would be no compulsion to force attendance at the schools, and consequently the first menace of wholesome discipline, would put an end to the attendance of the individual threatened. He also objected to this bill, because it would do away Sunday schools, to which no person would subscribe, when the parochial schools should be established.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that he thought the house and the country were under great obligations to the hon. gent. who had introduced this measure, as it must have required much exertion and attention to make out four such bills as those before them; but at the same time he could not help thinking, that parliament ought to proceed with great caution upon such a subject. They were now undertaking, for the first time, a great work, which had been too long delayed, the diffusion of the benefits of education; and therefore they ought to take care lest it might not prove prejudicial in some respects, while it was advantageous in others. He could easily conceive many modifications which such a bill might undergo, and amongst others, the combining of voluntary contributions, according to the different circumstances of places, and the means of instruction which each might possess; and, therefore, he approved of the house going into a committee. The encouraging a desire in the lower orders of the people to better their situation, did not appear to him an objectionable part of the bill; because, it was natural that hope should exist in the breast of every one, to push himself forward in the scale of human beings. As far, however, as he had been able to observe the disposition of the country, as to this bill, it had not been received so favourably as he could have wished. He himself had received various representations against it, principally on account of its having been precipitately introduced. Although he was for going into the committee, he was not for pressing it forward afterwards till such time as parliament could be informed more particularly of the real sentiments of the country regarding it. He agreed in regard to what had been said of Scotland, and ascribed a good deal of that order and moral conduct, industry, and rectitude, which prevailed in that part of the country, to their general system of education. It would be important that the system now to be adopted here, should be combined with all those advantages which made men valuable members of society, and accustomed them to be obedient under command and controul. He approved highly of the plan which had been suggested that night by a right. hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) as to combining it with the institution of maritime schools. He professed himself to be a friend to the bill in general, although he was convinced it was susceptible of various important improvements. He trusted he should have to congratulate the hon. gent. who had introduced it, in having thus laid the foundation of a system which would yet be attended with the most beneficial effects upon society.

Mr. *Windham*, after paying some very handsome compliments to the hon. mover for his good intentions in the formation of the bill then before the house, observed, that this was a subject which most particularly required deliberate consideration. It was impossible, of all others, that this subject could be decided uno flatu. It was an object that humanity and justice long required; but had the maturity of time now come to such a state of fulness that it was impossible for us to wait another session? That the diffusion of knowledge was proper might be supported by many good arguments; but he confessed that he was himself a sceptic on this point. It was said, look at the state of the savage when compared to ours. A savage among savages was very well, and the difference was only perceived when he came to be introduced into civilized society. That state of each society was known best by comparing one with another, and that was found to be the best which had the greatest variety of employments for its members. A knowledge of many of the fine arts, and of the mechanic arts, was very useful, but we were not all to be artists or mechanics; how awkward should we be situated if we were a nation of shoemakers, or carpenters, or taylors? If, on the other hand, all men were clerks, what should we do for labourers? This was a false idea; it was only giving the means of knowledge, without being certain that those means would be rightly made use of. His friend, Dr. Johnson, was of opinion that it was not right to teach reading beyond a certain extent in society. The danger was, that if the teachers of the good and the propagators of bad principles, were to be candidates for the controul of mankind, the latter would be likely to be too successful. He could not think it right to say, that every man who possessed intellect should administer to himself, because, if so, a patient who had intellect, and was of course most particularly interested in his own cure, would be the best doctor. The circulation of great truths would be of no advantage to mankind, unless you could increase the stature of their understanding, so as that it could reach those things. But great stress had been laid on the example of Scotland; he admitted the full force of all the encomiums that had been paid to that country; but then it did not follow that he must consequently say, "all this comes of their writing and reading." He might as well say, like the old woman when she saw a man going to be hanged for forgery, "see what comes of your writing and reading." But there were particularities both in habit and appearance by which people of different countries might be distinguished from each other. If he was to see a man in a crowd, for instance, with red hair and high cheek bones, and by his appearance knew that he was a Scotchman, was he to say, this is all owing to their writing and reading in that part of the country? Would it not be more rational to say, that in this, as well as in many other cases, it was difficult for him to trace causes from effects, as it was also to trace effects from any given causes; might he not say, that he did not know whether the prudence, economy, &c. of the Scots was not the cause of their applying themselves more to learning than we did? A more substantial cause was, perhaps, found out by an hon. gent. opposite, who had attributed the economy of the Scots to the want of poor laws throughout the greater part of the country. But we should consider how far the measure itself was calculated to effect its own object; for instance, let us look to England, and see if learning had not increased rapidly for many years past, and yet, in the same proportion, we find that poverty had increased. The increase of this sort of introduction to knowledge would only tend to make the people study politics, and lay them open to the arts of designing men; it was impossible that a great quantity of reading in a country could banish poverty entirely out of the nation; we might as well say, that we could remove poverty from among a people by teaching them all to play the fiddle. A good deal, however, might be said to consist in the extent of the population and general habits of the people; and whilst people were found to lose sight of that honourable principle of independence that would not suffer them to rest their hopes of relief on the parish, it was impossible to prevent poverty among them. As long as men would marry, and get children, without ever thinking of what was to become of their offspring; as long as men would spend their gains as fast as they got them, living from hand to mouth, and not laying something by for a rainy day, according to their own emphatical expression, so long would it be impossible to hope that poverty should not creep in amongst us. The benefit societies contributed, indeed, as far as their general principle went, to remove the danger of being overwhelmed with poverty more than any system which he had seen for many years; but even they might, in many instances, be liable to some objection, as to the detailed part of each particular society. The plan of his hon. friend, however, did not possess the least possible means of removing poverty from our door for an nstant, except in some few individual cases. He must, therefore, however reluctantly, oppose the motion of his hon. friend, whose humane and patriotic intentions must be fairly acknowledged and sincerely felt by every Englishman.

Mr. *Whitbread* contended against the principle laid down by his right hon. friend. Was it to be believed, that one of the most erudite men of his day, that an enlightened statesman of the nineteenth century, could stand forward in that house to argue against the universal diffusion of knowledge? That a man who was himself the shining example of the great and good effects resulting from education, could now be an advocate for ignorance? That the representative of a free people could say, that the people were the more free when they were the less enlightened? His right hon. friend had said, that persons the most interested in any business were generally the least qualified for that business; and had instanced such a position by one of those illustrations with which his right hon. friend more frequently amused than convinced the house. A patient, it had been said, was of all others the least capable of assisting himself. But what formed the grand distinction between brutes and human beings so circumstanced? The latter could point out the seat of their disease, and thus direct the skill of the physician; so that, to carry on the illustration, information was in a high degree essential to the patient. Much had been said respecting the increased burthens of the poor rates; he contended for it that the proposed system of education would considerably reduce those burthens. In Scotland, the poor rates were almost nothing. In Westmoreland, and other English counties, where education in a greater proportion prevailed, the rates were in the same proportion lessened. As to the application to France, he thought it made for his argument; for though those who were at the head of the Revolution might have been enlightened, it was notorious that the instruments in the hands of those men were the most ignorant and brutal of the Parisian mob; but it was singular, to hear such an argument from one, who, in introducing to that house the military plan that did him so much honour, had observed that the Scots made the best soldiers, and why? because the Scots were in general the best educated. His right hon. friend then said, "give me a soldiery of exalted character." He (Mr. Whitbread) now said, give me a peasantry of exalted character. It was education only that gave such character to either. It had been said that the illiterate peasantry would see sufficiently by the lights of the community in which they lived. He, for his part, could not understand how a man would be enabled to see better by a candle held by others than by one held by himself. Education might be said to be the panacea, if any thing human could be a panacea, for the ills to which our state was naturally subjected. As to the red hair and high cheekbones of the Scots, these were but physical allusions, neither seriously introduced, nor to be seriously commented upon: but as to the moral distinctions; how were such to be ascertained? He believed by the frequency or scarcity of crime. In Westmoreland, the best educated county in England, executions were scarcely known. Search the Newgate calendar. The great majority of those executed in London every year were Irish; the next in order were English, and the last Scots. This was in exact proportion with their respective systems of education among the lower orders. Several gentlemen had objected to the great additional expense of which, it was apprehended, this plan of education might be productive. He contended that that expense had been considerably overrated. He had said that they would not in any case exceed one shilling in the pound, and then it was immediately concluded that the expenses were in all cases to be estimated at a shilling in the pound. The hon. gent. then took a view of the plan as affecting the metropolis. In the parish of St. Giles, no less than 5000 children, the offspring of the labouring Irish, were daily advancing in ignorance to maturity. Mr. Lancaster was likely to contribute still further to the service of his country, by assuming the management of a school in the Seven Dials for carrying on his approved system of mechanical education. He was willing to say, too, that he thought Dr. Bell's services in this way had been very important.—He had been advised to postpone the bill for another year. Human existence was uncertain. He might not live for another year, and he was unwilling that the measure should fall into the hands of any one who might be less enthusiastic in the prosecution of it than himself. He concluded by trusting that the house would allow the bill to go into a committee.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* expressed his readiness to concur in the motion for the Speaker's leaving the chair, because he was convinced that the investigation of the subject in the committee would be productive of material advantage. He could not, however, agree with the hon. gent. in many of his positions; and he differed considerably from him in the hostility which he had expressed towards the whole code of the Poor Laws; a code which, in his opinion, contained a great deal of good, although, certainly, with some alloy of evil.—The house then resolved itself into a committee, in which a conversation arose. Mr. Whitbread was anxious that the bill should be immediately proceeded with, reminding the house that it had lain on the table ever since the 22d of February. Mr. Giddy and Mr. Carey objected to any further proceeding with the bill at that late hour as many objections must necessarily arise against the various clauses. It was agreed, therefore, that the proceedings in the committee should be postponed, and the house having resumed, the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, April 25.

[Minutes.] The royal assent was given by commission to the Loan Interest bill, the Irish Loan bill, the Treasurer of the Navy's Regulation bill, the Customs Fees bill, the Innkeepers Subsistence bill, the Sicilian Prize Money bill, the Tanners bill, several other public, and a number of private bills. The commissioners were the lord chancellor, and lords Walsingham and Hawkesbury.—The bills on the table were forwarded in their respective stages, and the house adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, April 25.

[Minutes.] The house met at half-past three, and were summoned by the black rod to the house of peers to hear the royal assent given to several public and private bills.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, April 27.

[King's Speech.] About a quarter before three o'clock the lord chancellor, earl Camden, and lord Hawkesbury, took their seats as his majesty's commissioners. Mr. Quarme, the deputy usher of the black rod, was sent to the house of commons to require their attendance. After some time had elapsed, the Speaker, accompanied by a great number of members of the house of commons, came to the bar. The royal assent was then notified by the lords commissioners to two private bills, after which,

The *Lord Chancellor*, in his majesty's name, delivered the following speech:

"My Lords and Gentlemen, We have it in command from his majesty to inform you, that his majesty has thought fit to avail himself of the first moment which would admit of an interruption of the sitting of parliament, without material inconvenience to the public business, to close the present session; and that his majesty has therefore been pleased to cause a commission to be issued under the great seal for proroguing the parliament.—We are further commanded to state to you, that his majesty is anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection.—His majesty feels, that in resorting to this measure, under the present circumstances, he at once demonstrates, in the most unequivocal manner, his own conscientious persuasion of the rectitude of those motives upon which he has acted, and affords to his people the best opportunity of testifying their determination to support him in every exercise of the prerogative of his crown, which is conformable to the sacred obligations under which they are held, and conducive to the welfare of his kingdom, and to the security of the constitution.—His majesty directs us to express his entire conviction, that after so long a reign, marked by a series of indulgences to his Roman catholic subjects, they, in common with every other class of his people, must feel assured of his attachment to the principles of a just and enlightened toleration, and of his anxious desire to protect equally and promote impartially the happiness of all descriptions of his subjects."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons, His majesty has commanded us to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the supplies which you have furnished for the public service. He has seen, with great satisfaction, that you have been able to find the means of defraying, in the present year, those large but necessary expenses for which you have provided, without imposing upon his people the immediate burthen of additional taxes.—His majesty has observed with no less satisfaction, the inquiries which you have instituted into subjects connected with public economy; and he trusts that the early attention of a new parliament, which he will forthwith direct to be called, will be applied to the prosecution of these important objects."

"My Lords and Gentlemen, His majesty has directed us most earnestly to recommend to you that you should cultivate, by all means in your power, a spirit of union, harmony, and good will amongst all classes and descriptions of his people. His majesty trusts that the divisions naturally and unavoidably excited by the late unfortunate and uncalled-for agitation of a question so interesting to the feelings and opinions of his people, will speedily pass away; and that the prevailing sense and determination of all his subjects to exert their united efforts in the cause of their country, will enable his majesty to conduct to an honourable and secure termination the great contest in which he is engaged."—After which

The *Lord Chancellor* said, "My Lords and Gentlemen, By virtue of his majesty's commission under the great seal, to us and other lords directed, and now read, we do, in his majesty's name, and in obedience to his commands, prorogue this parliament to Wednesday, the 13th of May next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Wednesday, the 13th day of May next."

The lords commissioners then withdrew from the house, and the commons retired from the bar.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 27.

[Minutes.] The Speaker came down to the house at five minutes past threee o'clock, and immediately after prayers were over was proceeding to count the house, in order to take the chair, when Mr. Quarme, yeoman usher of the black rod (who had been waiting in the lobby for the Speaker's arrival) announced himself in the usual way, with a message from the house of peers. The Speaker consequently took his seat in the chair, and Mr. Quarme came into the body of the house, and delivered the following message:—"Mr. Speaker, The lords, authorized by virtue of his majest. commiss. for declaring the royal assent to several bills which have been agreed to by both houses, and also for proroguing this present parliament, do desire the immediate attendance of this hon. house in the house of peers, to hear the commission read."—The Speaker then accompanied by most of the members present, proceeded to the house of lords, and on his return calling the members round the table, read to them a copy of the King's speech; after which the members separated. —Thus ended the First and only Session of the Third Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

LIST OF PUBLIC ACTS

Passed in the First and only Session of the Third Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and in the 47th Year of the Reign of his present Majesty George III. with the Date of their meeting the Royal Assent.

January 6, 1807.

1. An Act to revive and make perpetual and to amend an Act, made in the 42d Year of his present Majesty, for the further Regulation of the Trials of controverted Elections or Returns of Members to serve in Parliament, and for expediting the Proceedings relating thereto.

January 16.

2. An Act for raising the Sum of £10,500,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills, for the Service of Great Britain for the Year 1807.

January 22.

3. An Act for continuing and granting to his Majesty certain Duties upon Malt in Great Britain, for the Service of the Year 1807.

4. An Act for continuing and granting to his Majesty a Duty on Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates, in England; and certain Duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, and Snuff, in Great Britain, for the Service of the Year 1807.

Feb. 19.

5. An Act to indemnify such Persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments; and for extending the Times limited for those Purposes respectively, until the 25th Day of December, 1807, and to permit such Persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file Affidavits of the Execution of Indentures of Clerks to Attornies and Solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the 1st Day of Michælmas Term 1807.

6. An Act to continue, during the present War, and until 1 Year after the Termination thereof by the Ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, an Act made in the 44th Year of his present Majesty, for empowering his Majesty to accept the Services of such Parts of His Militia Forces in Ireland, as might voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Great Britain.

7. An Act to declare that certain Provisions of an Act of the last Session of the last Parliament, intituled, An Act to permit the free Interchange of every Species of Grain between Great Britain and Ireland shall extend to Grain the Produce of those Countries only.

8. An Act to continue for the Term of 7 Years certain Acts of the Parliament of Ireland, for preventing the Importation of Arms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition, and the making, removing, selling, and keeping of Gunpowder, Arms, and Ammunition, without Licence.

9. An Act for allowing the Exportation annually of a limited Quantity of Worsted Yarn to Canada.

10. An Act for raising the Sum of £1,000,000 by Treasury Bills for the Service of Ireland for the Year 1807.

11. An Act to authorize his Majesty, until the 25th Day of March, 1808, to make Regulations respecting the Trade and Commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

12. An Act to abolish certain Offices in the Customs of Ireland; and to abolish or regulate certain other offices therein.

13. An Act for investing certain Commissioners appointed for the Examination of Accounts and Expenditure relating to the Office of Barrack Master General, with certain Powers and Authorities necessary for the Examination of such Accounts and Expenditure.

14. An Act to amend several Acts, for regulating the Trial of Controverted Elections or Returns of Members to serve in Parliament, so far as the same relate to Ireland.

15. An Act to continue for the Term of 7 Years, certain Acts for the better Prevention and Punishment of Attempts to seduce Persons serving in his Majesty's Forces by Sea or Land from their Duty and Allegiance to his Majesty, or to incite them to Mutiny or Disobedience.

March 16.

16. An Act to amend several Acts for the Sale of his Majesty's Quit Rents, Crown and other Rents, and of certain Lands forfeited and undisposed of in Ireland.

17. An Act to secure the Collection of the Duties on Auctions in Ireland; and to prevent Frauds therein.

18. An Act to grant to his Majesty certain Inland Duties of Excise and Taxes in Ireland,

and to allow certain Drawbacks in respect thereof; in lieu of former Duties of Excise, Taxes, and Drawbacks.

19. An Act to provide more effectually for regulating the Drawbacks and Bounties on the Exportation of Sugar from Ireland; and for allowing British Plantation Sugar to be Warehoused in Ireland, until the 25th Day of March, 1808.

20. An Act to suspend, until the First Day of May, 1807, the Payment of all Drawbacks on Spirits made or distilled in Great Britain or Ireland, and exported from either Country to the other respectively.

21. An Act to provide for regulating and securing the Collection of certain Rates and Taxes in Ireland, in respect of Dwelling Houses, Fire Hearths, Windows, Male Servants, Horses, Dogs, and Carriages.

22. An Act to allow for 2 Years, from and after the passing of this Act, an additional Bounty on Double Refined Sugar, and to extend former Bounties on other Refined Sugar to such as shall be pounded, crashed, or broken; and to allow for 1 Year certain Bounties on British Plantation Raw Sugar exported.

23. An Act for repealing so much of an Act, made in the 9th Year of her late Majesty Queen Anne, as vests in the South Sea Company or Corporation, by the said Act erected, the sole and exclusive Privilege of carrying on Trade and Traffic to and from any Part whatsoever of South America, or in the South Seas, which now are or may at any Time hereafter be in the Possession of his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors.

24. An Act for allowing, until the 1st Day of August, 1808, the Importation of certain Fish from Newfoundland and the Coast of Labrador, and for granting a Bounty thereon.

25. An Act to allow Turkey Tobacco to be imported into Great Britain, in small Packages.

26. An Act for extending to German Yarn the Provisions of an Act made in the last Session of the last Parliament for permitting Prussian Yarn to be imported in Foreign Ships on Payment of the like Duties as if imported in British Ships.

27. An Act for granting to his Majesty, until 12 Months after the Ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, certain additional Duties of Excise on Brandy in Great Britain.

28. An Act for raising the Sum of £14,200,000 by way of Annuities.

March 23.

29. An Act for further continuing, until the 25th Day of March, 1808, certain Bounties and Drawbacks on the Exportation of Sugar from Great Britain; and for suspending the Countervailing Duties and Bounties on Sugar when the Duties imposed by an Act of the last Session of Parliament shall be suspended.

30. An Act to continue, until the 25th Day of March, 1810, an Act of the 44th Year of his present Majesty, for permitting the Exportation of Salt from the Port of Nassau in the Island of New Providence, the Port of Exuma, and the Port of Crooked Island in the Bahama Islands, in Ships belonging to the Inhabitants of the United States of America, and coming in Ballast.

31. An Act to repeal Part of the Duty on the Importation of unmanufactured Tobacco into Ireland.

32. An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion; and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.

33. An Act for the Regulation of his Majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on Shore.

34. An Act for continuing, until the 1st Day of August, 1808, an Act of the 45th Year of his present Majesty, for allowing, under certain Restrictions, the bringing a limited Quantity of Coals, Culm, or Cinders, to London and Westminster, by Inland Navigation.

March 25.

35. An Act to secure the Payment of the Duties on Licences granted to Persons in Ireland dealing in Exciseable Commodities.

36. An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

37. An Act to continue, until the 25th Day of March, 1814, and amend an Act, made in the 30th and 40th Year of his present Majesty, for the more effectual Prevention of Depredations on the River Thames and its vicinity; and to amend an Act, made in the 2d Year of his present Majesty, to prevent the committing of Thefts and Frauds by Persons navigating Bum-Boats, and other Boats, upon the River Thames.

April 9.

38. An Act to amend several Acts for regulating and securing the Collection of the Duties on Paper, made in Ireland; and to make perpetual so much of an Act made in the 45th Year of his present Majesty, as relates to Paper Hangings printed or stained in Ireland.

39. An Act to rectify a Mistake in an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, for enabling his Majesty to settle Annuities on certain Branches of the Royal Family.

April 25.

40. An Act to grant to his Majesty, until the 29th Day of September, 1808, a Duty upon Malt made in Ireland, and upon Spirits made or distilled in Ireland, and to allow certain drawbacks on the Exportation thereof.

41. An Act to continue, until the 25th Day of March, 1808, and from thence until the End of the then next Session of Parliament, an Act, made in the 44th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, for appointing Commissioners to enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments received in several Public Offices in Ireland; to examine into any Abuses which may exist in the same, and into the Mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for Public Money in Ireland.

42. An Act to continue for 21 Years, so much of certain Acts of the Parliament of Ireland, as relate to the lighting, cleansing, and watching of Cities and Towns, for the lighting, cleansing, and watching of which no particular Provision is made by any Act of Parliament.

43. An Act to declare, that the Provisions of an Act made in the Parliament of Ireland in the 33d Year of King Henry the Eighth, relating to Servants Wages, shall extend to all Counties of Cities and Counties of Towns in Ireland.

44. An Act to amend an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, for regulating and providing for the Relief of the Poor and the Management of Infirmaries and Hospitals in Ireland.

45. An Act to continue an Act made in the Parliament of Ireland, in the 31st Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King George the Second, for the better supplying the City of Dublin with Coals, and for the better Encouragement of the Collieries of Ireland.

46. An Act for raising the Sum of £1,500,000 by way of Annuities, for the Service of Ireland.

47. An Act to authorize the Payment of Prize Money arising from Captures made by Ships of his Sicilian Majesty in conjunction with British Ships, to the Sicilian Envoy, for the use of the Officers and Men of such Ships; and also the Payment of Money arising out of Proceeds of Prizes or Captures made by any other Ships or Vessels belonging to Foreign States, in conjunction with his Majesty's Ships.

48. An Act to repeal so much of certain Acts as relates to the Regulations or Conditions under which Coffee, Cocoa Nuts, Sugar, and Rice, (not being the Produce of the East Indies), are allowed to be secured in Warehouses, without Payment of Duty; and to authorize the Collectors and Comptrollers of the Customs in his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, and the West Indies, to administer certain Oaths.

49. An Act for permitting the Exportation of Fullers Earth, Fulling Clay, and Tobacco Pipe Clay, to any Place in Possession of his Majesty.

50. An Act to repeal the several Duties under the Care of the Commissioners for managing the Stamp Duties in Ireland, and to grant new and additional Duties in lieu thereof; and to amend the Laws relating to the Stamp Duties in Ireland.

51. An Act to extend the Provisions of an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, for abolishing Fees received by certain Officers and other Persons employed in the Service of the Customs in the Port of London, and for regulating the Attendance of Officers and others so employed, to the Out-Ports; and to appropriate the Fees of certain abolished and vacant Offices in the Customs to the Superannuation Fund.

52. An Act for enabling his Majesty to grant the Palace, called the King's House, with the Appurtenances, situate in Greenwich Park, in the County of Kent, to the Commissioners for the Government of the Royal Naval Asylum, and for enabling the said Commissioners to appoint a Chaplain to officiate therein.

53. An Act to suspend for 12 Months so much of an Act of the 2d Year of King James the First, intituled, An Act concerning Tanners, Curriers, Shoemakers, and other Artificers, occupying the cutting of Leather, as prohibits the regrating and ingrossing of Oaken Bark.

54. An Act for increasing the Rates of Subsistence to be paid to Innkeepers and others on quartering Soldiers.

55. An Act for charging the Sum of £12,000,000, Part of the Loan of Twelve Millions two hundred thousand Pounds, raised for the Service of Great Britain for the Year 1807, upon the Duties of Customs and Excise, granted to his Majesty during the continuance of the present War, and for certain Periods after the Ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace; and for providing a Sinking Fund for the Redemption of the Stocks or Funds thereby created.

56. An Act for the further regulating the Office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy.

THE

Parliamentary Debates

FROM

THE YEAR

1803

TO THE PRESENT TIME:

FORMING A CONTINUATION OF THE WORK ENTITLED
"THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST
PERIOD TO THE YEAR 1803."

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

T. C. HANSARD.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD
FROM
THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF JUNE
TO
THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF AUGUST
1807.

THE

Parliamentary Debates

During the First Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Great Britain the Twenty-first, appointed to meet at Westminster, the Twenty-second day of June, 1807, in the Forty-seventh Year of the Reign of His Majesty King GEORGE the Third. [*Sess.* 1807.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 22, 1807.

This being the day appointed for the meeting of the New Parliament, the Lord Chancellor came to the House at two o'clock, and being seated on the woolsack, immediately rose and said, "My lords, I have to acquaint you, that his majesty, not thinking fit to attend in person this day, has been pleased to issue a commission under the great seal, empowering certain commissioners, named therein, to open and hold this present parliament." The lords commissioners then present, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the earl of Aylesford, and lord Hawkesbury, being robed, and having taken their seats in front of the throne, Mr. Quarme, the yeoman usher of the black rod, was deputed to order the attendance of the commons; a number of whom forthwith appeared, preceded by the clerks of that house.—The commission was then read, and the lord chancellor spoke as follows:—"My lords, and gentlemen of the house of commons; We have it in command from his majesty, to let you know, that his majesty will, as soon as the members of both houses shall be sworn, declare to you the causes of his calling this parliament; and it being necessary that a Speaker of the house of commons should be first chosen, it is his majesty's pleasure, that you, gentlemen of the house of commons, repair to the place where you are to sit, and there proceed to the choice of some proper person to be your Speaker; and that you present such person here to-morrow, at three o'clock, for his majesty's royal approbation."—The commons having withdrawn, their lordships proceeded to prayers: after which, the several peers present took the usual oaths and their seats.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 22.

[CHOICE OF A SPEAKER.] About two o'clock, the attendance of the commons, at the bar of the house of lords, was commanded in a message by the black rod. About 200 members, who had been previously sworn in by the lord steward of the household, according to custom, in the Long Gallery, went up immediately, and having received his majesty's command, signified by the lord chancellor, to elect a Speaker, returned, and shortly after proceeded to the exercise of that privilege in the usual form.

Mr. *Yorke* rose, and addressing himself to Mr. Ley, the senior clerk, said, that the house was now called upon to exercise one of its most antient and valuable privileges, in electing, from among its members, a proper person to discharge the functions of its Speaker; functions always important to the maintenance of order and decorum within its own walls, and the execution of which was at the same time most essential towards obtaining for the proceedings of the house, the respect and sanction of the community abroad. Some apology was perhaps necessary, for his presuming to offer himself to the house on this occasion, which implied an assumption, that the person whom he should recommend as the most fit and proper, to discharge the arduous duties annexed to the chair, should immediately appear to the house to possess in a pre-eminent degree the assemblage of great qualities which was requisite for the office. He was aware, that there were many gentlemen in the house, who, by their abilities and conduct, and the authority annexed to their names and persons, were very capable of filling this important station with dignity and advantage. But there was something farther than mere personal qualifications which afforded not only a fair presumption, but even the assurance and full conviction, that the right hon. gent. he meant to propose was, even among the many other highly gifted persons whom he saw around him, the most worthy to fill the chair of the house in these times of difficulty. In addressing the house on this occasion, he had, in addition to the satisfaction of discharging a high public duty, a pride and pleasure in bearing his personal testimony to merits which he had long privately known, and which, the more he knew them, the more he esteemed and honoured, and the more he congratulated himself on his acquaintance with the person who possessed them in so eminent a degree. He anticipated, therefore, with peculiar satisfaction the testimony that he knew would be unanimously borne this day to every thing that he had said in behalf of his right hon. friend. It was a farther satisfaction to him, to think that the vote which the house would give on this occasion, would be distinct from all party prejudices and interests, the prevalence of which, in that house, was on every occasion to be deplored; but the prevalence of which, at the present difficult and dangerous crisis, was particularly to be deprecated, as it might perhaps be pregnant with the ruin of these once flourishing, united, and happy countries. He was satisfied that, on the present occasion at least, no party feeling would find room among those he saw around him. This happy unanimity would enhance the pride and pleasure he felt on being permitted to address the house on this occasion; and he hailed the approaching unanimous election of his right hon. friend to the chair, as an omen of the future concord which he hoped to see prevail generally in the house. It was not necessary for him to descant on the qualifications requisite to fill the chair with propriety, as there were many gentlemen present who had repeatedly seen it filled in the most honourable manner. But, if he were called upon to give an instance of every thing that a Speaker of the house of commons ought to be, though the chair had, within his memory, been filled by many persons of very high and distinguished merit, he should not hesitate to name the right hon. Charles Abbot. (A general cry of hear! hear!) If he possessed more eloquence, he could with pleasure dwell on the merits by which this right hon. gent. was so eminently distinguished and recommended. He could dilate upon the independence of his character, his accurate knowledge of the laws of the country, his intimate acquaintance with the forms and the practice of the house of commons, and his love of the constitution. But all praise must fall short of the merits which the house knew so well, and estimated so highly. The services which Mr. Abbot had rendered as chairman of the committee of finance, and as chief secretary for Ireland, were, however, so deeply impressed upon his mind, that he could not restrain himself from making particular mention of them. As a member of the committee of finance he had had particular opportunities of observing the meritorious conduct of his right hon. friend as chairman of that committee; and he had also particular reason to know, how much cause Ireland had to regret his being called from his high station in that country, to fill the chair of that house. Mr. Abbot was, in one word, in every sense, one of the best servants of the public; and if every other servant of the public, at the present time, and in the times to come, performed his duty with the same fidelity, zeal, and diligence, the country would find in such service, the most effectual means of extricating itself from the difficulties with which it was now encompassed. He should trespass no farther on the house, but conclude with moving, That the right hon. Charles Abbot be called to the chair of that house.

Mr. *Bankes* rose and addressed the house thus:—Sir, I never rose with more satisfaction to second any motion than I now do that which has just been submitted to you; because I am sure I am speaking the unanimous sentiments of those I address, when I say, that I am persuaded nothing could conduce so much to the dignity of this house, and the general interests of the country, as the placing such a person as Mr. Abbot in that chair, which he has already repeatedly filled with so much honour. As I speak in the hearing of many of those members who formerly sat in this house, it may be thought, that, as to them, it is totally unnecessary to enlarge; but there are now many amongst us who had not formerly a seat here, and therefore I hope they will excuse me for telling them, that there is no person who has exercised himself in the duties of that most important office, with more integrity, ability, candour, and fidelity, than the right. hon. gent. who has been nominated to their choice. He is a gentleman, who, to the most diligent research, adds the most profound knowledge of mankind, with great legal knowledge, extensive experience in history, and a great and accurate understanding in constitutional and parliamentary law. These are endowments which qualify him most abundantly to undertake that arduous and difficult situation to which we recommend him. The easy access which he gave to all who had occasion to consult him, is fresh in the recollection of many whom I address. To them, too, it is abundantly known, how usefully and honourably he filled the chair for several years. To myself it is a great gratification to feel, that in discharging what I conceive to be a great public duty, I am also obeying the call of a long and uninterrupted friendship. He was, sir, amongst the first of my friends in this world, and it is a great pleasure and satisfaction to me to find, in a great assembly of enlightened men, of great qualifications and parliamentary experience, that such a friend, whom I have known so long and so intimately, should be the person repeatedly deemed most fit to fill the situation of Speaker amongst us. I am sure that upon this occasion, as upon former ones, those who know his abilities, perseverance, and integrity, will again deem him most fit to resume it, and that those who have not known him so sufficiently as to have experienced his qualifications, will never have cause to regret their acquiescence in the opinion and choice of those who have. On these grounds I concur with my right hon. friend in every sentiment he has uttered, and beg leave to conclude with seconding the motion he has submitted to your consideration.

Mr. *Calcraft.*—Sir, I never rose with more pleasure in this house, than I now feel in rising to express my concurrence in this motion. I have witnessed, in common with many others now present, the great talents, the industry, and becoming conduct of that right hon. gent., whose character and qualifications are now the subjects of discussion. He has formerly filled that chair in such a manner, that I think I should not be doing justice to my own feelings, if I did not say, that I do not know of any one individual so well qualified to fill that dignified and honourable situation, as that right hon. gent. In saying thus much of him I may perhaps by some be thought to be going too far with my eulogium, and I acknowledge they might think so with some degree of justice, were I to have formed this opinion merely upon the basis of those qualifications which have been touched upon by the mover and seconder of the motion. I do not mean to infer, that there may not be several men now present in this house, who, from their abilities, extensive knowledge, and experience, are perhaps equally adequate to the important and arduous task of filling that office: but, sir, under the present circumstances in which that right hon. gent. stands, and in the present situation of affairs, I think there are other considerations and other qualities which ought to enter into our consideration. I am convinced, I say, from this more comprehensive view of the subject, that the house could not make a more judicious choice than in electing that gentleman. I perfectly concur in every thing that has been stated concerning him. I approve of the detail which the two hon. gentlemen have given of his character. While I do this, however, I must also be allowed to state, that from such qualifications alone does not arise the governing motive of my acquiescence. What more immediately tends to induce me to support this nomination, is that spirit of firmness and independence, with which he has always executed the high trust committed to him, and this, too, upon every occasion, but more particularly upon a memorable one, the circumstances of which are yet fresh in your recollection. The situation in which he was placed was, indeed, singular; but it was such as may occur again. I allude to a transaction which took place in this house, at a time when many who are now here were not present; an occasion, when, upon a division taking place, on the proposition of an hon. friend of mine (Mr. Whitbread), the numbers of the members on both sides of the question were equal. Such was the predicament in which that right hon. gent. was placed, when occupying that chair, to which we are now proposing to recal him; a predicament, in which he had a remarkable opportunity of exercising that firmness of mind which is so becoming in all situations of life, but particularly in that to which he had been called by the unanimous concurrence of this house. He gave, as it were, a form and body to the wishes of the people, by converting the propositions which were then submitted to us into resolutions of this house; I mean those resolutions which preceded the impeachment of lord Melville. Sir, what induces me more particularly to allude to this fact is, the circumstance of my conviction, that this must be an inquiring parliament, otherwise we shall find that the people will be infinitely disappointed in the expectations they have formed of those they have sent to it as their representatives. Upon such grounds, therefore, I think, that the high trust and responsability of a Speaker of this house cannot be delegated into the hands of any man with greater propriety, or with greater safety, than into the hands of one, who has already executed that situation with firmness and independence. What he has already done, upon a former occasion, we surely have every reason to expect he would not hesitate to do upon a future occasion. The firmness, the impartiality, the spirited and dignified independence, which he has already shewn, should certainly induce us to believe that he would act so again, should another similar opportunity offer. This, therefore, is my governing principle for voting for the right hon. gent. If his conduct upon that day had been otherwise, I most unquestionably would have voted against him. I do not deny, but, on the contrary, I admit, that he possesses all the qualifications which have been enumerated; but I mean fairly and frankly to own, that this last one, which I have stated, is with me the chief inducement, the governing principle which actuates my vote in his favour. Lest it should be said that I am introducing party principles, and party prejudices, I shall abstain from making any further observations; but, while I give my most cordial assent to the motion now before you, I cannot conclude without observing, that if ever there was a parliament likely to create great warmth of discussion upon great political and party topics, it is the present parliament, which is now, for the first day, assembled.

Mr. *William Smith* gave his hearty concurrence to the motion, and had great satisfaction in seeing recalled to the chair a gentleman who had acquitted himself in such a manner in the public and private duties of the office, as to prove himself possessed of the best disposition as well as the most perfect ability to fill it in the most beneficial manner. The discharge of the public duties of the chair in the house was a matter that came under the observation of every member. He should, therefore, say nothing on that head, though he believed there was the most ample room for commendation; but, in the private duties of the chair, he had more frequent opportunities than others to observe the punctuality of attendance, and the zealous endeavours to forward the business that came before him, by which the right hon. gent. now proposed established the strongest claim to the approbation and confidence of the house. It was unnecessary to add any thing to what had already been said; but he could not abstain from adverting to one expression which had fallen from the right hon. mover. The right hon. gent. expressed a wish, that all other discussions might be equally free from party motives as this. He could only say in answer, that if every proposition that should be introduced should be equally unexceptionable in its nature, no party interest should traverse it, at least so far as he was concerned. (An universal cry of chair, chair! Mr. Abbot, Mr. Abbot!)

Mr. *Abbot* then rose. He said, the proposition which his right hon. friend had submitted to the house as its first act, so far as it concerned the magnitude of the duties annexed to the chair, received his fullest concurrence. The history and practice of parliament, at all periods, confirmed that opinion. But if it had been thus matter of grave and solemn deliberation, at all periods, into whose hands the high, important, difficult, and delicate duties of the chair should be entrusted, a just sense of the difficulties of the times in which we live, difficulties, which might be expected to increase instead of diminish, must make it matter of particularly serious consideration now. The partiality of his friends had ascribed to him a capacity for discharging those duties, which, gratefully as he acknowledged it as a mark of their kindness, filled him with fear when it led him to a comparison of the arduous nature of the task, with his humble ability to execute it. He had further only to add, that if the house, in the exercise of its first privilege, should think fit to call again into its service the qualifications it had experienced in him, they should be exerted with the utmost zeal and ability of which he was master. With this he submitted to the pleasure of the house. (An universal cry of chair! chair!)—Mr. Abbot was then conducted to the chair by the mover and seconder of the motion, and when seated therein for a short interval he again rose and addressed the house thus:—Since the house has been pleased to place me again in this chair, I desire from this place to return you my humblest thanks, and most grateful acknowledgments, for this additional proof of your confidence and esteem. I have only now again to assure you, that while I have the honour of occupying it, I will constantly labour to deserve a continuance of your regard, by maintaining the dignity and authority of this house unimpaired, and by endeavouring to do so with fidelity and strict impartiality.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* availed himself of the usage of the house, to offer to the Speaker, not his congratulations, but the unanimous contratulations of the house of commons, and the unanimous congratulations of the public. The feelings of the friendship with which the Speaker had long honoured him, were alone sufficient to make him rejoice to see him again restored to a situation, which from every consideration, public and private, must be as desirable to him as it was honourable. But it was not so much from private considerations, as from a sense of the importance of the duties of the office, and of the peculiar qualifications to discharge them, that he exulted in the present appointment to the chair, to which the Speaker's former conduct in it gave additional lustre. The proper object of congratulation, was, not the Speaker, but the house, whose good fortune in providing so amply for the respectability, and utility of its presidency, could not be too highly estimated. On the first occasion on which the Speaker had been called to the chair, he had made the same modest comparison between the duties of the office and his sense of his own abilities to discharge them. To compare his feelings on that occasion, and on the present, was a thing that could scarcely be abstained from. The statement then offered of the arduous duties of the office, and of the incapacity, as the Speaker had been pleased to call it, of the individual to perform them, was then subject to the test of a severe criticism There was fresh in the memory of the house the conduct of a predecessor in the chair, who in a time deeply marked with the violence of party conflicts, had so conducted himself as to acquire the unanimous approbation of men, who scarcely agreed in any thing else. Lord Sidmouth, the person to whom he alluded, was supposed to have possessed every quality which the idea of a perfect Speaker of the house of commons comprehended. It was enough to say, that on the comparison with him, the present Speaker was not found in any sense wanting. The dignity, authority, and utility of the character of the chair was as fully supported as at any former period; and the respect which it was properly entitled to command, was not in any the slightest degree diminished. All that could be wished now, was the continuance of the conduct already experienced. The trial to which the Speaker was called was less unequal. All that was necessary to his honourable acquittal, was to persevere in doing as he had done. Nothing could be so gratifying, as to be called unanimously to a station so arduous and so exalted, after so full a trial. The silent assent of the house would have been perhaps sufficient to mark its according approbation. But, from the express and declared concurrence of persons, who were not in other instances likely to agree, the most unequivocal sanction of universal approbation was given. Thus, however, in the frequent changes of administration that had lately taken place, the minds of men might differ, as to those who might be best qualified to hold the reins of government in the country, there was no doubt any where that the chair of that house could by no other person be so well filled as by its present holder. Conscious that he must fall infinitely short of giving an adequate description either of his own feelings, or of those which the house entertained upon the present occasion, he should conclude with moving, that this house do now adjourn.—The question being put from the chair, the house adjourned accordingly.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 23.

At three o'clock, the lords commissioners took their seats, and immediately sent the usher of the black rod to desire the attendance of the house of commons, with their Speaker elect, in the house of peers, to present him for his majesty's approbation.—In a few minutes, the commons, with Mr. Abbot at their head, attended at the bar.—Mr. Abbot then addressed the lords commissioners to the following effect:—"I have to acquaint your lordships, that in obedience to his majesty's commands, and in virtue of their ancient rights, his faithful commons have proceeded to the election of a Speaker, and that their choice has once more fallen upon me. Deeply penetrated with the most heartfelt gratitude for this new mark of their confidence and good opinion, and in humble compliance with their wish, I now present myself at your bar, and have humbly to pray, that his majesty will graciously allow them to re-consider their choice, and to elect a worthier person.

The *Lord Chancellor.*—Mr. Abbot, the lords appointed by his majesty's commission, have it in command from his majesty, to signify, that his majesty, fully persuaded of the wisdom and prudence of his faithful commons, is perfectly satisfied with the choice they have made, and convinced of your ample and tried sufficiency to execute all the duties of that office. We, therefore, by the authority of his majesty's commission, do allow and confirm the choice they have made of you as their Speaker.

Mr. *Abbot.*—My lords, I feel deeply penetrated with gratitude for this fresh mark of his majesty's grace and favour, which I receive with all due humility and resignation. It now becomes my duty, in the name and in behalf of the commons to lay claim to all their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges, to which, by the usage of the constitution of parliament, they are entitled; more especially that their persons, servants, and estates, be free from arrest and molestation; that they may enjoy liberty of speech in their debates; and have free access to his majesty's royal person, whenever occasion may require; and that all their proceedings may receive from his majesty the most favourable construction; and that, where any involuntary errors may seem to have been incurred, the blame, I hope, will be wholly imputed to myself.

The *Lord Chancellor.*—Mr. Speaker, We have it in command from his majesty to say, that his majesty allows and confirms to his faithful commons, all those immunities and privileges they claim, and that in as full and ample a manner as they have hitherto been granted and allowed by his majesty, or by any of his royal predecessors. As to any apprehension you may entertain of incurring any errors, we are commanded to inform you, that his majesty sees no ground for any such apprehensions; and that consequently, we may moreover acquaint you, that any thing coming from you or his majesty's faithful commons, will receive from his majesty the most favourable interpretation.—The Commons then withdrew, and the commissioners retired to unrobe. After which the clerk proceeded to swear in the Peers.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 23.

The House having assembled about three o'clock, the yeoman usher of the black rod appeared at the table to desire their attendance in the house of peers, with their speaker elect, to present him for his majesty's approbation.—The commons accordingly, with the Speaker at their head, immediately attended. On his return,

The *Speaker* addressed the house as follows:—I have to acquaint the house, that I have been in the house of lords, where his majesty, by his royal commission, has been graciously pleased to approve and confirm the choice of this house, in the election they have made of me, to be their Speaker; and that I there laid claim, by humble petition to his majesty, for all our ancient and undoubted rights, in regard to the privileges of this house; and more especially, safety from arrest and all molestation for the members of this house, and their servants; freedom of speech in debate; and that all our proceedings may receive the most favourable construction. His majesty has been pleased to concur in granting to this house the whole of these privileges, as fully, and in as ample a manner, as ever was done by any of his royal predecessors. And now, gentlemen, placed in this chair, by the favour of the house, for the fourth time, I have to repeat my humble and heartfelt acknowledgements to you for the highest honour that any of its members can possibly receive. In my endeavours to execute this trust, I must entreat the continual assistance of the house in support of its own honour and authority, and for maintaining order in its proceedings; assuring you, at the same time, that it is my determination to act, in all matters of business, with the strictest impartiality, and the utmost regularity and dispatch. I have only now to remind the house, that the first thing to be done, upon the present occasien, is, for the members to take the necessary and usual oaths of supremacy, abjuration, and qualification, as by law required.—The house was accordingly so occupied during the remainder of the sitting.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 24, and Thursday, June 25.

On these days the lord chancellor took his seat on the woolsack at three, and the clerk continued to swear in the peers till four.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 24, and Thursday, June 25.

On these days the speaker came to the house at one. Several members present took the oaths, and made and subscribed the declaration, and took and subscribed the oath of Abjuration, according to the laws made for those purposes; and such of the said members as are by law required to deliver in to the clerk of this house, an account of their Qualification, and to take and subscribe the oath of Qualification, delivered in such account, and took and subscribed the said oath accordingly.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, June 26.

[THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS' SPEECH.] —This day at three o'clock, his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the earl of Aylesford, and earl Dartmouth, being robed, took their seats on the bench in front of the throne, and Mr. Quarme, yeoman usher of the black rod, was then dispatched to order the attendance of the commons, who forthwith, with the Speaker at their head, appeared at the bar. The royal commission, authorising certain peers therein named, or any three or more of them, to open the parliament, was then read. After which, the Lord Chancellor delivered the following speech to both houses:

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" We have it in command from his majesty to state to you, that having deemed it expedient to recur to the sense of his people, his majesty, in conformity to his declared intention, has lost no time in causing the present parliament to be assembled.—His majesty has great satisfaction in acquainting you, that, since the events which led to the dissolution of the last parliament, his majesty has received, in numerous addresses from his subjects, the warmest assurances of their affectionate attachment to his person and government, and of their firm resolution to support him, in maintaining the just rights of his crown, and the true principles of the constitution; and he commands us to express his entire confidence that he shall experience in all your deliberations a determination to afford him an equally loyal, zealous, and affectionate support, under all the arduous circumstances of the present time.—We are commanded by his majesty to inform you, that his majesty's endeavours have been most anxiously employed for the purpose of drawing closer the ties by which his majesty is connected with the powers of the continent; of assisting the efforts of those powers against the ambition and oppression of France; of forming such engagements as may ensure their continued co-operation; and of establishing that mutual confidence and concert, so essential, under any course of events, to the restoration of a solid and permanent peace in Europe.—It would have afforded his majesty the greatest pleasure to have been enabled to inform you, that the mediation undertaken by his majesty, for the purpose of preserving peace between his majesty's ally, the emperor of Russia, and the Sublime Porte, had proved effectual for that important object; his majesty deeply regrets the failure of that mediation, accompanied as it was by the disappointment of the efforts of his majesty's squadron, in the sea of Marmora, and followed, as it has since been, by the losses which have been sustained by his gallant troops in Egypt.—His majesty could not but lament the extension of hostilities in any quarter, which should create a diversion in the war, so favourable to the views of France; but lamenting it, especially in the instance of a power with which his majesty has been so closely connected, and which has been so recently indebted for its protection against the incroachments of France, to the signal and successful interposition of his majesty's arms.—His majesty has directed us to acquaint you, that he has thought it right to adopt such measures as might best enable him, in concert with the emperor of Russia, to take advantage of any favourable opportunity of bringing the hostilities in which they are engaged against the Sublime Porte, to a conclusion, consistent with his majesty's honour, and the interests of his Ally."

" *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

" His majesty has ordered the estimates of the current year to be laid before you, and he relies on the tried loyalty and zeal of his faithful commons to make such provisions for the public service, as well as for the further application of the sums which were granted in the last parliament, as may appear to be necessary.—And his majesty, bearing constantly in mind the necessity of a careful and economical administration of the pecuniary resources of the country, has directed us to express his hopes, that you will proceed, without delay, in the pursuit of those inquiries, connected with the public economy, which engaged the attention of the last parliament.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" His majesty commands us to state to you, that he is deeply impressed with the peculiar importance, at the present moment, of cherishing a spirit of union and harmony among his people; such a spirit will most effectually promote the prosperity of the country at home, will give vigour and efficacy to its councils, and its arms abroad;

and can alone enable his majesty, under the blessing of providence, to carry on successfully the great contest in which he is engaged, or finally to conduct it to that termination which his majesty's moderation and justice have ever led him to seek, a peace—in which the honour and interests of his kingdom can be secure, and in which Europe and the world may hope for independence and repose."

The commons then withdrew, and the lords adjourned for a short time to unrobe. Having again assembled, his Majesty's Speech was read by the lord chancellor, and afterwards by the clerk at the table.

The Earl of *Mansfield* rose to move the address. At a crisis like the present, he wished it had fallen to the lot of some noble lord more able and experienced than himself, to move an address to his majesty, he felt himself incompetent to the task and hoped to meet with the indulgence of the house. He did not come forward upon this occasion with any party views, and whilst he disdained to be the servile tool of any administration, so, on the other hand, he was equally inimical to a systematic opposition to the measures of government, whether those measures were injurious or conducive to the public good. Some parts, however, of his majesty's speech; had struck his mind very forcibly, and upon those he would briefly deliver his opinion. The circumstances which occurred respecting the proposed concessions to the Catholics, and the differences which on that occasion took place between his majesty and his late ministers, rendered it impossible that those ministers could remain in office, and rendered an appeal to the people absolutely necessary. He rejoiced at the effect of that appeal, he rejoiced that addresses had poured in from every quarter of the country, evincing the most zealous and steady loyalty and attachment to his majesty's government, and to the constitution of the country, and whilst he regretted that any of those addresses should convey a censure upon many eminent characters, he should have still more regretted if no such addresses had been presented. It was greatly to be lamented that a subject should have been agitated, which of all others was the most likely to inflame and irritate men's minds; he hoped that that irritation would now be allayed and that union and concert would invigorate the hands of government, and strengthen the country. In alluding to one topic mentioned in his majesty's speech, namely, the unfortunate events which had taken place in the Sea of Marmora, and in Egypt, he did not wish to cast censure any where until those documents were before the house, which could enable it to decide with propriety. He trusted, however, that in the mean time no attempt would be made to throw the blame upon the officers employed on those services. The events were most unfortunate; but he trusted they would only prove an additional incentive to our gallant soldiers and seamen, to efface their memory by splendid victories and brilliant achievements. He trusted, also, that the measure since adopted would have the desired effect, of inducing the Porte to adopt those measures which were consistent with her real interests. There was another topic in his majesty's speech to which he wished to advert, although it was rather addressed to the house of commons than to their lordships, inasmuch as it formed an additional argument for the address which he should move; he alluded to the wish expressed by his majesty, that they should proceed in those enquiries respecting the economy of the public money, which they had commenced in the last parliament. This was an additional incitement for their lordships to express to his majesty their loyalty and attachment, whilst it proved that there was not the slightest wish that those inquiries should be dropped, which had been interrupted by the dissolution of parliament. It was his most ardent wish that upon such an occasion, engaged as we were in war, carrying on a contest in which all the energies of the country were required to be exerted, and when, as in the present case, the speech from the throne was temperate and conciliatory, that there should be an unanimous vote. If that, however, in the present state of parties, and under the present differences of opinion, was not to be expected, he trusted that they would be at least unanimous in expressing their cordial, zealous, and loyal attachment to his majesty, whose mild and benignant government, and whose unerring discretion in the exercise of his royal prerogatives called loudly for that tribute to his numerous virtues. His lordship concluded by moving an address to his majesty, which, as usual, was nearly an echo to his majesty's speech.—The proposed address having been read by the lord chancellor,

Lord *Rolle* rose to second it. His lordship declared, that he came forward uninfluenced by any party considerations, and solely from motives of loyalty and attachment to his majesty. He condemned the conduct of the late ministers towards his majesty, and deprecated an attempt to embitter the latter days of their sovereign by exciting agitation, and the most irritable feelings throughout the country. He declined entering into any consideration of the unfortunate events in the Sea of Marmora and Egypt, the necessary documents not being before the house; he could not help, however, deeply regretting that such circumstances should have occurred. He highly approved of that part of his majesty's speech, which desired that the inquiries into the public expenditure should be resumed, and agreed with the noble earl, that it was an additional incitement for expressing their attachment to his majesty, which he hoped would be expressed unanimously.

Earl *Fortescue* rose for the purpose of moving an amendment, when he considered the manner in which the last parliament was dissolved, and the speech which had been now put into the mouth of his majesty, his lordship said he could not avoid expressing his greatest surprize at the conduct of his majesty's ministers. The last parlialiament, beyond any other, had teemed with measures of the greatest importance to the country, many of which were interrupted by its sudden and abrupt dissolution—a dissolution which had also been productive of the greatest inconvenience and distress to numerous individuals, from the interruption given to a great number of private bills. It had been urged by the supporters of the present ministers, that this inconvenience might be easily remedied by taking up those bills at the stages where they were left; but this operated to establish a principle pregnant with the utmost danger to the country, and he did not believe that the noble and learned lord upon the woolsack would defend the principle of resorting upon such an occasion, to a suspension of their standing orders. He could not forget the solemn mockery with which the Scots Judges were ordered to attend at the bar of the house, when it must be well known to his majesty's ministers that the bar would be, as it was, closed against them by the king's commissioners coming to the house to prorogue the parliament. Viewing all the circumstances under which the last parliament was dissolved, he could only consider that dissolution as a strong and arbitrary measure—a measure to which those ministers alone were entitled to resort who possessed the confidence of the country. What pretensions had the present ministers to the confidence of the country? they had already been tried in the public balance and had been proved wanting. They had only received the accession of a gentleman, certainly highly respectable, who had quitted his own profession to embark in politics, and who had since chiefly distinguished himself by fulminating anathemas, not only against Catholics, but against all descriptions of meeting-houses, nay, even against Synagogues; in short, against every person who would not sign the test of the infallibility of the present administration. After the parliament was dissolved the most Jacobinical means were resorted to, to inflame and irritate the country, a cry of "no popery" was set up, commencing with an address to the electors of Northampton, bursting into open riot at Bristol and Liverpool, and extending over the whole country the most irritating and inflammatory influence. It was, indeed, fortunate that the horrors which were witnessed in the metropolis in the year 1780, had not been revived; but no exertions seemed to have been spared to produce that irritation, which only fell short of the same horrible results. The noble earl who had moved, and the noble lord who had seconded the address, had spoken much of their attachment to his majesty. He did not mean to dispute their attachment; but he trusted they would not claim a monopoly of loyalty and attachment to his majesty. He revered his sovereign as much as these noble lords could do; nor would he be outdone in that affection and attachment which were due to his majesty's public and private virtues. He could not, however, suffer himself to be blinded by that attachment into a neglect or compromise of the principles of the constitution; and when he saw these principles violated by the conduct of the king's ministers, he would endeavour to do his duty as a lord of parliament, by delivering those sentiments which, in his judgment, the occasion called for. It had been said that numerous addresses had manifested the sense of the people, but was it to be contended, that because addresses had been procured from chapters and corporations, that therefore they spoke the sense of the people. Considering the subject in these points of view, and upon the grounds which he had stated, he felt it his duty to move an amendment, which, if carried, it would then be for the consideration of the house as to the manner in which it should be incorporated. The following amendment was moved by his lordship:—" That by a long experience of his majesty's virtues, we well know it to be his majesty's invariable wish, that all his prerogatives should be exercised solely for the advantage of his people. That our dutiful attachment to his majesty's person and government, obliges us therefore most humbly to lay before him the manifest misconduct of his ministers, in having advised the dissolution of the late parliament, in the midst of its first session, and within a few months after his majesty had been pleased to assemble it for the dispatch of the urgent business of the nation.—That this measure, advised by his majesty's ministers, at a time when there existed no difference between any of the branches of the legislature, nor any sufficient cause for an appeal to his majesty's people, was justified by no public necessity or advantage. That by the interruption of all private business then depending in parliament, it has been productive of great and needless inconvenience and expense, thereby wantonly adding to the heavy burdens which the necessities of the times require. That it has retarded many useful laws for the internal improvement of the kingdom, and for the encouragement and extension of its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. And that it has either suspended or wholly defeated, many most important public measures, and protracted much of the most weighty business of parliament, to a season of the year when its prosecution must be attended with the greatest public and private inconvenience. And that we feel ourselves bound still further to submit to his majesty, that all these mischiefs are greatly aggravated by the groundless and injurious pretences on which his majesty's ministers have publicly rested their evil advices; pretences affording no justification for the measure, but calculated only to excite the most dangerous animosities among his majesty's faithful subjects, at a period when their united effects were more than ever necessary for the security of the empire, and when to promote the utmost harmony and co-operation amongst them would have been the first object of faithful and provident ministers."——The amendment being read,

Lord *Boringdon* said, he was sorry to find himself compelled to differ from the noble lord who had just sat down, and for whom, as a friend, he had the highest esteem. His noble friend had directed a considerable portion of his argument against the late dissolution of parliament. He did not wish to go at length into the circumstances which led to that dissolution, the question having been so often argued. It was clear, however, to his mind, that the late ministers placed themselves in that situation which rendered their continuance in office impossible, without an anomaly in the constitution before unheard of; namely, that of ministers remaining in office with opinions directly hostile to those of their sovereign. To dissolve the parliament was his majesty's undoubted prerogative, for the exercise of which his confidential advisers were responsible. This principle was the same for whatever period the parliament had sat, and no preference could be given in the argument with respect to a parliament which had sat five sessions over one which had sat only two sessions, or to a parliament which had sat four sessions, over one which had sat only one session. He meant only to apply this to the dissolution of parliament resorted to by the late ministers. For the dissolution resorted to by the present ministers, there were urgent reasons of necessity. The friends of the late administration were sufficiently numerous in the other house to embarrass the operations of government, although not strong enough to bring themselves again into power. It, therefore, became necessary to appeal to the people, and this was rendered the more necessary by the irritation and difference of opinion which had been excited by the uncalled-for agitation of a question, calculated in an eminent degree to produce all those effects. Where, however, was the necessity for the dissolution resorted to by the late ministers in October last? the country was at that time quiet, there was no material difference of opinion upon any public topic, nothing in fact that could create the least necessity for a dissolution. It had been urged, that the rupture of the negociation with France was a sufficient ground for the measure. If this were so, then the rupture of every negociation in which the country had been engaged, would have been a sufficient ground for a similar measure; this, however, had never before been pretended. The arguments, therefore, of his noble friend, went much more against the dissolution resorted to by the late administration, than that to which the present ministers had had recourse. It had been said, that the cry of "no popery" had been raised by the present ministers, in order to raise a prejudice in their favour. He admitted that such a cry had existed in several places amongst the people; but, he denied that it had been raised by his majesty's ministers.

It were absurd to suppose that such a ridiculous cry could have been set up by his majesty's ministers, and the state of the elections abundantly proved that it had not been. If ministers had wished to raise such a cry, surely it would have been easy to find persons who would have been instrumental to such a purpose in Yorkshire, in Middlesex, and in other places. His noble friend had passed over in silence, the events which had taken place before Constantinople and in Egypt. He did not wish to discuss now the unfortunate results of those expeditions; but he could not help calling to the recollection of their lordships, the triumphant tone in which a noble lord (Kinnaird) of considerable talents, whom he regretted was not now a member of that house, spoke when a rumour reached this country, that the Turkish government had acceded to the terms proposed. That noble lord spoke of the Turkish empire being at the feet of Britain, and asked to whose wisdom and to whose policy we were indebted for so glorious an event? He would now ask to whose wisdom and to whose policy we were indebted for the unfortunate consequences of those expeditions? He could not conceive any occasion on which unanimity was more desirable than the present, and in that house more peculiarly, where it had not been the practice to move amendments to addresses, for he found that in the course of 25 years there were only three instances, namely, in 1801, in 1794, and 1795, where amendments were moved. He thought that a period like the present was one, when they should least of all deviate from the practice of the house, more peculiarly when the united energies of the country were required to combat an enemy, who had owed his successes more to the divisions amongst his opponents than to the skill or valour of his troops.

Lord *Holland* said, he felt some difficulty upon the present occasion, not in answering the arguments of noble lords on the other side, but, after what he had heard, in doing it with that decorum which he owed to their lordships. If the arguments of the noble lord who had just sat down, were to be adopted as the rule of conduct in that house, then all freedom of debate was at an end, and their lordships would have nothing to do but to re-echo every speech which the ministers for the time being chose to put into the mouth of his majesty. Such doctrines were the most dangerous and unconstitutional he had ever heard. He objected also most strongly, to the introduction of the king's name, and the king's opinions, into a debate in that house, as they had been upon this occasion. A noble lord (Rolle) had talked of embittering the latter days of his majesty. Gracious God! my lords, is it to be endured, that debates in this house are to be thus attempted to be influenced? if these opinions are to prevail, there is an end of the liberties of the people. What may be the consequences? My noble friend (lord Grenville) may, on this principle, say, with respect to the expedition to Constantinople and to Egypt, that it was the king's will; that it was the king's opinion that such an expedition should be sent. If such a principle is to be allowed, it is impossible to say where it can stop, until it has destroyed the privileges of this house and of parliament, and sapped and undermined the constitution itself. The noble lord has spoken of its being the practice of this house not to move amendments to addresses. During the few years I have been in parliament, it has been my misfortune (as probably the noble lord would call it) to be the greater part of that time in opposition; and, if my memory does not greatly deceive me, there are several more instances of amendments being moved to addresses than those quoted by the noble lord. But in what way, my lords, can this argument of the noble lord operate against the constitutional privilege of this house, to offer those sentiments to the throne which we conceive to be called for by our duty to our country? The noble lord, in speaking of dissolutions of parliament, has only stated that which was obvious, namely, that it is the king's undoubted prerogative to dissolve the parliament, and that his ministers are responsible for the exercise of that prerogative. The noble lord then went on to argue as to there being no preference between dissolving parliaments at different periods of their existence; but will it be contended for a moment that there is no difference between dissolving a parliament that has sat five years, and one which has sat only so many months? If the principle is good for any thing, it goes to this, that a parliament ought not to be dissolved at all, but be allowed to sit its full seven years; for the same arguments which the noble lord has applied against the dissolution resorted to by the late ministers when the parliament had sat four years, would apply to a parliament that had sat six years, and are decidedly against the dissolution of the last parliament, which the noble lord has nevertheless defended.

After hearing the defence set up by the noble lord for the late dissolution, I am surprised when a noble secretary of state (lord Hawkesbury) so eloquently declaimed against the dissolution of the preceding parliament, that the noble lord did not then rise to answer his arguments. The noble lord has, however, had recourse to a sort of *argumentum ad hominem,* in attacking the dissolution resorted to by the last ministers, but his argument decidedly makes against the point he intended to prove. The noble lord states, that at the time of that dissolution there was no irritation of the public mind, no material difference of opinion. Why, then, was not that the moment for an appeal to the people? The noble lord then states, that at the time of the last dissolution there was great irritability and collision of opinion. Is it not then clear, that that was a most improper period for a dissolution of parliament, when, instead of a cool and dispassionate appeal to the people, it could only be an appeal to their inflamed prejudices and passions? But my lords, is there no difference between dissolving parliament in the recess, and in the midst of a session? The opinion of one of the greatest men this country boasts, I mean, lord Somers, was, that to dissolve parliament in the midst of a session, was, if not absolutely, at least almost, illegal, and I will not allow for a moment that a prorogation for a day, followed by a dissolution, can make the slightest difference. It is a mere evasion. The noble lord having used an *argumentum ad hominem,* I may also be allowed the same kind of argument, and I call upon the noble duke now at the head of his majesty's counsels to take into his hand the speech now put into the mouth of his majesty, the speech delivered from the throne in the year 1784, and the amendment then moved in the other house of parliament, by Mr. Burke, which had the entire concurrence of the noble duke. If the noble duke can devote his attention to the subject, he will find those constitutional principles most ably and eloquently enforced in that amendment, which have now been so flagrantly violated. We were told in the speech put into the mouth of the king on the prorogation of the last parliament, that that was the most convenient time for putting a period to the business of parliament. It is impossible for me to apply that expression to this assertion of the ministers which it deserves. The most convenient time! when business of the utmost importance was interrupted, when there was no appropriation of the public money! And, my lords, I should wish to know whether the public money has not been, in consequence, illegally appropriated. My lords, these measures tend to make this house a cypher in the constitution. The great opulence which centers in this house contributes largely to the supplies, and the only hold we have upon them is the appropriation act. Supplies are not now raised as they formerly were; and the arguments which formerly justified resisting the supplies will not now justify them. Ministers have the supplies in their hands from the nature of the taxes; and if they can appropriate them, too, without coming to parliament, what security have we that parliaments will be assembled at all? My lords, these daily growing infringements of the constitution demand our most serious and earnest attention. I, who think the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished, am a friend to frequent appeals to the people, but not by means of dissolutions. Let parliaments, instead of septennial, be triennial, or I would not object to their being annual; let there be stated earlier periods for a recurrence to the sense of the people; but if parliament is to be threatened with dissolution—and I maintain that the entrance of that misguided monarch, Charles I. into the house of commons * was not a more outrageous violation of the constitution, than the threat used by a right hon. secretary of state, (Mr. Canning) in the late house of commons—then parliament becomes subjected to the will of the crown, as many would then weigh in the balance a seat which they may instantly lose, and a seat for six years, which will necessarily have an undue influence upon votes. The only objection I have to the late house of commons is, that they did not adopt those strong and energetic measures which such a threat imperiously called for.—With respect to the events which have happened in the Mediterranean and in Egypt, those with whom I had the honour to act, as well as myself, are anxious that every inquiry should be instituted which can tend to elucidate the circumstances which led to those events; but when I look at that part of the speech from the throne which refers to these events, I cannot help observing that the penman of this speech, in his eagerness to censure the late ministers, has put into his majesty's mouth a strong condemnation of his majesty's government. I also find in the same speech a desire that union and harmony may prevail. This recommendation of ministers, under the circumstances in which it is made, brings to my recollection a story which is almost too ludicrous for this house, but which is so extremely applicable that I cannot refrain from relating it Two persons in another part of the united kingdom having been at a fair, where less of that amusement had taken place than frequently prevails at fairs in that country, were displeased on their return that there had not been enough of what they called " rowing ;" after consulting together a little, one of them said to the other, I will tell you a sure way of having a row, let us go back to the fair and preach up " peace and good order." The noble lord has denied that ministers have raised any cry of " no popery," but, my lords, look at the address of the new chancellor of the exchequer to the electors of Northampton ; look also at those newspapers which are understood to be in the interest of government. My lords, in one of these papers it was observed immediately after the prorogation of parliament, that it was hoped the cry of " no popery" which had issued from the throne would be re-echoed in every quarter of the country. The noble lord has cast the cry upon the shoulders of the people ; but the people in general have too much good sense to be duped by such a cry, and the ministers with all their efforts have failed in their experiment. Let me however, pay that tribute to the right reverend prelates who sit in this house, to which they are entitled, for that firmness and moderation, which, amidst the cry to which I have alluded, have uniformly marked their conduct. There is another part of the speech, my lords, against which I protest, as most unconstitutional. We are told that the Addresses to which my noble friend (earl Fortescue) alluded, as addresses from chapters and corporations, we are told that these addresses have expressed the sense of the people. Thus, after an appeal to the people, the new parliament are to be told at the outset, we do not want you to express the sense of the people, it has been already expressed by chapters and corporations, and riotous meetings. My lords, I feel myself called upon by every motive of public duty to support this amendment. We have heard this night of systematic opposition ; but if ministers come into power upon unconstitutional principles, it is childish and absurd to talk of any other opposition than that of an united body, firmly acting upon the principles of the constitution, and determined to resist by every constitutional means those who have no other title to power than faction and intrigue.

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* See Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, vol. 2. p. 1009.

Lord *Mulgrave* observed, that the great object of censure from the other side of the house, was the dissolution of parliament, the legality of which the noble lord (Holland) had questioned. But this dissolution was not without good reasons ; reasons which did not exist when the former dissolution in October last had taken place. Measures of the greatest moment, brought forward by the late ministers, had been passed by the parliament which was then dissolved, and these also incompatible, in some degree, with former measures agreed to by the same parliament. Ministers had not then to fear any very formidable opposition, nor any factious Tavern Meetings, to concert schemes to obstruct the operations of government ; yet they dissolved that parliament. But before the late dissolution it was suspected that the noble lords on the other side, and their friends, would not shew an equal degree of moderation, and as far as experience had yet gone, the suspicion appeared to have been well-founded, and a dissolution became advisable. What was the ground of the dissolution in October ? Was it the failure of the negociation ? Disgraceful and ridiculous as the conduct of that negociation had been throughout, yet it was not perhaps so bad as people apprehended it was, when they saw that the expedient of a dissolution was resorted to. The noble lord then proceeded to compare the dissolution of 1784 with the late one. The dissolution of 1784 was founded on the best reasons of any he had heard of, except the last. The circumstances were, in a great measure, similar. The house of commons had then passed a measure pregnant with danger to the constitution, and when the king in consequence, thought proper to change his ministers. The junction of parties, formerly hostile to each other, enabled them to overpower the government. An appeal to the people then became necessary. Though in the late parliament the ministers had a majority, yet the opposite party had a number sufficient to embarrass the operations of government. A dissolution therefore became advisable. The cases were nearly similar, with this exception, however, that they on the other side who approved of the dissolution of 1784, censured the last. The cry of private influence had then been set up, and the noble lord on the opposite side (Grenville) had considered that cry as ridiculous then, though he had now joined in it. But the noble lord now acted with different persons, and "evil communications corrupt good manners." Then a dangerous measure had been passed by the commons, now an attack had been made on the personal conduct of the king. A great deal had been said about setting up the cry of "No Popery," but they themselves had set up that cry. The present ministry had nothing to do with it. The noble lord then detailed the proceedings respecting what had been called the Roman Catholic Measure, and contended that by that the late ministers had raised the cry which they now wished to shift from themselves to the present ministers. A noble lord (Holland) said, that it was an anomaly in the constitution that the king could think at all. Now the late ministers had declared their wishes to his majesty to explain their conduct, because they had seen a paragraph in a newspaper which they did not like. By this means they wished to lay the blame on his majesty, but at the same time they must, as faithful counsellors, have advised him not to comply with their request, because it was an anomaly in the constitution, that he should think at all. How could the noble lords reconcile this contradiction? He declared that he was unable to meet with such another attempt to bring blame directly upon the Sovereign in the whole history of the country. The noble lords on the opposite side also objected to the introduction of the allusions to the failure in the sea of Marmora and Egypt. But if we did meet with reverses, were these to be passed over in silence? If objects were undertaken without means, and if we were to be baffled by the weakest of enemies, were these things to be suffered to pass over like a morning cloud? No, surely. The speech stated the facts, and they were facts worthy of notice. The noble lord concluded, by declaring his warm concurrence in the address.

Lord *Holland*, in explanation, said, that what he had stated was, that the mention of the failures was evidently introduced as a censure on the late government, and therefore made his majesty censure his own acts. He had not deprecated but courted inquiry into the whole conduct of the late ministry. He had only said, that the present censure was premature and inconsistent.

Lord *Erskine* said, that the observations of his noble friend (lord Holland) had called to his recollection the part which he himself had acted in the year 1784 along with the noble duke opposite (Portland). He called upon the noble duke to reconcile his present conduct with what it had been at that period. Under the auspices of that noble duke he had drawn up an address to the king against the dissolution, and had assisted in carrying it to the foot of the throne. That address stated that the dissolution of parliament merely at the pleasure of every minister would be attended with the most dangerous consequences; that it was fitting that ministers should yield to parliaments, and not parliaments to them; that ministers would, by holding threats of a dissolution over the commons, afford them the strongest inducements to abandon the interests of their constituents, and that a mortal blow would thus be given to the popular branch of the constitution. How could the noble duke reconcile his present conduct with these sentiments? The noble lord on the other side (Mulgrave) had said, that he and his friends had not set up the cry of "no popery," and that the dissolution was the consequence of a personal attack on the king. He desired that the speech respecting the dissolution should be read (this was accordingly read by the Clerk at the table). He now appealed to the honour of the house, to the English language, and to common sense, whether the cry of no popery did not run through the whole speech, and whether, as appeared from that, the pretended danger to the church, and not the explanation of ministers, was not the alledged cause of the dissolution? The late ministers had been grossly calumniated: they had been accused of disrespect to their sovereign, whom no man more deeply revered than he did, and of an attempt to deceive him. Under these circumstances, they had requested permission to state the facts as they really were, not for the purposes of discussion, but merely to bring before parliament the true state of the case, and to clear themselves from a most foul and groundless calumny. The noble lord said, that they had abandoned a measure which they had stated to be indispensible to the security of Ireland. But there was surely some difference between what was highly expedient and what was essentially necessary. They had consented to give up the measure for the present, in deference to the feelings of his majesty, being convinced, however, of its expediency, and reserving the liberty of submitting to the king, for his decision, the same question, if it should appear to them, at a future period, to be absolutely necessary. But could this proceeding be the ground for dissolving the parliament? Were parliaments then to suffer for the conduct of ministers? What had the late house of commons done that it should be dissolved? In 1784, the house had passed a measure which was considered as obnoxious; but what had the late house of commons done? It had certainly not passed the Catholic bill, though the ministers had proposed it. Upon what principle, then, was it charged with the acts of ministers? The previous dissolution, in October, had taken place when parliament was not sitting, and when no public business was interrupted. It was a material object to have greater unanimity in times of great danger and difficulty, and the dissolution answered that purpose. How, then, could the cases, he said, be parallel? Were parliaments then to be dissolved, always, whenever the king thought proper to change his ministers? If this was the case, if the threats of secretaries of state were to be held out *in terrorem*, and if parliaments were to suffer for the conduct of ministers, it was much to be feared that the consequences to the constitution would be of the most alarming nature. He was afraid it would be thought that the crown, from the greatness of the expenditure, and the consequent increase of offices, had too much influence in the choosing of the members, and that the constitution would be considered as degenerating fast into an absolute monarchy. He dreaded lest the house of commons might be placed in a situation where the representatives would find the strongest temptations to abandon the cause of their constituents, and become little better than appendages to the ministers of the crown.—The noble lord declared his firm conviction of the truth of christianity, and of its benignant and civilizing influence, although it had often been wrested to the worst of purposes. Of the melancholy effects of stirring up religious clamours, history afforded abundant instances. Was it, then, amidst the prevalence of a fanatical and unfounded cry, that parliament ought to have been dissolved? Ought advantages to have been taken of the agitations produced by an appeal to the worst and most violent passions of a misguided people? He did not observe his noble and learned friend, the chief justice of the king's bench (lord Ellenborough) in his place. But if he were in the house, he would have appealed to him, whether it was not the practice in his court to put off the hearing of a common cause, when the public mind was strongly agitated about the circumstances. How much more, then, was it necessary to have allowed the passions of the people to cool, before they should be called on to decide on a measure of this magnitude? There was a very marked distinction between the dissolution of 1784 and the last one. The last house of commons had done no one act that could call for it; it had not even expressed any bad opinions of the present ministers; except, indeed, its having passed a resolution against granting offices in reversion, or offices for life that had been usually held during pleasure, could be considered as such. His noble friend (lord Holland) had told a ludicrous story about a method for having a row. He also recollected a story that was somewhat in point. A person wishing to have a quarrel came up to another who was standing with his back to the fire and feeling very comfortable, and said, "You lie, sir;" "truly," said the other, "I did not speak." "No matter," said the quarrelling gentleman, "you lie, sir." So the last parliament stood with its back to the fire; it did nothing offensive, and yet it was dissolved. But if parliaments were to look with apprehension to ministers instead of ministers having a proper respect to parliament, then the house of commons was destroyed, and there was an end of the constitution. If, when the people were so much burthened with taxes which they cheerfully paid when convinced that the public service required them, if in these circumstances they should be compelled to believe that they had no security in their representatives, what would be the consequences. Convinced that they had no safeguard against the exactions of ministers, no security for the proper application of the revenue, they would begin to think that their burthens were heavier than the public service required, and having no remedy for the grievance, they might be apt to become desperate. This was the origin of revolutions, and was a state of things which ought to be carefully avoided. It was ridiculous and unconstitutional to set the addresses of corporations and meetings against the opinion of the house of commons, which was the proper organ to convey the sense of the people to the crown. If these addresses were favourable, then they were held up as the sense of the people; if unfavourable, they were said to be seditious, and trials for such addresses might be recollected. If the addresses were not favourable, then the grapes were sour, and they could not eat them. He concluded by declaring his assent to the amendment.

Earl *Grosvenor* observed, that the king's speech, instead of being previously read at the Cockpit as formerly, was now read at private meetings, so that noble lords could not be prepared, and therefore he thought it might not be improper to adjourn for twenty-four hours, in order to have time to consider the speech. He adverted to the conduct of the ministers since they came into power. Their first act was to have recourse to the assistance of lord Melville, notwithstanding the resolutions on the Journals of the house of commons. But that and other things dwindled almost to nothing in comparison with the unconstitutional act of dissolving the parliament. The present momentous crisis required a firm, an able, and an efficient ministry. Whether the present ministers came under that description, parliament must determine. But he thought they afforded but an unfavourable specimen of their future conduct, by shrinking from the responsibility of having advised the dismissal of the late ministers. It was a constitutional maxim, founded in wisdom, that the king could do no wrong; for if he could, what scenes of bloodshed must ensue before he could be brought to do justice. The parliament, he said, had done nothing that could require a dissolution. The reason alledged for it was, the expediency of taking the sense of the people. That, he contended, was the late ministers, and instanced the great county of York. His lordship then adverted to the accusations against the late ministers, for opposing the government. One would think, he observed, on hearing these, that this was some despotic government. The king had his prerogative, but the houses of lords and commons had their prerogative also; and there seldom had been an occasion on which it was more requisite for them to exercise it than the present.

Lord *Sidmouth* observed, that if he had hopes before that unanimity would prevail on this occasion, he must now own he was afraid he was disappointed. But he did feel that unanimity was so important to the interests of the country in the present situation of affairs, that unless the address expressed opinions in which he could not concur, or contained unfounded accusations, he should feel himself bound in duty to support it. But if noble lords really thought that the dissolution of the last parliament was ill advised, he perfectly agreed that this was the most proper occasion for them to express that opinion. He would go farther; something had been said here, and a great deal out of doors, about the impropriety of giving notice, that a division would certainly take place on the address. That clamour, he had no hesitation to say, was unfounded. If it had been stated that amendments were to be proposed in certain passages before the speech was fully determined on, and before the precise nature of it could be known, that indeed would have been indecent. But having in contemplation such an amendment as this, they might safely say beforehand that a division would certainly take place, because they might be assured that ministers would not censure their own act. He thought it due to the noble lords, therefore, to state the impression made on his mind by this circumstance. He again stated, that he most strongly felt the necessity of unanimity. Their lordships were now in a different situation from what they were before, when it was matter of complaint, that an abstract proposition was brought forward, the effect of which, if assented to, would have been to annul the prerogative of the king, in the choice of his ministers. The fact of the advice had been there assumed, and censure was to proceed upon that. But the dissolution was an act of government, and the fact of the advice was certain. The only question, therefore, was, whether it was blameable? He had before stated his deep regret at the change of the ministry, and that regret he still retained; but that having been unavoidable, he thought the dissolution, in the state of parties, to be unavoidable also, and therefore warrantable and justifiable. He could not, therefore, say with the amendment, that the ministers were guilty of manifest misconduct in this particular.—Much had been said about the agitations which had been produced in the country. He trusted he need not state that he would join in no party cry, that had deception and intolerance for its object. When he came into administration, in 1801, under circumstances not dissimilar, he had raised no cry about the church being in danger. Parliament was not dissolved till the year after, and not a word was said about danger to the church. The fact was, that the late events had peculiarly interested the feelings of the people. If the cry was raised for the purpose of making a stalking horse of the danger to the church, it was undoubtedly censurable. But that had been disclaimed, and he hoped, that the negation was well-founded. But much of the cry arose from an attachment to the established church, and an opinion that no further concessions ought to be made. Wherever that motive prevailed, he respected the cry, and he thought that it had afforded additional security to the established church, which, notwithstanding what a noble lord (Holland) had said, he thought intimately connected with the constitution. —There was no distinction in principle, he said, between the dissolutions of April and October. As to the inconvenience to the public business, the same thing had taken place in 1784, and as he had concurred in that, he could not on this account disapprove of the last dissolution. He hoped the present ministers would establish their efficiency. The crisis was momentous. He hoped they would recollect that we were at war against the most formidable enemy that had ever threatened this country, the destruction of which he was meditating, no less on the banks of the Vistula, than if he were on the banks of the Seine. He hoped ministers were sensible of our peril, that government was fully impressed with the danger, and had prepared measures to meet it. He would judge of them, not only by their measures, but by the weight they would have both at home and abroad. If they were deficient in any of these essential requisites, they were unfit for the crisis, and ought not to continue in office. He would do to them as he would wish others to do by him. He would judge them by their conduct. His party was the country and his king, and he felt it his duty, under all the circumstances, to resist the amendment.

The Earl of *Selkirk* declared his concurrence in the observations made by the noble viscount who had just sat down, and thought that the late dissolution of parliament could not be reprobated on any principle that would not equally apply to that of last year. The inconvenience arising from a dissolution must be balanced by the strength of the reasons which required it. The noble and learned lord (Erskine) in comparing the present case with that of 1784, had alleged that there was no ground for the late dissolution, because the house of commons had not, in the late case, come to issue with the government on any particular question; but a very large proportion of the house had concurred in the expression of principles subversive of the constitutional prerogatives of the crown. Principles had been laid down and supported by very great numbers, which would reduce to an empty name the prerogative of the king in choosing his own ministers. It had been alleged, that an unconstitutional pledge had been demanded of ministers, and that, without inquiring who had really been the advisers, their successors were to be held as responsible for that demand. The necessary consequence from this doctrine was, that no other ministry could possibly accept of office constitutionally, which was as much as to say, that the king could not legally dismiss the ministers he actually had. This was a doctrine that went to subvert the constitution, and distinguished those who held it from all former oppositions. When a set of ministers had by their conduct proved themselves unfit for their situations, a systematic opposition was justifiable; but the doctrines that had been maintained in the last parliament would equally justify an opposition against the best ministers as against the worst. When so great a proportion of the house maintained so violent a doctrine, he thought that even though they did not absolutely amount to a majority, a case had occurred that fairly might justify an appeal to the people. But though he thus considered the dissolution as justifiable, and should therefore vote against the amendment that had been proposed to the address, he could not extend this to an approbation of government in the conduct of the elections, and particularly in the cry of "no popery" that had been encouraged, for though ministers now disclaimed it, yet circumstances were such, that it seemed impossible for any reasonable and impartial man to doubt with whom the cry had originated; and he thought that their conduct in this respect deserved the reprobation of the house and of the country.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* declared, that after the manner in which all arguments, and every attempt at argument, had been already answered; after the luminous speech which their lordships had heard from his noble and learned friend (lord Erskine), it would be impossible for him to add any thing further upon the subject. The question which was then under their lordships' consideration, however, was of such importance, that, in justice to himself he was compelled to declare his sentiments, and not suffer the question to pass with only a silent vote from him. A noble viscount (lord Sidmouth) for whom he entertained the highest respect, had observed, that if it was justifiable to dissolve one parliament at any period short of its statutable duration, we might, by parity of reasoning, justify all dissolutions of parliament, whatever might be the extent of the parliament's existence at the time when such an event took place. But he would ask that noble lord, and he would ask the house, if there was not, exclusive of the consideration of the length of time which the parliament had been then acting, and the length of time which it was entitled, by regular course of law, still to act; he would ask if, exclusive of this consideration, there was not some difference to be discovered in the circumstances under which a parliament might be dissolved? He would ask, what interruption the business of the public had met with during the existence of the late parliament? And knowing, as he did, and as he was convinced many of their lordships must also have observed, that the public business would, on the one hand, have been materially forwarded, if parliament had been suffered to continue in the exercise of its functions, until, at least, the business of the session was at an end, he thought, as, in fact, he thought was just in all cases where a parliament was dissolved in the middle of a session, that it was the duty of ministers to adduce sufficient argument, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, to justify themselves for having advised the adoption of such a precipitate step; it was the act of his majesty's government, and the onus lay entirely with his majesty's servants. It had been said, however, in effect, by a noble lord opposite, that parliament was formerly dissolved upon nearly as bad ground as that upon which the dissolution of the late parliament took place. But he would ask any one of their lordships if it was a sufficient justification of their conduct for any one set of ministers to say to another: "You formerly adopted such a measure which was bad, and therefore we are now entitled to take another step, which is somewhat worse?" Such an attempt at argument, he was confident, could have no weight in such an enlightened assembly as that which he was then addressing. And he must declare most unequivocally, that in his opinion no one fair ground of justification had yet been given to parliament or to the country for the extraordinary advice which his majesty's present ministers had given to dissolve a parliament that was faithful to the country, loyal to the sovereign, and in the midst of transacting the most important business. But it might be said, that the church was in danger. That was a cry which had been raised too generally out of doors. He did not imagine that any noble lord would be bold enough to rise in his place as a peer of parliament, and declare that he seriously thought there could be any danger to the established church from any measure that had been proposed immediately before the dissolution, even if it were carried into effect. But how absurd, how ridiculously preposterous must it appear, to see that such an alarm was endeavoured to be excited in many parts of the country after that measure was withdrawn! It was a fact which still remained without a disavowal on the part of his majesty's ministers, and which was openly and publicly declared by many of their friends. At the same time, he had too high an opinion of their lordships' liberality and good sense to imagine, that any one noble lord in that house, whether a member of his majesty's government or not, ever once for a moment believed, that at this day there was any danger to the church establishment to be apprehended in England. But there was still a circumstance, respecting which he should be glad to be informed; he should be glad to know upon what ground it was stated in all the addresses to his majesty on this head, that the church and state were supposed to be in the most imminent danger? He was induced to ask for this information from his observation that these addresses uniformly came from places where ministers were known to have the greatest influence. In fact, their zeal was so very eager in its pursuit of addresses, that it was officially acknowledged in one instance that it outran the fact; an address was formally inserted in the London Gazette, from the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, in the city of Dublin, in support of this idle cry; but, was it a fact, that the members of that University actually joined in that senseless clamour? No; that learned body was too enlightened and too liberal to indulge in such a prejudice, as that with which they were attempted to be branded; and the same London Gazette, printed by the authority of government, was afterwards obliged to confess that no such address had been presented! —Now that he spoke of public proceedings, he recollected, and it was a fact which must be known to many of their lordships, that an advertisement was printed in the public papers signed with the name of his majesty's chancellor of the exchequer, thus adding the weight and influence of office to the authority which the learned gent.'s own name brought with it. He did not yet know that this was contradicted, and while such a cry was suffered to be spread throughout the country without contradiction from those in whose name they were circulated, the prejudices of the people were wantonly excited. The people, in many instances, took no time to consider more than if a cry of "fire, fire," was raised; though this should be done at a time when there was no danger, still the people, if they heard that the cry was raised by those whose duty it was to take care of their interests, might be apt not to consider or examine into the ground of the alarm, but betake themselves to any mean that was suggested to them as the most likely to insure their safety. At the same time that these alarms were spread without contradiction, he could not refrain from noticing the duplicity of which his majesty's ministers were guilty; whilst they themselves appeared to be thus engaged in exciting animosity amongst his majesty's subjects, they put it into his majesty's mouth that he recommended unanimity among all classes and descriptions of his people. With the noble viscount (lord Sidmouth) he must observe, that of those men his expectations were not equal to his wishes, that they might save the country at the present momentous crisis. He should therefore support the amendment.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* maintained, that the conduct of his majesty's present ministers was strictly justifiable in having recommended the dissolution of the late parliament. The catholics would now see, that notwithstanding their cause was supported by a powerful and respectable party in this country, yet that the opinion of their sovereign was against them, and that in that opinion he was supported by the general sentiments of the people.

Lord *Grenville* said, he had no doubt, that the authors of the speech that day delivered to their lordships were the authors or advisers of the dissolution of parliament. It appeared, that the authors of the speech had some idea of shrinking from responsibility, because they had not only been guilty of a violation of the ancient forms of the constitution, but had that night remained silent on the subject of their misconduct. A noble lord had said, that on examining the Journals of the house, he had not been able to discover, in the course of 25 years, more than three amendments to the address. But that noble lord had not explained the cause why so few amendments had been brought forward in the course of that period. He would, however, tell the noble lord: the minister who had framed or sanctioned the addresses for that period, had been careful to conciliate the good wishes of parliament. In this instance, however, all attempts at conciliation had been carefully avoided. The wording or composition of the speech, his lordship observed, instead of being of a conciliatory nature, was the very reverse. As to the speech of the lords commissioners, not that of his majesty, for he could not consider it in any other view—it was, in his lordship's opinion, of a most violent and acrimonious nature. It was any thing but conciliation. With regard to the dissolution of parliament, it was a measure which could not be too severely reprobated. The king's prerogative ought certainly to be freely exercised; but the secret advisers of a measure, for which there was no national necessity, deserved the severest censure. Some of the adherents of the present ministers had expressed a belief that the dissolution would pass without much censure; but his lordship always remained fully persuaded, that it was impossible men should not be found who would shew their utter indignation, nay detestation, of such an act; and that parliament was about to declare its disapprobation of the unconstitutional measure. Those who had no ground to justify the dissolution, but wanted some pretext for expressing their sentiments in favour of the administration, recurred to the parallel case of the year 1784, and therefore drew the conclusion, that as a dissolution had then taken place, a dissolution in the year 1807 was also justifiable. Such an observation was, however, erroneous in the extreme. A dissolution might be justified in the year 1784, and yet not be justifiable in the year 1807. In referring to the dissolution of 1784, an insinuation had been advanced against a noble relation of his (the marquis of Buckingham), now absent from the house. With regard to that noble marquis, his conduct had always appeared to him so pure and unimpeachable, that he might take it upon him to say, that there was no act of his life, of which he (lord G.) as a relative and a man would not be proud. Respecting the dissolution of the year 1784, and that of 1807, there was, as had already been shewn, a very wide difference. The grounds for the former dissolution arose from a serious difference between the two houses of parliament. It, therefore, became an indispensible measure. Was there a similar reason now? No. Had there existed any difference between the two houses, regarding the confidence in his majesty's present ministers? No. There was no idea entertained of withdrawing public confidence from ministers. The alarm was therefore ill-founded. Was it not dangerous to expose parliament to the contempt or derision of the people, by a dissolution for which there was no cause, whether considered as to manner or time? Certainly. The more confidence the people reposed in parliament, the greater became the respectability of parliament. One noble lord had spoken in favour of annual parliaments; but such a dissolution as that lately experienced was even shorter than annual parliaments—scarcely half of that period. He was a friend to rational liberty, but he was an enemy to every measure which would tend to the introduction of anarchy or confusion. Annual parliaments might in the minds of some men have their attractions; but he, for his part, was not friendly to such a system of representation. Annual parliaments would not only be troublesome and burthensome to the people, but by no means productive of the advantages which were promised from the imaginations of some projectors. He denied the truth of a noble lord's hypothesis, that the dissolution of 1806 was no more justifiable than that of 1807. If seriously and gravely asked what period he would sooner select than that of any other for the dissolution, he would answer, that of the year 1806, because the minds of the people were not in a state of fermentation from the agitation of any particular measure. From every view of the dissolution of the year 1806, he had not only no cause to regret it, but was confident the act was approved of universally. With regard to the postponement of the private business by the last dissolution, ministers had been guilty of a gross breach of faith with individuals. If ancient forms be necessary in the conduct of parliament, why was the latter taken by surprize? Why supersede the common usages of parliament? If forms or usages be outraged, there is not only an end at once of parliament, but an end of the responsibility of ministers. Such wanton abuse of power not only called aloud for condemnation, but also for reform. His lordship, among the enumeration of several acts which had severely suffered by the interruption in consequence of the dissolution of parliament, mentioned the measure which he had the honour of proposing for the better administration of justice in Scotland. It had been universally acknowledged by intelligent men, that abuses existed in the administration of justice there, which ought to be reformed. The bill to which he alluded, he proposed to submit again to the consideration of their lordships in the course of a few days. Let ministers then take care of their characters, for he would do his duty. Among other gross inconveniences which would arise from the dissolution, was the serious interruption or blow which the revenue of Ireland would receive. The bill for the management of that revenue expired on the 5th of July. The revenue must either cease to be raised, or those concerned in its collection, must be guilty of a violation of the constitution. Another criminal violation of law and the constitution arose from a certain act between America and this country being now about to expire: the duties, therefore, on shipments of goods from America to this country, could not by law be collected. Did ministers know that the act expired on the 1st of July? They ought not surely to plead ignorance, as a reference to the expiring acts on the journals of the house of commons would inform them of the serious fact. His lordship wished to learn how far ministers would be justified in the collection of the revenue arising either from American goods, or in Ireland? It was not merely for refusing to pay ship money that Hampben sustained a trial, but to ascertain whether or not he lived in a free country. If acts of revenue be allowed to be suspended one month, why not six? If six, why not twelve months? Some might say, that they lived in a free country, but they might with some propriety affirm, when referring to these outrages of the law, that it was not so. These are the chief grounds, said the noble lord, on which I think that his majesty's ministers have been guilty of criminal misconduct. Has the outcry of "No Popery" answered the purpose of ministers? It certainly has not, for those who were deluded have returned to their sober reason. Have ministers been guilty of exciting these outcries and prejudices? We have not as yet heard any of them disclaim the charge. But the people have long ere now discovered the imposition upon their credulity. Therefore his lordship ironically wished to learn, how his majesty's ministers meant to acquit or justify themselves on the occasion? Had they acknowledged their faults or deceptions to their constituents? He wished to know if the Chancellor of the University of Oxford had written to his constituents, the members of the University, acknowledging his mistake or delusion in giving them a false alarm? Had his majesty's chancellor of the exchequer written to his constituents of Northampton, acknowledging his error? Had he declared that all the hand bills of "No Popery," &c. were not sanctioned by his signature, but were forgeries? Had he assured his constituents, that no cause had ever existed for their fears and alarms? Had the Chancellor of the University of Dublin (the Duke of Cumberland) written to his constituents, acknowledging not only the forgery imposed upon him and the London Gazette, which had caused the strange *erratum* that some days ago appeared in that paper, but acknowledging also the delusion which had nearly frightened the members of that respectable University from their propriety?—His lordship said he had been told that the Secretary of State had received an address conveying sentiments of a very illiberal nature, saying that the catholics ought not to be trusted with arms. He hoped it was not true that such a dangerous address had been presented from any incorporated body whatever. His lordship expressed his surprize how it could be possible for the noble viscount to mistake the import of that part of the speech in which mention is made of the expedition to Turkey; and he would put it to any noble lord whether he believed that the person who framed the paragraph alluded to, did it merely for the purpose of detailing the facts, or whether they did not believe in their hearts it was done for the purpose of misrepresentation? He was far from wishing to avoid inquiry and investigation. On the contrary, he wished ardently for the arrival of the period when whispers could be circulated with comparatively as little avail as garbled publications. He desired only, in justice to the characters of those naval and military persons employed, that judgment should be withheld until their details of the transactions were before them. In prosecuting inquiry he would afford every assistance in his power. He wished that the whole subject might be brought under investigation without reserve, for he knew of none that was necessary.

Lord *Sidmouth* rose to explain. He said that he had read over the paragraph alluded to by the noble baron with the greatest care and attention, and he did not find one sentence which appeared to convey blame on the advisers of that expedition.

The *Lord Chancellor* persisted, that the communication from the throne implied no censure on the conduct of his majesty's late ministers; while, on the contrary, his majesty's present government was stigmatised by the amendment, which accused them of manifest misconduct. He adverted to what had been said respecting the difference of one or two words in the speech which were in fact clerical errors, and not originally intended. No part of the speech called for a parliamentary approbation of the recent measure of dissolution. He was free to say, that it was undoubtedly the right of that house, when they thought such proceedings went upon constitutional grounds, to impute blame to those ministers who advised the act of dissolving parliament. But no question of that sort arose from the tenor of the speech. But on this head particularly the address meant to arraign the conduct of ministers. In the case of last year, there was no reason whatever assigned for the measure of dissolution; though it was the more requisite, as the parliament before the last was dissolved after a proclamation had been actually issued for its meeting on a particular day for the dispatch of business. For the recent case, he only asked of the noble baron to support it on the same principle he had supported the dissolution in 1784. His lordship then adverted to those measures of the late ministers which more immediately led to the change. And particularly adverting to the ministerial change, he observed, if it were presumed that from the act of taking office, the present had advised the dismissal of the late ministers, then the former were responsible; but such a conclusion he was not disposed to admit. He concluded by saying, that the measure of the recent dissolution was warranted by the necessity of the case.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* reprobated the late dissolution additionally for the critical time in which it took place, which aggravated its injurious consequences. His lordship took occasion to advert to the indignity which had been offered to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, in the proceedings on the Scots Peers election, when the annunciation of his proxies were not received in the customary respectful manner. Had he fortunately been there, he should have noticed such a pointed omission in a proper manner: he added, that disrespect could not be shewn to any one branch of the royal family, without at the same time reflecting on the august head of it.

Lord *Hawkesbury* defended what he had

said in the last session against the dissolution of 1806, which, he argued, was called for by no necessity, nor was there any assigned. In the present, ministers proceeded upon great and important grounds. He admitted it was an extraordinary measure of the kind, and that it could be justified only by the special circumstances of the case, by the paramount considerations which would crush all the objections to it, and ministers were prepared to justify it on their responsibility. He expatiated on the primary duty of preserving the constitution of the country in church and state, as by a succession of laws established. He adverted to a publication not long since by a Roman Catholic in Ireland, (sir John Throckmorton) in which, among other points which shewed the views and dispositions of a part, at least, of the Roman Catholics of that country, a proposition was broached of the propriety and justice of appointing Catholics and Protestants alternately to the Bishops' sees in that country. Surely that was enough to induce the British government to pause, and seriously reflect as to its conduct with respect to them. He had a favourable opinion of the Irish; they were an open-hearted, liberal people, and had his majesty's late ministers candidly stated to the Catholic part of them at once, that beyond a certain point they could not concede, they would have been more pleased and satisfied with it, than with the line of proceeding they had thought proper to adopt. With respect to the conduct of his majesty, with regard to that great question, if ever the public opinion in this country was clearly pronounced, it was pronounced upon that occasion. There were some political considerations with respect to the empire, which should be immutable, and not subject to variation as subordinate laws; such were its religion and its constitution.

The question was then put, and a division took place, when there appeared, for the amendment—

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Stafford
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Earl of Derby
Suffolk
Thanet
Essex
Scarborough
Albemarle
Jersey
Cholmondeley
Tankerville
Cowper
Shaftsbury
Fitzwilliam
Guildford
Hardwicke
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Leicester
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Lucan
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Anson

Baron De Clifford
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Stawell
Holland
Southampton
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Somers
Braybroke
Grenville
Auckland
Dundas
Yarborough
Cawdor
Carrington
Lilford
Clifden
Erskine
Ponsonby

Bishop of Oxford

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 26.

At three o'clock Mr. Quarme, yeoman usher of the black rod, appeared at the bar, and in the name of the lords authorised by virtue of his majesty's commission, required the immediate attendance of the commons in the house of peers, to hear the commission read. The Speaker, and nearly all the members present, attended. On their return, the Speaker having informed the house, that the clerk had, according to custom, prepared a bill to prevent clandestine outlawry, the same was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time. The grand committees for religion, for courts of justice, and for trade, and the committee of privileges were appointed. The customary resolutions relative to the term of limitation for petitions complaining of undue returns, and the standing orders of the house were read and agreed to.

[The Lord Commissioners' Speech.]—The *Speaker* then acquainted the house, that that house had been in the house of peers, where the lords authorised by his majesty's commission had delivered a speech to both houses of parliament, of which, to prevent mistakes, he had obtained a copy. (See p. 577)—After the Speaker had read the speech,

Lord *Newark* rose and addressed the house as follows:—In rising, sir, to move an Address of thanks to his majesty for his most gracious Speech from the throne, I cannot but feel a considerable degree of solicitude and embarrassment, from the apprehension of my not being able to acquit myself as I ought, in the arduous task I have undertaken. Conscious as I am, that I have but little pretensions to warrant me in such an act of presumption, as that of troubling this house with my sentiments, I feel more peculiarly the force of this difficulty, when I have to address you on a question, which may probably occasion a very important and interesting discussion. This consideration, sir, would have prompted me to decline the honor I now have of presenting myself to your notice, had I not been encouraged by the indulgence uniformly shewn by this house to every gentleman who has offered himself under similar circumstances. With this impression on my mind, I shall not, sir, presume to trespass long on the patience of the house, while I beg leave to call its attention to the leading points of his majesty's most gracious speech, and to request its concurrence in the address of thanks I shall have the honour to move. It is unnecessary for me, sir, to enter at any length into the circumstances which led to the dissolution of the last parliament, as those circumstances have repeatedly been discussed in this house, and are now become the subject of public notoriety. I am the more disposed to avoid any such discussion, as it must necessarily involve points on which I am aware there is a great difference of opinion. His majesty has, in his wisdom, thought it expedient to avail himself of the only constitutional mode of collecting the sense of his people, by dissolving the late parliament, and by calling that which is now convened. By this measure, this house is now become the organ of expressing the public opinion; and I trust we shall, if not by our unanimous vote this night, at least by a considerable majority, prove, not only our affectionate attachment to his majesty's person and government, but also to those sound constitutional principles, expressed, as they have been, in the many loyal and dutiful addresses presented at the foot of the throne. The country, sir, has, beyond all question, shewn its determination to support his majesty, in the exercise of the rightful prerogatives of the crown, and in his efforts to withstand every unconstitutional innovation. Need I advert, sir, in support of my argument, to that recent instance of his patriotism, to that paternal solicitude and regard for the best interests of his Protestant subjects, which has endeared him to us more than any other act of his long and eventful reign? While this, sir, is yet fresh in our recollection, can this house withhold its tribute of gratitude to him, for having thus approved himself as the watchful guardian of our constitutional rights, and as the faithful and patriot sovereign of a loyal and affectionate people?—His majesty, having expressed to us his solicitude to cultivate among his allies on the continent that mutual good understanding and confidence so essential to the success of the common cause, next calls our attention to his ineffectual attempt to mediate between Russia and the Porte, and to the hostilities with the latter power, in which it has been the necessary cause of involving him. He laments, as we have all to lament, in two unfortunate instances, the failure of the gallant efforts of his navy and army, and the loss of so many of his brave and valuable subjects. These reverses are I trust, but partial and temporary; and it would be in vain to hope for uninterrupted success, in so extensive a scale of military operations, as that in which we are engaged. His majesty next appeals to the loyalty and zeal of his faithful commons, for their furnishing such farther supplies, as may be necessary for the public service; and expresses his conviction of the necessity of a careful and economical administration of them. I am willing to flatter myself, and moreover to believe, that the same laudable principle will influence the conduct of his majesty's confidential servants; and am happy to hear, that those inquiries into the public expenditure, which were prosecuted in the last parliament, will be revived in this. I shall now, sir, detain the house no longer with my observations, than while I make a remark on the conclusion of his majesty's speech. He calls on us to cherish among ourselves a spirit of union and harmony; and when, I would ask, was ever such a suggestion more seasonable, or more impressive? We have still an arduous conflict to sustain, we have to withstand and counteract the hostility of a powerful, inveterate, and rancorous foe; and have surely need of all our united energies for the attainment of a secure and honourable peace. I shall conclude with moving, "That an humble Address be presented to his majesty, humbly thanking his majesty for the most gracious speech which the lords commissioners have read by his majesty's command: to return his majesty our cordial thanks for having, in conformity to his declared intention, caused the present parliament to be assembled without loss of time, after having deemed it expedient, at so important a moment, to recur to the sense of his people: to express our sincere satisfaction at hearing that, since the events which led to the dissolution of the last parliament, his majesty has received, in numerous Addresses from his subjects, the warmest assurances of their affectionate attachment to his person and government, and of their firm resolution to support him in maintaining the just rights of his crown, and the true principles of the constitution; and to assure his majesty that we shall be disposed to afford him our most zealous and affectionate support under all the arduous circumstances of the present time: to express to his majesty our warmest acknowledgements of his majesty's wisdom and goodness, in having most anxiously employed his endeavours for the purpose of drawing closer the ties by which his majesty is connected with the powers of the continent, of assisting the efforts of those powers against the ambition and oppression of France, of forming such engagements as may ensure their continued co operation, and of establishing that mutual confidence and concert so essential, under any course of events, to the restoration of a solid and permanent peace in Europe: to assure his majesty, that it would have afforded us the greatest pleasure to have heard that the mediation undertaken by his majesty for the purpose of preserving peace, between his majesty's ally the emperor of Russia and the Sublime Porte, had proved effectual to that important object; and to concur with his majesty in deeply regretting the failure of that mediation, accompanied as it was by the disappointment of the efforts of his majesty's squadron in the sea of Marmora, and followed as it has since been by the losses which have been sustained by his gallant troops in Egypt: to assure his majesty, that we should have lamented the extension of hostilities in any quarter which should create a diversion in the war so favourable to the views of France; but that we lament it especially in the instance of a power with which his majesty has been so closely connected, and which has been so recently indebted for its protection against the encroachments of France to the signal and successful interposition of his majesty's arms; and that we hear, with satisfaction, that his majesty has thought it right to adopt such measures as might best enable him, in concert with the emperor of Russia, to take advantage of any favourable opportunity for bringing the hostilities in which they are engaged against the Sublime Porte to a conclusion consistent with his majesty's honour, and the interests of his ally: to assure his majesty, that his faithful commons will cheerfully make such provision for the public service, as well as for the further application of the sums which were granted in the last parliament, as may appear to be necessary: that we are deeply sensible of his majesty's paternal goodness, in constantly bearing in mind the necessity of a careful and economical administration of the pecuniary resources of the country; and that he may rely upon our proceeding, without delay, in the pursuit of those enquiries connected with the public economy, which engaged the attention of the last parliament: to assure his majesty, that we are deeply impressed with the peculiar importance at the present moment of cherishing a spirit of union and harmony amongst his people, satisfied as we are that such a spirit will most effectually promote the prosperity of the country at home, will give vigour and efficacy to its councils and its arms abroad, and can alone enable his majesty, under the blessing of Providence, to carry on successfully the great contest in which he is engaged, or finally to conduct it to that termination which his majesty's moderation and justice have ever led him to seek—a peace in which the honour and interests of his kingdom can be secure, and in which Europe and the world may hope for independence and repose."

Mr. *Hall* seconded the motion for the address. Although the noble lord had anticipated him in most points, he would shortly submit to the house the considerations which induced him to do so. Parliament had been assembled at an important crisis: the country looked with extreme anxiety to the result of their deliberations. They were called upon to discuss subjects of the utmost consequence; and by their wisdom and judgment to give effect and direction to the exertions of the people, as well as to secure and augment their constitutional rights. They were also called upon to express their sense of the firmness with which, under peculiar difficulties, his majesty had asserted the just rights of the constitution, and of those establishments which were the foundation of our civil and religious liberties. The prerogative which his majesty had recently exercised, was one of the most important that belonged to the crown; and the propriety of its exercise could be estimated only by a deliberate consideration of the necessity by which it was demanded. Under a due sense of political and religious considerations, his majesty felt himself compelled firmly to combat those whom he had but lately called to his councils, and to oppose his *veto* to the measures which they were desirous of introducing. But this was not all; it had been said in another place, that the king could have no conscience, but what was in the keeping of his confidential ministers. What monstrous conclusion was to be drawn from this extraordinary assertion! The voice of the people had been sufficiently expressed by the general concurrence, which dictated addresses to his majesty from every part of the kingdom. The measure proposed by the late administration was uncalled for, and unwise. Uncalled for, because it had been lately discussed, and rejected by a large majority of parliament; unwise, because it tended to raise hopes which could not be realized. The refusal of his majesty to accede to this measure prevented the gradual abolition of those land-marks in the constitution, which were necessary to its existence. In this country there must be a religious distinction, and the catholics must be contented with the share of political power which they now enjoyed: and, therefore, by the measure which they proposed, the late ministers lost the confidence of the king, and as it immediately appeared, forfeited the approbation of the house. His majesty had since had recourse to the abilities of those, who had been intimately connected with that great statesman Mr. Pitt, whom he could not but consider as the only pilot to other ministers; that man who, amidst all the dangers by which he was surrounded, rose in firmness in proportion to the exigencies of the times, and left that constitution which he loved and protected, unimpaired by the attacks of either foreign or domestic foes. To those who long fought under his banners, the country must now look for direction. They had advised his majesty to refer to the general sense of the people, in order that they might present themselves to the enemy as possessing the confidence of a brave nation, and to the allies of Great Britain, as ready to afford them the necessary support. By the promptitude of their measures they had already shewn themselves adequate to the duty in which they had been engaged. By such measures alone could effect be given to any negotiation which might lead to a successful termination of the present contest. Yet notwithstanding all that he asserted, the dissolution of the last parliament had been attributed to the earnest desire of his majesty's ministers, to smother the labours of the Committee of Finance; but his majesty's speech proved that they were as much interested in the continuance of that committee, as the gentlemen opposite. So far from wishing to smother it, they advised his majesty to applaud the institution of it by the last parliament, and to recommend that it should be renewed by the present. Under all these circumstances, he was not sanguine enough to expect that this address would be unanimously acceded to, but he called on the gentlemen opposite who had quitted the helm of state, to feel for the situation of the country. The people were duly sensible of the justice of the cause in which the country were engaged, and he had no doubt that they would cheerfully submit to the sacrifices that would be necessary for the prosecution of it. He trusted their efforts might be effectually directed to secure the advantages which we already possessed, and to enable us successfully to oppose that system of aggression which threatened the downfal of every independent state in Europe. In this object all parties were equally interested. Our country was at stake; and he trusted that but one opinion could exist with regard to the exertions necessary for its defence.—The Speaker having read the Address,

Lord *Howick* declared, that before he required of the gentlemen opposite, some exposition of their opinion, as to the situation of the country at home and abroad, and something in explanation of those—what should he call them? charges and insinuations; there were in His Majesty's Speech itself, as well as in the speeches of the gentlemen opposite, and particularly of the last, passages so extraordinary, that even in this stage of the debate, he could not defer calling the attention of the house to them, and demanding the justice, which his majesty's late ministers had a right to claim, namely, that if those passages were meant as charges, they should be fairly brought forward; that if as insinuations, they should be made clear. The noble lord by whom the address was proposed, and the hon. gent. by whom it was seconded, had concluded their speeches in the same way in which his majesty's speech concluded—and here, once for all, he begged to be considered as deeming his majesty's speech the speech of the ministers by whom it was advised, and who alone were responsible for its contents; and, however severe the expressions which he might find it his duty to use on this subject, he trusted they would not be misconstrued into any thing derogatory from that respect which, as a faithful subject of the king, and which as possessing a perfect confidence in his virtues, he was always ready to pay. But the noble lord and the hon. seconder had concluded their speeches as his majesty's speech concluded, by calling for unanimity. In one point alone he feared that he could agree with them. He agreed with them that there never was a more awful crisis; that the country was never in greater danger; and that there never was a greater call for unanimity and co-operation, if unanimity and co-operation could be obtained: but, at the time when they called for unanimity, they followed closely the example of the speech, or rather of the ministers by whom that speech was advised. While the word unanimity was on their lips, they introduced topics, which must necessarily produce division. They had called the attention of the house to the late dissolution of parliament, and both had contended, that the power of dissolving parliament was an indisputable prerogative of the crown, given for the advantage of the subjects; but neither of these gentlemen had stated that this, like every other prerogative, was subject in its exercise to be considered by parliament. The noble lord had commenced by saying, that he would not allude to the circumstances that led to the late dissolution of parliament; but in the progress of his speech he forgot this determination; he had stated, that the measures which produced the dissolution had imperiously called on his majesty to step forward in defence of the Protestant establishment. The hon. seconder had gone more at length into this part of the subject. According to him, not the introduction alone of the measure which had been alluded to, but its introduction and subsequent abandonment, had necessarily demanded the exercise of the prerogative, as exemplified in the dissolution. For himself, he confessed, that he had scarcely as yet recovered from the astonishment which that measure had occasioned. Had it been adopted by any other administration than the present, he could not have accounted for it on any principle of public security or national welfare; but coming from the gentlemen opposite, it was indeed extraordinary! Not a long time had elapsed since parliament was before dissolved. On that occasion the house had heard a great number of observations from the gentlemen opposite. If human imagination had been tortured to devise a combination of circumstances, which should expose this prerogative of the crown to all the objections that had been then urged against it, it could not have been more successful than in the present instance. The hon. gent. reprehended the dissolution of parliament after it had been sitting four years; they themselves dissolved a parliament after it had been assembled only four months. The hon. gent. opposite censured the dissolution which took place at the end of a session; they themselves dissolved parliament in the middle of a session. The hon. gent. opposite had complained of undue influence having been exerted against them; they themselves had exercised an influence not in the detail, but in wholesale, and such as they ought to have been ashamed of. Unless parliament were to say at once, that the prerogatives of the crown ought to be curtailed, and that parliament should be rendered permanent, it could never be contended that any dissolution was better timed than that which took place under his majesty's late ministers. At the end of a negotiation which left little hope of a peace, it was surely adviseable to shew the enemy and the allies of the country, that the king, the parliament, and the people, were determined to unite in withstanding all the efforts of an unrelenting enemy. Never did greater unanimity prevail than on that occasion, interrupted only by those personal and local differences, which every general election must necessarily produce. But the hon. gent. opposite, by the dissolution which they advised, had created an infinity of public and private inconveniences; they had produced the utmost disunion, and instead of uniting the people, they had, as far as in them lay, kindled religious animosities, set man against man, and brother against brother: they had set the people of Ireland against the people of England, by shewing the great body of the Irish that the English were unfavourable to their claims. Such conduct would be at any time criminal; but when it was considered, with reference to the necessity that existed for making a due impression on our allies, it became still more so. Could this be denied? Let the house look at the state of the public business when parliament was dissolved. In the first place, there were in the last session a greater number of private bills, tending to improve the agriculture, increase the manufactures, and extend the commerce of the country, than in any former parliament. Those bills, by the regulations which he (lord Howick) had

had the honour to propose, under the advice of the highest authority in that house, had been brought almost to the last stage. On the 27th of April, the dissolution took place; on the 11th of May the reports upon those bills would have been received: the consequence was, that the greater part of the expenses attending them had been paid, and that they then had fallen to the ground. What expedient was to be resorted to in this case, he knew not; he should be glad to find, that individuals could be relieved from inconveniences occasioned by the misconduct of his majesty's ministers. But the house must be careful that in remedying a private inconvenience, they did not open a door to public evil, and afford facilities to subsequent ministers to dissolve a parliament, without having a stronger necessity for the dissolution, than what had been described by the noble lord and the hon. gent. opposite. So much for private inconvenience: with respect to public business, many useful measures had been depending on the dissolution; some might be resumed; others could not. The Reversion bill was one, perhaps, which might again be brought in. His noble friend's finance plan, good faith to the public creditor demanded should be speedily discussed and renewed. With respect to the Finance Committee, the hon. seconder seemed to be surprised that ministers should be supposed to have any wish to stop inquiry. Without imputing to the ministers any such wish, this he knew, that the dissolution had impeded the progress of the committee, and that there was no likelihood of its labours being completed in the present session. It was a Committee of Enquiry; and if many new members should be added to it, they would, perhaps, not arrive at the result which the last committee had reached, without a fresh investigation of the evidence. As the committee was to be revived, he trusted that, as nearly as could be, the same members would be appointed, and that they would be chosen openly and not by ballot; in this case, they might, perhaps, prosecute the chief objects of their enquiry with effect, notwithstanding the serious interruption which they had experienced. With respect to the members of which the committee was to be composed, some facts had been lately developed in the fourth Report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, which might render necessary some change in the members. Still more, on the 27th of April, parliament was dissolved; on the 24th of April, there had been alarming accounts laid on the table, of the finances of the East India Company. What the gentlemen opposite purposed to do, he knew not. It had been in the contemplation of his majesty's late ministers, to propose some expedient by which the company might have been relieved without imposing any additional burdens on the people. The proposition having been made, it might have remained a subject for consideration until the next session of parliament; but by the course which his majesty's present ministers pursued, in not proposing any measure before the 27th April, and thus by allowing no time for investigation, they had reduced themselves to the necessity of adopting, at present, almost any thing which offered itself. With regard to the state of the supplies at the dissolution, the necessary votes for the different services, and the sanction which his noble friends plan had obtained, nearly set that subject at rest; but still the Irish money bills had not been passed, and the consequence was, that there was not now sufficient time to pass those bills (the Irish Custom bill in particular), consistent with those forms which parliament had wisely provided, and which never yet had been departed from. Either the collection of that part of the revenue must be suspended, or the forms of parliament must be violated; a circumstance which he strongly deprecated. Should ministers take upon themselves to collect without the authority of law, a tax on the people of Ireland, they would be highly reprehensible. At the dissolution too, none of the sums which had been voted for the public service, were appropriated, for no appropriation act had been passed. Without such an act, by a solemn principle of the constitution, the application of those sums to particular services, was not constitutional or legal. He readily allowed that there might be situations in which a government ought to act without the support of law, when the state service required its suspension; but then these situations must be unforeseen and inevitable. If a ministry, with their eyes open, placed themselves in a situation in which, on the one hand the law must be broken, or on the other the country must be endangered, the exercise of their discretion, in such a case, called for the most solemn consideration of parliament. And, for what purpose had all these mischiefs been occasioned? The hon. seconder had stated, that an attempt had been made by the late ministry to force the conscience of the king, an assertion completely unfounded in fact.

Having declared that there were acts of the royal prerogative which were personal and unadvised, and having thus brought his majesty into a state of responsibility, the hon. gent. maintained, that the late ministry had arraigned their king, and had asked the house of commons to pronounce him guilty or not guilty. While he possessed the power of speech, he would protest against a principle so fatal to liberty of debate, as that upheld by the hon gent. If the house were canvassing any proceeding of government, were they to be stopped by being told, that it was the act not of the ministry but of the monarch? If so, then farewell to all freedom of deliberation, and farewell to the personal security of the monarch himself; for, however convenient such a doctrine might at the moment appear, the consequences of it were too obvious to need illustration. A dissolution of parliament must always be inconvenient, and at that period of the session at which the late dissolution took place, more inconvenient than at any other. In the interesting debate on this subject, which took place in the year 1784, an opinion was quoted of lord Somers's that his majesty, during a session of parliament, had no power to dissolve the parliament. With all the deference which was due to the abilities of so able a lawyer, and so great a statesman, he confessed that he differed greatly from lord Somers on this point. The strongest necessity might, in his opinion, exist for a dissolution, during a session of parliament, namely, such a difference between the two houses, as should impede the progress of public business. Still however this assertion of lord Somers's was sufficient to shew the extreme inconvenience that resulted from a dissolution in the midst of a session, and that such a measure ought not to be resorted to without the most urgent necessity. Now, what necessity existed in the present instance? The hon. seconder declared that the late ministers had proposed measures replete with danger to the protestant establishment. What then? Those ministers had been turned out: the hon. gent. had himself stated, they had lost the confidence of parliament. What interruption therefore was expedient? What necessity was there for a dissolution? The house were now told, that they were called together merely for a month, to wind up the business of the last parliament, and then to be sent home. If a month would be sufficient for that purpose in the present parliament, a month would have been sufficient for it in the last. His majesty's late minister's would scarcely have objected to their own measures. No necessity, therefore, did exist. Why, then, did they take this step? In order that an appeal should be made to the people, as it was stated in his majesty's speech, while recent events were fresh in their recollection; in other words, during the prevalence of that base cry, which, it was hoped, would have an influence on the elections. He defied any other interpretation to be made of this proceeding; although, in his majesty's speech, there was something like an attempt at this, and in the noble lord's address much more. In his majesty's speech, parliament was called upon to support him "in maintaining the just rights of his crown, and the true principles of the constitution." This passage was completely explained by the conduct of ministers, as evinced in their advertisements and publications, and in the speeches of to-night, the only purpose of which seemed to be, to excite that division in the country, which, if it were not produced, was owing to the good sense of the people, and not to the prudent conduct of administration. When the house recollected all that had been said about the Coronation Oath, was it not manifest to them, that an attempt had been made to alarm the nation, with an idea that the late administration had endeavoured to force the conscience of the king. As to the measure proposed having been incompatible with the Coronation Oath, no such apprehension could be entertained by any one whose mind was larger than the mind of a child. Did the learned gent. opposite mean to say, that any measure favourable to the catholics would be against the Coronation Oath? Did he mean to say, because the king had sworn to maintain the Protestant Religion as by law established, that it would be contrary to the Coronation Oath, if certain absurd penal statutes existed injurious to sectaries, to repeal them? Such a senseless proposition no one could support; for what had been the effect of the repeal of similar statutes in Ireland? If therefore the learned gent. opposite renounced such doctrines, why introduce this passage into his majesty's speech, but for the purpose of taking advantage of the alarm which it must occasion? The thing was most absurd: if the last house of commons had carried the bill which he had proposed to them, there might have been some plea for this expression; but as that bill had been withdrawn, how could his majesty's ministers with common decency assert, that the dissolution had been rendered necessary "for the maintenance of the just rights of the crown, and the true principle of the constitution." He would ask them, did they seriously believe that this limited extension endangered either the welfare of the kingdom, or the safety of the constitution? He wished the hon. seconder had, in his observations on the subject, consulted the feelings of those gentlemen below him. Although he (lord Howick) should belie the whole of his political life, if he were to consider Mr. Pitt as the extraordinary statesman which he had been represented to have been by the hon. gent., he was yet aware that he possessed great qualities and splendid talents; and he could have wished, that the hon. gent. had not passed such a severe censure upon him as he had done, in asserting that any person who proposed indulgencies to the Roman catholics, was guilty of an attempt to undermine the protestant establishment of the country. On this subject he could with confidence appeal to the recollection of the house, whether an extension of privileges to the catholics had not been supported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, three men, whose talents, whose wisdom, and whose experience, were as great, or perhaps greater, than those of any triumvirate that ever existed. The present government was composed of the followers of Mr. Pitt, and therefore the hon. gent. had cast a censure on the living as well as on the dead. For his part, when he called to his mind the former conduct of the individuals of his majesty's present administration, he could not but wonder, after the cry that they had endeavoured to raise, how they could come down to that house with countenances unblanched with fear and shame. To speak frankly — for to speak frankly was indispensable at such a crisis as the present—when he recollected the conduct of the learned gent. in 1801, at which time he did not think any interference in the protestant establishment necessary—when he recollected his conduct in 1801, on the introduction of a measure much more extensive than that proposed by the late administration, he could not but be persuaded that the learned gent. did not believe in the existence of the dangers, the apprehension of which he had contributed to diffuse. On the same principle, when he recollected the measures which had been recommended by the noble lord opposite (lord Castlereagh) as necessary to the tranquility of Ireland; when he recollected the declaration of that noble lord, that Ireland could not be governed without some concession of that nature; when he recollected that the noble lord had pledged himself to the execution of the measure; that for that pledge he received a valuable consideration; that by it he was enabled to complete the union of the two kingdoms; when he recollected these things, and considered the consequences that might have resulted in Ireland from the failure of the measure which he had proposed, his astonishment had not ceased. Serious, indeed, would those consequences have been, had the attempts which had been lately made to infuse into the people of England a rancorous animosity against the catholics of Ireland succeeded; had they made England a kind of Orange Party against the Irish, and taught the Irish that not trifling difficulties alone stood in the way of their claims, but the general and united opposition of the whole country. By the public declarations and advertisements in all parts of the kingdom, not excepting Northampton, the late administration had been arraigned as personally opposed to the king, and the people were called upon to decide between them and their sovereign. Never before did a proceeding take place so injurious to the repose even of the royal person himself! To the sentiments avowed by the present administration, he had three distinct and decided objections. The first was, that they had declared the unconstitutional doctrine, that the king could act without any adviser; the second, that they had violated the freedom of election; indeed, within these few days, similar influence had been endeavoured to be extended to the present question, and it had been asserted, that whoever voted on the address against the wish of the present ministers would vote against his majesty, and bring him to trial: his last objection was, that they had endangered the personal security of the king himself. This was the first time that his majesty had ever been advised to make a personal appeal to the people; and however convenient at the moment, it was a precedent which might hereafter lead to the most fatal consequences. If any thing could aggravate the conduct of his majesty's government, it was that these very men, who before opposed a dissolution at a favourable period should dare to advise his majesty to dissolve parliament in the midst of a session, and then assert, that no material inconvenience would result to the public service. With respect to the influence of the crown, it had been exercised during the last election, in a most unexampled manner. In this country to a great degree, but in the sister kingdom most unblushingly, both in temptation and in threats. In one borough in Ireland, a candidate had dared a single elector to vote against him; and he had been told, that in another popular contest the crown solicitor had gone down, and informed Mr. Grogan, that the forfeiture of his estates would be enforced, unless he and all his tenantry voted for the partisans of government. But there was another mode of influence of public notoriety, which he would mention: it was the letter, dated the 25th of April, from lord Hawkesbury to the lords lieutenants of counties respecting the volunteers. Lord Hawkesbury stated, that it was intended to propose to parliament, to restore their pay to such volunteers as came in after a certain period, and also to re-appoint the inspecting field officers, which last he (lord Howick) understood, had since been done. Now, let the house consider the date of this letter. On the 25th of April, the secretary of state declares, that it was intended to propose a certain measure to parliament. In two days afterwards parliament is prorogued, previous to its immediate dissolution; so that the noble secretary must have known, that he deprived himself of the power of proposing the measure by advising the dissolution. The restoration of the inspecting field officers was a most objectionable step. He had never met with a single Volunteer officer who did not hold these Inspecting Officers in the utmost contempt: they had no command: they were not even empowered to order the Volunteers to come to be inspected. From the large Staff which was attached to the British army, consisting of Adjutants, Quarter-Masters, Brigade-Majors, &c. surely some better inspectors might be selected: aye, but then this was an object of great patronage! Just at the time of the general election a hundred new offices were to be distributed, and these inspectors of elections, for so they were, in fact, were each to have pay and allowances, making the whole expense to the nation between 37 and 40,000l. a year, for no advantage whatever! This was the little beginning of these mighty enemies to patronage: more pure and unadulterated jobs never existed than these appointments.—There were other parts of his majesty's speech, on the exact purport of which he entertained some doubts, and of which he wished for an explanation. The house was told, "that his majesty's endeavours had been most anxiously employed for the purpose of drawing closer the ties by which his majesty is connected with the powers of the continent; of assisting the efforts of those powers against the ambition and oppression of France; of forming such engagements as may insure their continued co-operation; and of establishing that mutual confidence and concert, so essential under any course of events to the restoration of a solid and permanent peace in Europe". Certainly he, in common with the rest of his majesty's late ministers, felt the necessity of cultivating the connexion, and drawing closer the ties by which his majesty was bound to the powers of the continent as far as was consistent with the security of Great Britain. But he wished to ask whether, by this passage in the speech, it was meant to insinuate, that the late government had neglected to do their duty on this subject? He was more desirous to know this, as the subject had been publicly agitated. For his part he declared, that he should be most glad that every thing which the late ministers had done, in aid of the powers of the continent, should be submitted to the consideration of the house and the public. It would then be found, that no rational effort had been omitted to draw closer the ties of connexion, and more especially between this country and Russia. He would boldly and broadly state this, in answer to any assertions that might be hazarded of an opposite tendency. If ministers countenanced any insinuation of this nature, he hoped they would have the manliness openly to avow it. With regard to subsidies to Foreign powers, he thought that there were occasions in which subsidies, and even large subsidies might be advantageously employed; but he also thought that it was most impolitic to give subsidies to Foreign powers, for the purpose of drawing them into a war, into which their own inclinations and interests would not induce them to enter. While, therefore, he stated that the late government had neglected no prudent means of cultivating a connexion with the continental powers, he would also state, that in the present circumstances of this country, and of the world, due care should be taken that any assistance which might be afforded to foreign powers, should not be afforded to those by whom it could not be used at all, or to those by whom it would be misapplied. It was indispensibly incumbent on us to weaken as little as possible the means which we possessed of supporting a protracted contest, (for his majesty's speech had put an end to all apprehension of a separate peace); after 14 years of expensive war, this country had reason to expect that the continent would take a share of its burthens, which its own defence rendered necessary. His majesty's speech contained a paragraph which lamented the rupture between Great Britain and Turkey; and another, which related to the unfortunate events by which it was followed. No one could regret more than he did the causes which produced a division between two powers, whose interests ought to be deemed inseparable. But he asked the hon. gentlemen opposite, if in the manner the subject was mentioned in the speech, it was intended to insinuate in the remotest degree, that the unfortunate rupture with the Porte was to be attributed to the late ministers? He deprecated the mode of introducing this topic into the speech in such a manner, that it could not be discussed without involving in the discussion the conduct of Russia. The late administration were placed in this dilemma, either to suffer the great unfairness which must result from abstaining from any defence, or to defend themselves by calling into question the conduct of Russia, our best ally. As to Turkey, was it meant to be inferred that the late government had asked too much or too little? Whenever the documents (of which his majesty's present ministers were possessed) should be produced, nothing would be found in them inconsistent with the policy of union, moderation, and good faith to Russia and the Porte. Was it meant to charge the late ministry with misconduct on this head? Aye, or No? If so, let there be an inquiry. There were modes of inquiry which prevented disclosures inimical to the public interest; the appointment of a Secret Committee would obviate every difficulty of that nature. If a charge were meant to be made, he owned he was surprised that the charge should proceed from the throne; he deeply regretted the failure of our arms which had been alluded to, but notice of such a failure was totally unprecedented in a speech from the king. After the affairs of the Helder and Ferrol, on the loss of Corsica, and on other disastrous events of the last war, he was not aware that any expressions of regret had been so studiously introduced into his majesty's speech; he must suppose therefore, that in the present instance, they were intended to convey a charge on the late administration. If so, he repeated, that they challenged the strictest inquiry into the destination of the Expedition to Turkey, and into the manner in which that Expedition was arranged; into the original policy of an attack on Egypt, and into the mode in which that attack was conducted.—Adverting to the changes which he was apprehensive the present administration would make in our military system, he remarked, that by the new arrangements in Scotland, the recruiting had encreased from 26 to 40 per week; and in England considerable benefit had been derived from it, although at the most unfavourable season of the year. He hoped that the gentlemen opposite would not rashly alter his right hon. Friend's plan, but would give it the fair trial to which it was justly entitled. He wished also to know, as soon as it would be convenient to ministers to tell him, what was to be the precise extent of the regulations in the Volunteer System mentioned by lord Hawkesbury in his letter? He feared they would be expensive. The saving made by his right hon. friend's regulations amounted to 900,000l. a year. Was it intended to restore some, or all of this? In that case, he should move for new estimates. Above all, he hoped the house and the public would deeply consider the effect of the system of the late administration, and the probable effect of that which would be pursued by the present. If it were still contended, that under the late ministers, the Volunteer system had declined, let evidence be adduced to prove the allegation.—The hon. seconder of the address, in alluding to Ireland, had stated, that great danger resulted to that country from the introduction of the measure which he (lord Howick) had had the honour to propose. To him it appeared, that the danger resulted from the failure of the measure, and not from its introduction. He earnestly pressed his majesty's ministers to attend to the advice of an hon. gent., now unfortunately no longer a member of parliament, the late Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Plunkett), and to make Ireland the first and the last object of their thoughts. He believed too much anxiety could not be shewn on this subject. He should be glad to hear that some system of conciliation was proposed. He did not allude to any extension of indulgences, but to other regulations which might tranquillize the people. If circumstances of discontent were seized hold of by the enemy, the consequences might be importantly injurious, and against these consequences he wished to guard his majesty's present ministry.—Of neutral nations nothing was said in his majesty's speech:

when he recollected that the late administration had been told by the gentlemen opposite, that they had sacrificed the navigation laws, and that they had provided inadequate means to resist the French blockading decree of the 21st of September, he was suprised at this omission. He trusted, that the learned gent. opposite would confess, that he had formed an erroneous opinion, and that the latter measure especially, was not quite so inefficient as he had announced it to be. The hon seconder, spoke of the appeal that had been made to the people, and of the multitude of Addresses that had been poured in from every quarter; of the loyalty of those addresses he had no doubt; but if it were meant to insinuate, that in those addresses the people pronounced the late ministers enemies to the king and the Protestant religion, he would appeal from the Addresses to the result of the General Election—a result so highly favourable to the late administration, notwithstanding the beastly cry of "No Popery," which had been raised against them. To the present administration he had avowed himself to be an enemy—of course, he meant a political enemy only; and yet he would oppose none of their measures which appeared calculated to serve the country. If he was an enemy to an administration engendered in court intrigue; if he was an enemy to an administration composed of men disagreeing with one another; if he was an enemy to an administration which did not possess the confidence of the country; if he was an enemy to an administration, of the first man of whom he would say nothing—it was because he was convinced that such an administration was pregnant with the greatest dangers to the king and the constitution.—The noble lord concluded by moving an amendment similar to that moved in the House of Lords by earl Fortescue, see p. 582.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer,* in reply, observed, that, whatever might have been the manner in which his majesty's ministers had come into power, the speech of the noble lord had shewn that it would not meet with his approbation, though he had declared that, in consequence of the state of public affairs, he should give his support to any measures that might be brought forward for the national interest. From the manner in which the noble lord had concluded his speech, however, he did not think that he took the proper course to carry that declaration into effect. As the noble lord had introduced a variety of topics into his speech, he should endeavour to follow him through all upon which he had touched, in the best manner he could; and here he could not but observe, that the great object of the noble lord, the sole point to which he seemed to wish to call the attention of the house was, the dissolution of the last parliament. That, with the exception of a few topics introduced towards the conclusion of his speech, of which he should take notice before he sat down, constituted the gravamen of his accusation. The noble lord had thought it necessary to guard himself against any insinuation, that his observations applied to the speech, as the speech of the king and not of his ministers, as if any person could suppose that any other than the king's ministers were responsible for the contents of the speech. The noble lord, however, had admitted, that there could be no doubt of the prerogative of the crown to dissolve the parliament at any time, though he had referred to an authority upon the subject, which he had no sooner quoted than he rejected. But whilst the noble lord had denied the doctrine laid down by lord Somers, he endeavoured to extract out of it a principle that might bear upon the question before them. The propriety of the exercise of the prerogative of the crown in dissolving the parliament, must ever depend upon the circumstances under which such a prerogative might be exercised. In discussing this point, the noble lord had contended, that the prerogative had been properly exercised in the dissolution of the former parliament, but that the late instance of its exercise was founded upon an abandonment of every sound principle upon which that prerogative of the crown ought to be regulated. In the state in which the parliament and the country were placed, when that event took place, his majesty's ministers would not have done their duty, if they had let a moment pass without appealing to the people. It was in that sense of duty he acted, when in conjunction with his colleagues, he had advised his majesty to dissolve the parliament at the earliest moment, when that measure could be resorted to without any material interruption to public business (Hear! hear! from the Opposition). He repeated, that it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to advise the dissolution under the existing circumstances. The noble lord had enumerated the circumstances under which that measure was adopted, for the purpose of condemning it; but he was prepared to contend, that these very circumstances were a justification of it. The noble lord had stated, that the parliament had been then but recently chosen, and that that was a reason why it should not have been dissolved; but in his mind the circumstance of its having been so recently chosen, and the circumstances under which it had been elected, were a good ground for the dissolution. The noble lord had argued in support of the preceeding dissolution, that it was necessary to give to our allies, and to Europe, a proof that the king and his government were supported by a united parliament and a united people. The noble lord, whilst in office, with a parliament in which he encountered no formidable opposition, except upon the iron tax, when ministers usually divided in the proportion of two to one against their opponents, felt it necessary to dissolve parliament, in order to shew to Europe that we had a united parliament. But the noble lord could see nothing in the last parliament to justify such a measure; nothing in the manner in which the question that led to it had been brought forward, nor in the manner in which it had been supported; nothing in all these circumstances to shew any ground of apprehension for the permanence of government; nothing to shew that his majesty's government might be prevented from the efficient administration of the public affairs. But he would appeal to the house and to the country, if any reason existed on this ground for the dissolution recommended by the noble lord, which was not strengthened and confirmed, as applied to the late measure, by the manner in which it had been opposed. On that ground alone he might rest the necessity of calling a new parliament. But the house must see that this was a question, upon which his majesty's ministers must have decided before they came into office, and not after. They were not so blind to the situation in which they would be placed, as not to have made up their minds, in case it should be necessary, to call a new parliament, and to appeal to the sense of the people? What would be the situation of the king, if his ministers had not made this appeal to the sense of his people? Had not his majesty been held up as the sole obstacle to an extension of indulgences to a great portion of his subjects, and against the opinion of his late ministers, who had pressed the measure as indispensably necessary to the interests of the empire? Had not the king been represented as the sole barrier against this measure? Under these circumstances nothing was so necessary to the character of the king as such an appeal to his people, in order to shew that it was not the king alone who was the obstacle to the indulgences, but the great majority of the nation. On these grounds it was, that the dissolution had been resorted to; on these grounds he was convinced that it would appear not to be objectionable. It might be a question, whether such a measure was justifiable at any particular time? And here he must observe, that, if the opinion of the people was to be taken upon the bill introduced by the late ministers; if, upon the measure which had been brought forward avowedly for the purpose of forcing them back into office, it would be most properly done at the nearest possible time, when those events were still recent in their memory, and whilst they should be able to form their judgment with most accuracy and correctness. The noble lord had objected to a passage in the speech at the close of the last session, which stated that the session was put an end to at a time when that could be done without inconvenience to public business. But that was a question of a relative or comparative nature: he could state, with confidence, that no inconveniences had arisen from the dissolution commensurate with the great importance of calling a new parliament. The noble lord had first adverted to the inconvenience that arose with respect to private bills, and certainly no man could imagine that a dissolution in the middle of a session would not be attended with some inconvenience to the parties, though not to the extent stated by the noble lord. As to the expence, which formed a principal part of that inconvenience, the noble lord would find that means could be devised to render that comparatively light. The expence consisted of the fees of the house, and the cost of witnesses. The former would be obviated by the known liberality of the officers; and as to the expence of witnesses, he had it in intention to make a proposition on Monday, which would do all that away. When he submitted his proposition to the house, it would be his duty to explain the nature of it; for the present, he should only state, that he proposed to refer the proceedings in the former committees to the committees that should now be appointed, in which case, there would be no necessity for the attendance of the witnesses again. As to the inconvenience to the public business, the noble lord appeared to him to be totally mistaken. The noble lord assumed, that in the interval between the two parliaments, public money had been issued as in 1784, without any parliamentary appropriation. As to the fact of the issue of money, the noble lord was mistaken, because no such issue had been made, and he was sure the noble lord would learn with satisfaction, that the public expenditure had been maintained out of the sums appropriated by parliament. [I know what you mean, said lord Howick, in a low tone across the table]. The noble lord had observed, that he knew what he meant, in a manner that led him to conclude, that the noble lord supposed him to be wrong, but he knew himself what he meant, and thought the noble lord mistaken. In each of the bills respecting the English Loan, the Irish Loan, some duties of Excise out of the war taxes, and the additional duty on brandy, there was an appropriating clause, authorising the application of the monies, raised under the respective bills, to certain services voted by parliament. In the issues that had taken place, therefore, the government had acted according to law, and under the authority of parliament. The noble lord had not gone at length into this subject, but he had the authority of that noble lord, so far as silence could be considered an evidence of acquiescence, on the occasion in 1784, that, under certain circumstances, money might be issued by government without a parliamentary appropriation. At any rate, he had the authority of a person to whom that noble lord would not think it a discredit to be compared, the late Mr. Fox, on this head. Before the dissolution in 1784, a resolution had been voted, declaring it illegal to issue money in the event of a dissolution, without a parliamentary appropriation. The dissolution took place, the money was issued, as appeared by accounts moved for and laid on the table in the following session, and yet Mr. Fox never thought of instituting any proceeding upon the subject. The noble lord would not contend that this silence was not an admission of the legality of the act; at any rate, the noble lord, who had been at the head of the late government, would not be disposed to disapprove of the course that had been pursued in that instance. A bare resolution of the house was not of any effect after a dissolution or a prorogation, unless taken up in a subsequent session, and confirmed by some legislative enactment. But it might be asked, if these clauses of appropriation were not introduced for the first time last session, of what use was the Appropriation act? That act was intended not alone for the appropriation of sums raised by loans, but other sums not raised in that way, and the preamble of that act stated, that it was for the appropriation of particular sums to particular services, and for the further appropriation of other sums not appropriated by parliament, which implied, that appropriations had been antecedently made during the session.—Another inconvenience which the noble lord had stated to arise from the dissolution, was the interruption of the proceedings of the Committee of Finance, which could not in this session be prosecuted to any successful issue. No man could doubt that it was the deliberate determination of the present ministers to revive that committee: and undoubtedly there could be no reason why the proceedings of the former committee should not be referred to the revived one. The noble lord had stated, that the committee should consist as nearly as possible of the same members as before, with the exception of the only two members (sir H. Mildmay and Mr. S. Bourne) who, from their parliamentary conduct, could be considered as the friends of the present ministers. (Hear, hear!)—There were, undoubtedly, some members in the committee, not connected with either party. This, therefore, would be an extraordinary mode of reviving the committee, and the house would do well to recollect the manner in which that committee had been formed. The hon. gent. who had first proposed the appointment of that committee, (Mr. Biddulph) had met the kind support of the noble lord (H. Petty), who as kindly took the nomination out of his hands! The hon. gent., no doubt, had been appointed on the committee, but when he wished afterwards to have one or two of his friends nominated to it, his application was resisted, because it was indispensable that the committee should consist of 21 members only. Yet, in a few days this imperious necessity vanished, and the noble lord himself proposed the addition of three other members. In this manner it was that this just and enquiring committee had been formed! But it should be remembered that another administration of government had also taken place, whose acts were to be enquired into, and yet the committee was to be composed as before! This, however, would hereafter be subject of discussion, when the committee would be to be revived, and when it would be most seasonable to state the particular acts of that other administration that called for inquiry.—As to what had fallen from the noble lord on the subject of India, he saw no reason why the same course that had been in contemplation last session, might not be pursued in this. But though no inconvenience would result to the private business, and no breach of law had been committed in the appropriation of the public money, there was one point upon which he felt, that it would be necessary for him and his colleagues to come to the house for indemnity—he meant their having taken upon themselves to continue the provisions of the American Treaty, which had expired since the dissolution. This treaty had been renewed from time to time, and he trusted the house would admit the propriety of the conduct of government respecting it, considering the circumstances of our relations with that country.—Another topic of charge made by the noble lord was with respect to the Irish customs; but he was happy to state, that this bill could be passed without any violation of the order of this house, or of the house of peers, and without any inconvenience to the public service. He proposed, that the bill should be brought in, and read a first time, after the debate this night; that it should be read a second time to-morrow, and referred to a committee of the whole house on Monday next, in which case, the bill might be finally passed on Tuesday se'nnight, the day next but one after the present bill would expire.—(Some marks of dissent from the opposition). This bill had been passed in a similar manner by the gentlemen opposite, last session.—The noble lord had objected to the dissolution, whilst the events that caused it were yet fresh, and whilst a cry existed, which had been termed a base cry, a false cry, and a beastly cry, but which had pervaded a great majority of the country; and the noble lord had put it to him as a lawyer, and as a man, whether he thought that the concessions to the Catholics were a violation of the king's coronation oath? But, though neither the indulgences that had been given to the Catholics, nor the concessions then proposed, were, or would be a violation of the coronation oath, he would maintain, that if his majesty, the obligation of whose oath was personal, thought them dangerous to the church, they ought not to be forced upon him, on the authority of any minister.—The noble lord had adverted to his conduct on former occasions, as inconsistent with his present conduct. But the noble lord alluded particularly to his conduct in 1801, when Mr. Pitt went out of office. He should have recollected what was the situation of the country at that time, and what was the conduct of the receding minister, who did not retire reluctantly from office, nor oppose his successors with a view to force himself again into office. Had any attempt been made to bring his majesty to the bar of that house?—As to the measure of the noble lord, he should solemnly and sincerely declare, that if carried, it would have proved extremely dangerous to the church, because it was only the beginning of a system which was to be followed up by a repeal of the Test acts on the first convenient opportunity. Would the noble lord state that they would repeal the Test act?—[Yes!] Then they could not think it surprising, that those who thought the repeal of those acts dangerous to the Protestant church should oppose their bill. The noble lord had said, that the measure had been dropped; but was it not to be taken up at a convenient opportunity? He contended that it was the duty of those who thought the repeal of the tests dangerous, to oppose this bill. But then they were told of the inhuman cry that had been set up, and of the blood that might be spilt in consequence. If the cry were false, why had it produced such an effect, or spread like wildfire over the kingdom? It was not the speech in parliament, nor the address to his constituents at Northampton, of so humble an individual as himself, that could produce such an effect. He gave the gentlemen opposite credit for having brought forward the bill as a measure of conciliation; but he was convinced that the destruction of it had prevented the grievance. Though it might have conciliated one party, it would have encountered the most determined opposition from another. As to his conduct in the year 1804, the measure that had then been adopted was only to allow his majesty to take into his pay 10,000 foreign troops, some of them Catholics. What had that to do with the establishment? It was only a temporary measure, resorted to during a war. Could any man suppose that his majesty would think of appointing any one of these foreign officers as first lord of the admiralty, or commander in chief? It was not the effect of the late measure alone, but its consequences that he apprehended.—Another charge brought against ministers by the noble lord was, that the influence of government had been exercised beyond all former example, at the late election. He was convinced, however, that no case could be produced parallel to what had been brought under the consideration of the last parliament, with respect to the Hampshire election. The noble lord had instanced one case respecting Mr. Grogan, but this was the first word he had heard of it. The noble lord had then stated, that it was notorious that 100 inspecting field officers had been appointed to the volunteer force previous to the election, with a view to influence the electors. There might or might not be merit in the appointment of these officers, but his majesty's present ministers, when out of office, had recommended the measure, and now they were in office they had adopted it. But the same officers that had been employed before were appointed, and they had not been appointed until after the election, and this was the measure which the noble lord had represented as an exercise of corrupt influence at elections beyond all former example! The noble lord appeared to him rather rash in his charge, and not to be acquainted with some of the acts of his colleagues: what would the house think of the nomination of 300, not inspecting, but surveying officers of taxes, who could not be appointed either in law, or in fact, till an act of parliament should be passed to authorise the appointment? What would they think of the designation of so many officers, previous to the election of that parliament which was to pass the act, which was to authorise the appointment of these officers? The appointment had not taken place, because the act had not passed, and there remained for the gentlemen opposite only to send lamentable letters of apology, where they had no longer the power to realise their engagements. Whether or not these officers were necessary, he did not take upon him then to express any opinion.—The noble lord had expressed his approbation of that expression in the speech, which stated his majesty's determination to cultivate the friendship of foreign powers, and yet asked whether it was meant by that to insinuate that the late government had been guilty of any neglect upon that head? Certainly no insinuation or opinion had been intended one way or the other, and he could truly say, that he agreed in every sentiment expressed by the noble lord upon the subject. The noble lord had said, that it was intended to impute blame to the late ministers, by the expression of his majesty's regret introduced into the speech, for the failure of the negociation with the Porte. But undoubtedly, regret for its failure could not be construed to imply disapprobation of the negociation, the failure of which excited regret. But then the operations in the Sea of Marmora, and in Egypt, had been introduced; and here he could most conscientiously say, that infinite labour had been bestowed on the composition of that passage, so as that it might convey an account of the transactions historically, without imputing blame to any person. If the noble lord were to ask their opinion of these, as military measures, it would not be difficult to give the reply, but unquestionably no such thing was intended by the passage in the speech. The noble lord had alluded to the military measure which had originated with his right hon. friend, and expressed his hopes that they would give it a fair trial. In all his observations on this measure, his comparisons were founded on the combined operation of the regular recruiting, and the measure which was then proposed to be repealed, and which conjointly, he still contended, afforded a more ample supply than the right hon. gent's. system. But as long as the measure of the right hon. gent. should be in force, no opinions of his respecting it should be suffered to impede its progress. As to the allusion of the noble lord to the part which he had taken on the question respecting Neutrals, and the triumph he seemed to feel, because he had not, on coming into office, advised the adoption of different measures, he had only to say, that he was then as fully convinced as before, that the measure of the noble lord was wholly inefficient. Having gone through the whole of the noble lord's statement, he trusted the house would be convinced that he had made no case out for his amendment, and that they would therefore reject it.

Mr *Windham* offered himself to the attention of the house, in order to bring back the question to its real grounds. They were all agreed, as it was natural they should be, with respect to the prerogative of his majesty to dissolve his parliament. The hon. gent. who seconded the address, therefore, had given himself unnecessary trouble in discussing a question of which nobody entertained a doubt. His noble friend (lord Howick) in quoting the opinion of lord Somers, that the dissolution of parliament during a session was illegal, had adverted to that authority, to shew, that if such a lawyer entertained such an opinion, the dissolution of parliament during a session ought not to be resorted to without great justification. That was the argument of his noble friend, and he maintained that it was a sound one. The question then before the house was, whether the dissolution was founded upon wise or good grounds. It was to this that he objected, and was about to state the grounds of his objections. The question between annual and septennial parliaments was a question only of degree, so was the question between septennial and perpetual parliaments: but there was no rational proportion in the history of parliaments, between a parliament of four months, and a parliament of four years. The right hon. gent. had contended, that the arguments urged in support of the former dissolution, applied with equal force to the late dissolution. But his noble friend had argued, that at the former period, a new crisis had arisen in the war. It was not a new war, but it was a renewed war; and it was therefore desirable, that there should be a parliament, which should continue for some time, because it might be attended with inconvenience, that any change should take place in the public council of the nation, whilst such a contest continued. The doctrine of the right hon. gent. went to this, that the parliament should be changed until one should be found, that would accord with what he or any other person might please to state to be the opinion of his majesty; according to this doctrine, there should be a new parliament with every new administration; or, as had been grandly and greatly said by him, who said every thing grandly and greatly, the late Mr. Burke, we should no longer choose parliaments which might approve of ministers, but choose parliaments to be approved of by ministers. There might be a crisis which would require the exercise of this prerogative, as that in 1784, when a difference between the two houses threatened an obstruction to the progress of public business. He did not however say, that the measure was justifiable in that instance, though it might be defended on the ground of that disagreement between the two houses. For his part, he thought that the aristocracy had then received a blow from which it had not yet recovered. He should not say what might be the consequences, but certainly there was reason to fear, that the precedent would not be suffered to remain neglected, and the late instance shewed, that the principle was aggravated in each succesive application. But he wished to know what was the expediency of the measure in the late instance, when it produced all the inconveniences of a general election, all the injury to private property, and all the detriment to public morals, which such an event was calculated to give rise to. When all these inconveniencies were to be produced, there should be a good justification of the measure. If the Protestant religion was in danger, that would be a justification of the measure; if the ministers thought it was in danger, that would be a justification of them. As to the cry of the Church in danger, he would reply to that by asking of the right hon. gent. himself, did he really, and from his heart, believe any such thing? When Dr. Johnson was asked by some one, did he believe the authenticity of Ossian's Poems? he replied by asking, Do you believe it? In the same way, he would put it to the right hon. gent., Did he believe that the church was in danger? The belief that every concession would be granted to the Catholics, was the sole ground on which he had voted for the union with Ireland. That measure had added genius and wisdom to the parliament of Britain, but these might well have flourished in their own sphere and added to the patriotisim and pride of their native land. In his opinion, nothing could have justified the union, but a belief that every privilege could be more securely granted to the Catholics by the united parliament, than by that of Ireland. This was the opinion of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox, the most distinguished politicians that had adorned any country. And he would ask the noble secretary, who had been a party to all the measures of Mr. Pitt on this very subject, how could he join in any cry that the church was in danger from measures which fell far short of those which Mr. Pitt had in contemplation? As to the defence which the right hon. gent. had given for his silence in 1801, when the same, and, indeed, more extensive measures were proposed, it was the mere plea of a pleader, and could hardly be listened to with patience, even in any of those courts to which he had been accustomed. He was then in parliament, the friend of Mr. Pitt, and though the late measure did not go one twentieth part as far as that which Mr. Pitt proposed, instead of regarding him as the betrayer of the Protestant faith, he held him up as the only fit man in the country to consolidate and direct its resources. The right hon. gent., however, considered this appeal to the people as having confirmed the truth of his opinions. But he must explain the adage, *vox populi, vox dei*, in a very large and extensive sense indeed, if he considered this appeal to their dormant prejudices as a decisive testimony to the justice of his opinions. It seemed to be the opinion of the ministers, on the occasion of the late dissolution, that they should take advantage of the cry of "No Popery" while it lasted. They said, we must make hay while the sun shines: the tide of popularity which seemed to run in their favour might otherwise have ebbed, and left them dry on the beach. But what must we think of men who could resort to such means in support of their influence; means which had produced for them that sovereign contempt with which they have been treated by all sober and thinking men? For two successive parliaments they had abdicated their claims, and in fact declared their incapacity for conducting the affairs of government, and now they stole into power under the despicable cry of "No Popery." What was the common reproach which the enemies of the constitution urged against parliament? Was it not, that it was a body merely subservient to the will of the crown? Yet the ministers, at the close of the last parliament, had held out threats of dissolution, which was to render it more subservient. The house, however, were not to be intimidated by such threats, and were in consequence dissolved. The experiment, however, which they had had recourse to, had not produced the effect they desired. The cry of the Church being in danger, had failed of its effect, and the candidates for the choice of the people had not been worried and torn to pieces by the fanaticism which it was wished to excite. The cry of "No Popery" had only been heard in remote and comparatively unenlightened places. What had happened in Westminster? There, (though the result of that election was certainly not what he could have wished) it had not so much as been heard of. Though faintly uttered in Middlesex, it had there been equally unsuccessful. In the county of Norfolk, with which he was more immediately connected, though several hot spirits among the clergy had endeavoured to excite and propagate it, yet they had been repressed by the moderation of that most enlightened and liberal prelate, the Bishop of Norwich. Those who were content to rise to power by such appeals to the worst and most senseless passions of the people, were utterly unfit for its enjoyment and exercise. The house was loudly called upon to reprobate such conduct by their vote this night. But what must be the effect of the principles which ministers had this night proclaimed with regard to Ireland, a most important part of the empire? No farther concession it seemed was to be granted, and the expectations of a great part of its population were to be closed for ever. Was it nothing to say to them, the door is for ever shut against your claims, there is no farther hope left for you? Instead of being alarmed, however, and exasperated by these declarations, he trusted that they would rather rely upon the good sense of the people of this country, which, during the late election, had declared itself in their favour, and patiently wait for the wiser measures of other men. That stationary situation which the right hon. gent. had recommended, seemed the worst policy. It was perhaps even worse than going back, and re-enacting those penal statutes, which had long been abrogated. Whatever explanation the right hon. gent. might put upon the doctrine respecting the Coronation Oath, yet this doctrine had been diligently propagated in pamphlets and sermons, and it had been said that it was positively inconsistent with his majesty's Coronation Oath that any further concessions should be granted to the catholics. The propriety of the late dissolution of parliament was the great question on the present occasion; and on other topics that had been introduced he would not now enter. Ministers seemed to have adopted the doctrine, that it was necessary to form a parliament that was likely to support them, and for this purpose they had taken a moment when they thought the people would be rendered furious by religious zeal—this was their chosen period. But he trusted that the doctrine which he had mentioned would be as much scouted and discountenanced by parliament, as the cry of "No Popery" had been by the bulk of the people.—One word as to the present situation and prospects of the country. The present state of Europe might justly be regarded as a dead calm, such as usually preceded some terrible hurricane. Should Bonaparte be able to subdue the rest of Europe, as was too probable, his whole attention and efforts would then be directed against this country. We were therefore placed in a situation which required all the talents of the country (A laugh). He had not used the expression unthinkingly; he had done it on purpose, and he would again repeat, that the situation of the country demanded the exertion of All its Talents and energies, and perhaps even the combined talents of the country would not be sufficient to rescue it from destruction, if its resources should for any length of time be placed under the direction of the present ministers.

General *Craufurd* spoke in justification of the change of ministers. The late ministers had brought his majesty before his late parliament to answer for that change, and a great portion of that parliament, though very far from a majority, having taken part against his majesty, an appeal to the people to decide between his majesty and his late ministers, was rendered absolutely necessary. The people had proved true to the call, and he hoped the house of commons would acquit itself duly and honourably to the crown and to the people. He had supported the late ministers from a high opinion of their talents; he however condemned them for attempting to force themselves on the crown, by compelling the crown to dismiss them. Oh! sublime patriotism, ending in political suicide, and confessed self-murder of their body politic!

Sir *Henry Mildmay* rose to vindicate his character from the aspersions which the noble lord (Howick) had cast upon it. The noble lord ought in justice to have communicated to him his intention of countenancing the scandalous libels uttered against him and his hon. friend (Mr. S. Bourne) in the newspapers. Without such notice it was not handsome to mention them seriously in the house. He gave notice, as it had been already his intention to do this night, that on Monday he would submit to the house the whole of the circumstances of the transaction alluded to between him and the government. The result of the inquiry would shew, that there was no foundation for the scandalous insinuations uttered against them.

Mr. *Denis Browne* said that he was not a little surprised to hear the noble lord and the right hon. gent. dub themselves champions of the cause of the Roman catholics, for bringing forward a measure, which those who called themselves the representatives of that body, declared they would not thank them for; and which measure, such as it was, they had openly abandoned for the declared, avowed purpose, and for no other, of retaining their places and their power, thereby forsaking all claims to independence as members of parliament. The propriety of the late dissolution of parliament, which had been so much dwelt upon this night, appeared to him to be easily resolved and understood. The late ministers had dissolved the parliament they had found when they came into office, and the people who justly valued their king, and the principles on which he had so long governed this empire, returned the friends of his ministers. A difference soon after arose between the king and his ministers; the consequence of which was their parting; but several members of the commons chose rather to adhere to their patrons the ministers, than to the principles on which their constituents, the people, had elected them. The natural consequence was an appeal to the people. No other question, no other principle was connected with this dissolution than the avowal of the late ministers, either you shall govern with us, or you shall not govern at all. The hon. gent. said he should vote for the original address, and consequently against the amendment. He saw in that amendment the continuance of a plan that first was acted on in 1784, that had often been repeated, often had failed, and that he sincerely hoped ever would fail, forcing the constitutional right of the crown to choose its own advisers, and substituting a faction of that house to rule in its place.

Lord *Cochrane*, in a maiden speech, observed, that if any thing could tend to open the eyes of the people as to the mode in which elections were influenced by government, enough had been said to that effect this night, by the two parties into which the house was divided. He alluded to the nomination of the 300 surveyors of taxes, and the appointment of 100 Inspecting Officers. What the real motive of appointing these officers was, whether for influencing the elections or not he would not say. But this much he knew, they were appointed before parliament was dissolved, at least he had been told by one gentleman before that period, that he was to be one of those Field Officers. However, after the mutual charges and recriminations which had been made, he thought there could be little doubt as to the motives and object of these appointments. But he should ever deprecate every interference of ministers in election concerns. He hoped, that as each party charged the other with making jobs with a view to influence the elections, the conduct of both, in this respect, would be inquired into. He hoped some third party would arise, which would keep aloof from selfish interest, and sinecure places and pensions. Unless they acted upon different principles he could not honestly support either of the present parties. Both the address and the amendment seemed to him objectionable in some points. He disapproved of prejudging the expedition to Egypt, or of passing an oblique censure on it, while he could not approve of the amendment, since he could not find fault with the exercise of the royal prerogative in dismissing his late ministers and dissolving the parliament.

Mr. *Grattan* rose, and spoke to the following effect:—I shall, Mr. Speaker, consider the present question in two points of view, both as it regards the Catholics of Ireland, and as it affects his majesty's late ministers. In speaking of their conduct, I cannot suppress the feelings I entertained for them while in office; neither can I be silent on the circumstances which led to, and attended their dismissal. I approve of that ministry, because they preferred their principles to their places. I approve of them because they constitutionally refused to be restricted by an unconstitutional pledge. I approve of them because they were sincere in their wishes to create national strength, by national unanimity. I approve of them because they endeavoured to unite the people, and dissolve a party; and I most approve of them because they wisely ceased to prosecute the justified claims of the Irish Catholics, when they were convinced the prosecution was highly inexpedient. I say, his majesty's late ministers acted wisely in introducing a measure, which in its origin, appeared highly practicable, and in withdrawing it, when they were satisfied it was for the time impracticable. They proposed it with a view to conquer, and they abstained from precipitately pressing it, when they were unfortunately disappointed in that expectation. To this dilemma they were reduced, that if the bill was expedient, why not introduce it? and being expedient, why abandon it? [a laugh from the ministerial benches.] The hon. gentlemen on the opposite side may laugh, but I contend, that the true view of legislation and policy, is not to push even a good principle too far; when there is no opportunity of effecting the object, and where the evils arising from the failure, must materially detract from the benefits of even ultimate success. But, when I lay down this position, I feel it my duty strenuously to oppose that principle, which, at a moment when we are surrounded with enemies, and assailed with dangers, at a moment when our best and surest safeguard exists in the unanimity of the people, would defeat the benefits of that unanimity—would, at the same moment that it divided the public feeling, and distracted the popular energy, hold out to the foe who menaces us, the alarming and detestable hope, that a great majority of those who were most prominent in rank, in talents, in property, had conspired with a great proportion of your physical force, against the acknowledged establishment of Church and State. To admit such a position, is to perpetuate an incurable evil. It is to infuse into two classes of your fellow subjects, the principles and resources of an inextinguishable hostility. To support this evil, great reasons should be adduced by the advocates of disunion, or at least better reasons than we have either heard or found in the speeches and productions of those who have thought it their interest to promote it. For, however you apply your ingenuity, however anxious to realize the mischief which gentlemen have contrived to apprehend, reduce it to plain sense, analyze whatever either of dignified, profound, or learned, that has been advanced by your ecclesiactics or your corporations, whatever of wisdom or of research has been in their addresses or their communications, to this plain conclusion it must be reduced—that in the Catholic bill proposed by my noble friend (lord Howick) there was a danger from admitting our Catholic fellow subjects into our armies, and into a participation of the privileges of our constitution. What was the fact? The danger, either way, has, and does exist. The Catholics constitute a great portion of your military force. They constitute almost the whole of the Irish Militia. They bear a considerable proportion to the establishment of the Irish Yeomanry. They have been admitted, by the act of 1793, to a participation of the civil rights of the constitution And, therefore, if the clamour which has been raised, if the outcry which has been circulated of the danger arising from the catholic bill be in any part, or to any extent, justified, that has been substantial danger to your establishment, to your army, to your religion, for the last 14 years. Nay, your country has, for that period, been in a great degree defended by those whom the alleged supporters of Church and State have presumed to represent as their country's enemies. It has been their constant and unceasing cry, that ruin, inevitable ruin, would be the consequence of repealing the disqualifying statutes against the Irish catholics. Let us examine the validity of this apprehension, and ascertain the length to which it runs. If ruin be the consequence of Catholic indulgence, then I answer, you must retrace your steps, you must undo what the king and the parliament have already enacted for Catholic liberation, you must again recur to your penalties, and annul your grants. For by such a reasoning, to this inference we must come, that if the hon. gentlemen, the friends of Church and State, refuse to repeal those grants, they must give up their argument, and if they repeal them, they must abandon their army. For, however it has been the interest of those who opposed the Catholic bill, as introduced by my noble friend, to misrepresent it, yet in their face, and in the face of this house, I assert, that the measure introduced in the last parliament did not go one step farther, either in its provisions, or its extension, than the Irish bill of 1793. The case is plainly this, that in opposing the late bill, you admit this strange principle, that disloyalty does not exist amidst the lower classes of the Catholic multitude, but that it does pervade the higher and more respectable description of that persuasion. They are already tolerated, it will be said; they are permitted to enjoy the full exercise of their religious feelings. This, I say, is not sufficient, nor is it the proper or enlarged view of that great and important subject. The Catholics of Ireland are identified with the constitution of the empire. They are our equals, our brethren, fully entitled to the participation of civil rights, and the enjoyment of constitutional blessings. When, therefore, we are told, that they exist by sufferance, we are giving ear to an opinion which attacks a fundamental branch of the state and of the national security. The measure of the Union between the two countries made no change between the relative rights of the people. It made no alteration nor admitted of any infringement in the existing claims of the Irish subjects. You took the Irish Catholic with his privileges, and can now find no pretext for destroying them. The dangers which have been attributed to this measure, are chimerical; if they are real, they go to destroy the great organization of your military system. Indeed the argument is so false, that no drunken boaster, or corporation orator, with all their prejudices or their passions, could seriously give utterance to these alarms, which have been both mentioned and propagated by some apparently great politicians. For reasons, even they are inclined to admit that the bill was innoxious, but that the minister who propounded it was dangerous. The noble lord (Castlereagh) and the right hon. secretary (Mr. Canning) could not consistently with their former conduct and recorded pledges, war with the principle, they therefore have directed their present hostility against the minister, who had the sincerity to act upon that principle. The right hon gent. the chancellor of the exchequer, cannot adopt the principle of his colleagues, because it appears big with danger, and replete with ruin. I condole with him for his fears, but can give no credit to the validity of his statement. I cannot for a moment admit the validity of a statement, the most hostile to the particular interests of Ireland, and the general security of the empire. I cannot, I say, as the friend of my own country, as solicitous for its fame and fortune, give credit to a proposition, monstrous in its conception, and destructive in its effects. As a member of Europe I protest against this unjustified, dangerous argument, which tends unavoidably to deprive it of the means of rescue and recovery from the alarming and impending calamities with which it is threatened. I feel proud that with all the temptation, with all the endeavours which have been so unwisely and so improperly made, the expedient has not only proved unsuccessful, but hopeless. There is not, I say, any disposition on the part of this country to quarrel with their Irish brethren on account of religion. The good sense and liberality of the people have prevailed against the misapplied zeal of the bigot, and the interested speculation of the miserable politician. It is the victory of the unadulterated good sense of the English people, over religious discord and unchristian rancour. All Church cries, have, in every stage of society, been mischievous; calamity has ensued, although the object of their propagation was not accomplished. Though they "like the tall bully lift their heads and lie," yet the annals of our history prove that they have injured. In the reign of Charles I. and II they created a party which overturned the establishments of the country, and shed the best blood of its people. In the reign of queen Anne, they paralysed the energies of the nation, and rendered unavailing the great victories of the duke of Marlborough. The religious animosities of England aggrandised the power of France, and led to that disposition of Europe, which now alarms us with its tremendous effects. In 1780, the cry of "No Popery" was nearly successful, in defending the church, by burning the city. Religious alarms are not the efforts of great or comprehensive minds; they originate in low malicious cunning, and operate on ignorant irritability. It is not on religion they are founded, because they are generally the expedients of the depraved. They are hatched with the hope of delusion, and are the worst political vices baptized. There is nothing profound, nothing wise, nothing dignified in their influence; nothing to excite public spirit, or to stimulate to great exertion. They call forth no proud or honourable energies, and have not embattled on their side, even the manly vices of the country. I rejoice to find that the people of this kingdom have not fallen into the snare, which was laid with so much art and duplicity to entrap them. In my country the wicked attempt has not only failed, but the opposite principle has triumphed. The people of Ireland have not only scouted the abominable yell, but have avoided a policy which might have been dangerous to the general interest. They have not answered folly by folly; when you wrote upon your walls, "No Popery;" they did not retort the cry of "No England." They left an idle bugbear to perish by its own imbecility; an unfounded calumny to be defeated by its appropriate incredibility. They disdained to make a serious comment upon senseless cant. I do not pretend to say that there were not some amongst them who entertained strong feelings, upon the rejection, or rather the withdrawing of the Catholic Bill, but I contend that the great body of the Irish people were so far satisfied, as not to be dissatisfied, and that their conduct evinced a great and striking tenacity of good order, and the love of national peace. The College of Dublin would not address the throne on the ministerial change which had taken place; the seat of learning would not disgrace itself by lending support to this vulgar and abominable cry of the Church in Danger. They who were well acquainted with the precepts and interests of religion, knew best to defend that religion by a religious dignity and a Christian moderation. They wisely separated an inviolable reverence for their King from an attachment to a despicable court intrigue. The city of Dublin also disbelieved this church alarm, and even the most illiberal, I myself found free from the animosity of religious madness. It was true that the corporation voted an address to the throne; but though bound to my country by the ties of honours conferred for services performed, and though I can differ from any part of my constituents but with regret, yet I will boldly say, that my own opinions on this subject, are the opinions of my country. I treat with respect the feelings of those who differ from me. I condemn the principle, but do not deprecate the authority. To the people of England I say, that the Irish Catholic never has entertained the opinion that they were hostile to his emancipation. He could not suppose that though you first removed the parliament under the pretext of releasing him from religious disqualifications, you would afterwards declare not only war against that religion, but hostility against his constitutional freedom. Beware of that hostility; it will be only a division of public interest, and a diminution of national strength. Extend that feeling of sympathy which I rejoice to see so strongly exemplified amongst your people. By so doing, you will compensate for the defection of allies, and the failure of expeditions; you will fortify that great western barrier, which is best calculated to counterpoise the destruction of the balance of power, and behind which are secured not only your own immediate advantage and security, but the reversionary interests of Europe. Let your ecclesiastics, corporations, statesmen, and great dignitaries, consecrate it. For, unfortunately, should you recur to an unjust and illiberal policy, instead of a manly and enlarged system, you will not only fill up the measure of your own overthrow, accelerate the means of your own subjugation, but actually destroy the hopes of the civilized world, and lose the globe itself. Under these impressions I give my ardent and sincere support to the amendment of my noble friend.

Lord *Milton* declared that he should consider himself guilty of a dereliction of his duty to the great and independent body of freeholders who delegated to him the important trust of representing them, if he suffered a question which brought the conduct of his majesty's ministers into consideration, to pass without his decided and most unequivocal animadversion. The right hon. chancellor of the exchequer, had cavilled and endeavoured to prove, that the period when himself and his colleagues had dared to advise his majesty to dissolve the last parliament, was the least likely to interrupt the public business. But the charge against them was not only the interruption which the public business received by that measure; it went further; it arraigned them of postponing that measure, until they had ascertained their strength, and then recurring to a dissolution, because they were unable to meet the support of an independent parliament. When unable to new model that parliament, they resorted to this profligate and corrupt exercise of the prerogative. The noble lord observed, that the king's speech contained an intimation of an intention to revive the Committee of Finance; but this passage in the speech he considered as a kind of lure for public credulity, and inserted solely to catch the vulgar eye; for what reformation or improvement of any kind could be expected from ministers whose first act on coming into power was the introduction into his majesty's councils of a person stigmatized and pronounced guilty of mal-practices by the house of commons? What could be expected, he begged to ask, from ministers who had thus set the authority and decision of parliament at defiance, in order to accomplish their own ends; quite regardless, as the fact had proved, of the substantial interest of the country? It was truly laughable, if he could for a moment treat so important a question with levity, to hear them say that they had appealed to the sense of the country: what, make an appeal to the sense of the country, surely ministers must have meant that they appealed to the nonsense of the country, for it was from that chiefly they received support and co-operation. In a few places, they had indeed gained some advantage immediately after the dissolution, from the abominable cry of "No Popery," but at a time a little more remote from the dissolution of parliament, they failed in most places to accomplish their object, because men began to reflect seriously, and to examine coolly into the nature of the appeal made to the country. It was impossible in a country so distinguished for sound judgment, and strong understanding, as this was, that deception could be long practised with success, and accordingly, the first moments of deliberation and enquiry dissipated the mist of hypocrisy, and exposed to public view the design of ministers.—He begged pardon for trespassing so long on the time of the house, but he could not forego this opportunity of shewing to his constituents and to the nation, the opinion which he entertained of men, whose first act, as he had already stated, was to recall to his majesty's councils, profligacy and corruption.

Mr. *R. S. Dundas* hoped the house would excuse him, if he was unwilling to suffer a moment to pass without replying to what had just fallen from the noble lord. He contended that the acquittal in the impeachment, from which lord Melville had not shrunk, left him as clear of imputation, as if he had never been accused. If the tribunal was competent, if the prosecution was not remiss, if the verdict was not incomplete, if there was any thing in English justice, it was that an individual so acquitted could not again be arraigned. He looked upon the resolution against lord Melville as virtually annulled by his lordship's acquittal, or he should long since have moved for its erasure from the Journals [a cry of move now, move, from both sides of the house.] He should move, but that he thought the resolution already annulled. If the noble lord thought otherwise, let him name a day, and he would be ready to go into the question with him upon a resolution of censure upon his majesty's ministers for the recall.

Mr. *Bathurst* would confine himself entirely to the consideration of what the present ministers had done; the question of their appointment having been already decided. He would judge his majesty's ministers by their acts, and the only act of theirs that could come now under consideration was the dissolution of parliament. This act he thought justifiable under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and it was enough for him that it was justifiable, to induce him to vote in favour of the address and against the amendment.

Lord *Pollington* was sorry to hear the name of the sovereign brought forward in the discussions of that house, a thing which should never be done without absolute necessity. He thought the late dissolution a very great interruption to private as well as public business in that house; and he took occasion to observe, without saying who was the cause of it, that the cry of "No Popery," was an infamous one.

General *Hope* adverted to what had been said on the subject of lord Melville's trial. That noble lord had been punished, and twice unjustly. He was punished before trial, which nobody could dispute was unjust. He was punished after he was acquitted, which was equally unjust; this he meant to refer to what had been said of that noble lord, under the authority of the late administration. He thought that the most prominent, as well as the most beautiful part of our constitution, was the administration of justice under it; but even that had not restrained the party rage of the late administration. The impeachment of that noble lord had been carried on by party, aided by no inconsiderable share of personal vanity;

and under that impression certain gentlemen acted, or they never would have become prosecutors.—

The *Speaker* reminded the hon. general that he had transgressed the boundaries of order, in imputing unworthy motives to any hon. member of that house.

Mr. *Croker* was happy to find the address now before the house unobjectionable, for it had been objected to, and the amendment was brought forward on the part of the late administration, to censure the conduct of the present; when they, the late administration, dared not bring forward any one measure of their own while in power; for this opinion he appealed to the house, whether that was not the view of the motion for this amendment, whether it did not relate purely to what passed formerly, and which, whether right or wrong, could not now be altered, and therefore there could be no good in discussing it? And yet, such was the course which was recommended to us by opposition, at a time when the map of Europe was only another word almost for the map of France; thus it was proposed that the time of the house should be taken up in hearing contests for places and power. Much had been said about the secret advisers of the crown, he wished to know whether it was to be contended that it was unconstitutional for the king ever to have any adviser who was unknown to the house of commons; or would they call his majesty to the bar of that house on any subject in which his adviser was unknown? If that was constitutional doctrine, it was unknown to him. Conduct had been observed that was infamous, as a noble lord had elegantly expressed it. Now, as to Ireland, he would venture to say, that as to political matters, that description was much more applicable to the late than to the present administration. And as to what had been said of the family at Wexford, whose name, from the pronunciation of the noble lord, he did not understand, he would invite the noble lord to look at the last election but one for Wexford, and there he would find the conduct of the late administration in its true light. I will ask, said the hon. gent., the noble lord not to interfere in any of our concerns in Ireland; we are friends of peace, and I therefore advocate the non-advocating of the noble lord. As to what had been said by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Grattan) he had told the house that ministers, on the subject of the catholics, must either abandon their arguments or abandon the army. There was no occasion to do either. Last year we had heard the same sentences on the same subject; we were told that we should by refusing what was asked, paralyze the army, and dismantle the navy; but there was no truth in it. We were told also that we should not inherit our country; and that the inhabitants should be deprived of their mother. It was in vain to talk of fleets or armies, the only thing to give tranquility to Ireland was unanimity in that house. Emancipation might do something, but without unanimity nothing would be effectual there. He was a friend to the most general toleration that could be desired by any statesman: he did sincerely hope to see the day when the happy work would be completed of the emancipation of the catholics; but more had been done already for them in his majesty's gracious reign than at any former period; more had been done for the dissipation of bigotry than in any former reign. He wished for the inhabitants of Ireland the full benefit of the constitution like other men, but that was a thing not to be accomplished in half a session of parliament. He did not blame the late administration for their motives in the late measures they offered on behalf of the catholics, but it had a singularly unfortunate effect; for it disgusted those whom it professed to relieve, and enraged those whom it disappointed. There had been much art made use of to mislead the Irish people. There was a person of the name of Keogh, who had delivered a speech to the Catholics in Ireland, and that speech had been afterwards made up into a pamphlet, which was of the most treasonable and rebellious tendency that ever disgraced the country in which it appeared, and so the house would say if they read it; but the house of commons attentively perused large folios on the affairs of India, while it would not look at a small pamphlet on those of Ireland. It was owing to inflammatory harangues, however, that men committed such excesses; and those who committed them were not genuine Irish catholics, but they were French Demagogues, Jacobins, and French emissaries. They had at one time, however, been so furious, that the right hon. gent. himself (Mr. Grattan), could not go to the Irish house of commons without his sabre, for which reasons, Ireland should give a specimen of at least ten years without rebellion, before she could reasonably look for emancipation: ten years was but a short period of probation on such an occasion, it was only three years beyond the period of a common apprenticeship. But it had been said that his majesty had been unfavourably advised towards his Catholic subjects. Had gentlemen forgotten the series of indulgences his majesty had been graciously pleased to shew them? Had they forgotten what his majesty did in the year 1780, when he became the bold defender of his Popish subjects against a protestant mob. By this and by other acts, all ranks of his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, were sure of benefiting by his paternal solicitude for his people. These were his sentiments; and he uttered them, not with a view to please ministers, for he knew none of them personally; he did not think that he ever was in the same room with any of them; certainly he had nothing to ask of them; but he delivered these sentiments on the pure principles of independence. He should oppose the amendment, and most heartily support the address.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* took notice of what the noble lord (Milton) had advanced concerning his constituents. That noble lord had impressed the house with an idea that the majority of the landed proprietors, and of the commercial interest in the county of York, as stated by the noble lord, was in favour of the late administration: though the noble lord had obtained a majority, it arose from the misconception of the clothiers, with respect to the conduct of one of the candidates, Mr. Lascelles. But surely this was no proof whatever that the late ministers were more popular than their successors.

Mr. *William Smith* agreed with the right hon. gent. (Mr Bathurst) that the question lay within a very narrow compass, but differed from him in his view of it. He did not think that the question lay, in the first instance, between the king and his ministers, though the present ministers had made it a colour to answer their own views throughout the country. In saying this, he had no occasion, on his own part, to quarrel with them for the dissolution, because it afforded him an opportunity of proving again the high opinion which his constituents entertained of his consistency and opposition to the system supported by the present ministers. He asked the present administration what they had made of their cry of "No Popery" at Bristol, Liverpool, Westminster, and Middlesex? He was decidedly in favour of the amendment.

Mr. *Bathurst* explained, and said that he did not believe his ill-treatment at Bristol was owing to any such cry.

Mr. *Ryder* said, that when his right hon. friend, the present chancellor of the exchequer, consented to continue as attorney-general, when Mr. Pitt came last into administration, he did so under an express stipulation that if the Catholic measure should be brought forward, he should oppose it. Gentlemen on the other side of the house complained of the manner in which the Catholic bill had been opposed; it was their own fault for bringing it forward; they produced every thing they now complained of. As to the late administration, as a body, he had to observe, that some of them were great men, but they were made up of discordant materials: like those of 1784, they promised a good deal, depended upon themselves much, but produced but little, and they met much the same fate, their dismissal being followed by a dissolution of parliament. With regard to the leading member of the late administration, the late Mr. Fox; of his talents there was but one opinion; of their application, a great variety. In opposition, he had done much mischief. In government he might have done much good; but really, with the exception of the Slave Trade bill, and the New Plan of Finance, which was a good measure, although the defects of it were numerous, he knew of no public measure that reflected honour on the late administration.

Lord *Temple* said, the question before the House had been amply discussed, and he would only make a few observations in vindication of the late Administration. The cry against the Catholic bill had been raised by the present ministers for the purpose of injuring those who projected it. How far that cry had succeeded would be proved. He should, however, think the house disgraced itself if it did not approve of the late ministers, as no fair pretence had been stated for the imputations cast on them.

Lord *Henry Petty* rose, and said, before he offered to explain some particulars relative to the late administration, he felt anxious to hear what reason could be assigned for the late act of dissolving the parliament without any apparent cause; but no satisfactory observations had transpired on that subject. The Catholic bill had been discussed last session of parliament, and if any animosity had been excited in the country, it was by the character given of that bill, not by the bill itself. It would occur that no cry had been raised against the bill when it was first proposed in parliament; but the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer and his colleagues had opposed it, as the means of getting into office. An allusion was made by a noble lord relative to the opinion of lord Somers. He had read the passage from lord Somers, who stated that the parliament ought not to be prorogued, until the petitions before the house were satisfactorily answered. He was inclined to give credit to the statement, for he found it corroborated by historical fact. With respect to the observations which fell from the chancellor of the exchequer, relative to the appointment of 300 Surveyors of Taxes, he would state the fact: in the summer before the last, not owing to any communication with the treasury, the Board of Excise proposed to the treasury a scheme for improving the revenue, by the appointment of the officers alluded to. The plan was adopted, and recommendations were given representing persons fit to become surveyors. Their appointments were not made out, but letters were written, stating that attention should be paid to the recommendations. He considered this circumstance advantageous to the revenue, and was anxious to submit to any investigation the right hon. gent. might think fit to bring forward.

Mr. *Canning* replied to the principal arguments which had been urged in support of the amendment. He alluded to the different accounts which had been given of the late change of administration. At one time, the honourable gentlemen stated, that they had voluntarily retired from office, and at another, that they had waited until they were forced to abandon their places. They might choose which of these cases they liked best, but he could not allow them to take to themselves both all the grace of resignation, and all the grievance of dismissal. The latter, however, was the event. They had stuck with great obstinacy to their situations, and a main objection which seemed to be urged against some of his friends was, that they wanted that first quality of great statesmen—tenacity of place. In reply to the objection of a noble lord (Cochrane) in alluding to Constantinople and Egypt, that the address seemed to imply a censure on his majesty's late ministers, with respect to the distribution of the military and naval force of the country, he observed, that such certainly was not the object of the address. It had merely been intended to state facts with regard to the situation of this country and of Europe. He begged, however, in saying this, that it might not be supposed his majesty's government had no opinion on the subjects alluded to by the noble lord. That opinion might in due time be expressed; but he would not have it understood that his majesty's ministers were pledged to any particular proceedings. He alluded to the libels which had appeared against himself and his friends near him. With regard to one which had been published, in order to insinuate, that he had in a certain case been influenced by a corrupt motive, if the noble lord (Howick) had searched the records of his office, he would have found that that proceeding had originated in an act signed by the hand of Mr. Fox.

Mr. *T. Grenville* replied to the observations of the last speaker, and particularly complained of the insinuations thrown out against the late administration, with respect to the expeditions to Turkey and Egypt. He remarked, that the opinion which had fallen from the right hon. secretary, respecting the subject of Turkey and Egypt, was very different from that stated by the chancellor of the exchequer. The latter right hon. gent. had disavowed any intention to impute blame on the late administration with regard to those points. The language of the right hon. secretary was however very different. He broadly insinuated censure. This conduct he could not but regard as highly unjustifiable. If no blame was meant, why make the insinuation? He trusted that either no insinuation would be made, or that a direct charge would be brought forward. If a distinct charge of censure was advanced, his friends knew how to meet and refute it.

Mr. *Whitbread* observed, that a noble friend of his (lord Milton) had been spoken of in terms of great asperity, because he alluded to his constituents, and spoke of them, it was said, as if nobody else in the house had constituents. He would ask the right hon. secretary, if he had constituents in the sense in which the word was understood by the noble lord? When the right hon. secretary had, in pursuance of his audacious and unconstitutional threat, sent the members of the last parliament back to their constituents, did he himself venture to appeal to any popular body? The noble secretary of state near him had once represented a populous county in Ireland, and had afterwards been rejected. But it did not appear, with all the anxiety of the present administration to appeal to the sense of the people, that the noble viscount had thought it advisable to submit his conduct to the judgment of his old constituents in the county of Down. He alluded to what had fallen from a noble lord lately returned for the populous city of Westminster. It appeared, that neither the amendment nor the address were capable of satisfying that noble lord. He did not like the former, because he thought that to adopt it, would imply that the house approved of the conduct of the late administration. He condemned the address, on the other hand, because it seemed to contain a censure on the employment of the force of the country. In this dilemma, he was at a loss to conjecture how the noble lord would act; perhaps he would think it his duty not to vote at all. He alluded to the late contest for Wexford, and stated, from a paper which he held in his hand, that Mr. Ormsby, the solicitor for the forfeited estates in Ireland, went down to the election, and personally waited on Mr. Grogan for the purpose of influencing him to support the ministerial candidates, by a promise of the re-assignment of the estates of the late Cornelius Grogan, his brother, which were forfeited.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* declared, that the government of Ireland had not interfered, nor given any instructions to Mr. Ormsby upon this subject: had any improper use been made of that influence, it was unknown to government.

Sir *John Newport* said, the letter of Mr. Ormsby was perfectly compatible with the fact, and he called upon the right hon. bart. to deny it if he could. He challenged the right hon. secretary himself to shew the contrary, and said, that the first object of the government was to dispossess him of the confidence of his constituents, but they failed in this as well as almost every other effort of a similar nature, and the proof of the fact was, that he had fourscore more votes on his last election, than he had when he was chancellor of the exchequer for that part of the United Kingdom. The abuse of the constitutional power in that country was most scandalous and disgraceful, and the primary object of the government was to carry their point by the worst kind of influence.

The question being loudly called for, the house divided, when the numbers were,

For the original Address — 350
Against it — — — 155

Majority for the Ministry 195

The house being resumed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that he would, on Tuesday next, submit a motion for the consideration of the house respecting the revival of the Committee of Finance.—Adjourned at 6 o'clock on Saturday morning.

List of the Minority.

Abercrombie, hon. J.
Adam, Wm.
Agar, Capt.
Althorpe, Lord
Anson, George
Antonie, Wm. Lee
Anstruther, sir J.
Aubrey, sir John
Baring, Alex.
Baring, Thos.
Barham, J Foster
Bewicke, Calverley
Bagenell, Walter
Biddulph, R. M.
Bernard, Scrope
Byng, George
Bradshaw, hon. C.
Brand, hon. Thos.
Bunbury, sir Chas.
Butler, hon. J.
Butler, hon. C H.
Calcraft, sir Granby
Calvert, N.
Campbell, lord J.
Campbell, Col.
Cavendish, lord G. H.
Campbell, George
Cavendish, Wm.
Cavendish, G. H. C.
Coke, Thos. Wm.
Coke, Edward
Combe, H.
Cowper, hon. S.
Craig, J.
Creevey, Thos.
Curwen J. C.
Cuthbert, R.
Daly, D. B.
Dillon, hon. H. A.
Dundas, hon. C. L.
Dundas, hon. Maj.
Dundas, C.
Dundas, rt. hon. W.
Eden, hon. Wm.
Elliott, rt. hon. W.
Euston, Earl
Fitzpatrick, R.
Fitzgerald, lord R. H.
Flemming, hon. C. J.
Foley, hon. A.
Foley, Col.
Folkestone, lord
Forbes, lord
Frankland, Wm.
Fellowes, hon. N.
Ferguson, General
Grattan, H.
Grenville, Thos.
Greenhill, R.
Grenfell, P.
Halsey, G.
Hamilton, lord A.
Hibbert, George
Howard, hon. W.
Howard, Henry
Howick, lord
Hippisley sir J. C.
Hughes, W. L.
Hurst, R.
Jervoise, C. J.
Jekyll, T.
Jackson John
Jones, Love P.
Kemp, Thos.
Kensington, Lord
Knox, hon. Thos.
Knapp, G.
Laing, Malcolm
Latouche, D.
Latouche, R.
Latouche, J.
Lambe, hon. W.
Lambton, R. J.
Lemon, sir W.
Littleton, hon. W.
Lloyd, J. M.
Leach, John
Lushington, S.
Laurence, Dr.
Mackdonald, James
Markham, J.
Martin, H.
Maule, hon. W.
Maxwell, W.
Miller, sir Thos.
Milbanke, sir R.
Milner, sir Wm.
Milton, lord
Madocks, W. A.
Mills, Wm.
Mahon, lord
Meade, hon. J.
Moore, P.
Morpeth, lord
Mostyn, sir Thos.
Neville, hon. R.
Newport, sir John
North, Dudley
Nugent, sir G.
O'Callaghen, Col.
Ord, Wm.
Ossulston, lord
Pierse, Henry
Petty, lord H.
Phillips, W.
Pollington, lord
Pigott sir A.
Pelham, hon. C.
Power, R.
Parnell, Henry
Ponsonby, hon. F.
Ponsonby, hon. G.

Prettle, hon. Wm.
Pym, Francis
Quin, hon. W.
Ridley, sir M. W.
Romilly, sir S.
Russell, lord W.
Shakespeare, A.
Sheily, Timothy
Savage, F.
Sharpe, R.
Shipley, col.
Smith, W.
Smith, G.
Smith, John
Stanley, lord
Stanley, Thos.
Sommerville, sir M.
Taylor, M. A.
Taylor, C. W.
Templetown, lord
Townshend, lord J.
Talbot, R.
Vernon, G. V. V.
Ward, hon. J. W.
Walpole, hon. G.
Warrender, sir G.
Wharton, J.
Whitbread, S.
Wardle, col.
Williams, O.
Windham, W.
Western, C. C.
Wynne, sir W. W.
Wynne, C. W. W.

Tellers.

Calcraft, J.
Temple, earl

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, June 27.

[Minutes.] Lord Folkestone gave notice, that he should on Monday move, that the papers relative to the Affairs of India, commonly called the Oude Papers, be re-printed.—Mr. Lethbridge presented a Petition from Mr. Palmer of the Post Office, praying for public money, as a remuneration for his services. The petition, and also the proceedings of the committee to whom the matter had been referred in the year 1797, were ordered to be printed; and the hon. member gave notice, that he should on Tuesday move for the house to go into a Committee, to take the same into consideration.—Sir S. Romilly presented a petition from 130 persons confined for debt in the King's Bench Prison, 54 of whom were charged in execution, and the remaining 76 on mesne process. They were ready, he said, to give up all their property to their creditors, who refused to consent to their being set at liberty on such terms: 112 of the number had families dependant upon them for support, and the number of their children amounted to 347. The petition prayed for revision of the laws of debtor and creditor. It was his wish not to have presented this petition, because it had been said in another place, that he had it in contemplation to bring in a bill to alter and amend these laws, when, in fact, he had no such intention. The reason why he did not bring forward such a measure was, that he had not been able to discover any effectual remedy for the very great evil complained of. However, as the petitioners were desirous that he should present their petition to the house, he thought it his duty to comply with their request, though he should not follow it up with any motion, except that it should lie on the table. He had presented the petition on the earliest opportunity, in order that, if the business should be taken up by parliament, gentlemen might have the most ample time possible afforded for directing their attention to the subject. The petition was then brought up, and ordered to lie on the table.—Lord Howick thought it necessary, in order to judge of the nature of the resolution to be proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer on Monday next, relative to Private Bills, that the house should be in possession of information respecting the actual state of the private business at the late dissolution. As he did not suppose there could be any objection to the production of the information he required upon this head, he should move, "That there be laid before the house, an account of all the Private Bills, which were in their progress through that house on the 27th of April last, specifying the stages to which they had severally arrived; and of all the Private Bills, that had passed, but had not received the royal assent." Ordered.—Lord Howick adverting to the statement made on the preceding evening by the chancellor of the exchequer, relative to the conduct of government in having acted upon the provisions of the American Treaty bill, after that bill had expired, thought that the house should be made acquainted with the extent to which such provisions had been acted upon without the authority of law. This information would be necessary previous to the discussion of the bill of indemnity, which the right hon. gent. proposed to bring forward. He did not imagine there could be any objection to the production of Copies of all Orders from the different Public Offices, since the 27th of April, for the Collection of Duties not authorized by law. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not apprehend that there was any other order, but the Order of Council, dated the 27th of May, for continuing the regulations of the act that had expired, till other provisions should be prepared by parliament, that could be produced on this subject, and that order he held in his hand, and had brought down to present to the house this day. The chancellor of the exchequer then presented the Order of Council which was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—Lord Howick moved, that there be laid before this house, an account shewing the amount of all sums of money that have been issued at the receipt of the Exchequer to the paymaster general of the forces, the treasurer of the navy, the treasurer of the ordnance, and for all other public services, between the 28th of April and the 27th of June instant; specifying the funds out of which the same have been issued. Ordered.—Mr. Bankes gave notice, that on Monday next, he should move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the granting of Places or Offices in reversion. It had also been his intention to give notice of a motion for the revival of the Finance committee, but that was in other hands, in which he was happy to see it, and he trusted that no time would be lost in bringing it forward.—Mr. Whitbread gave notice, that on Monday se'ennight, he should submit a motion to the house, relative to the State of the Nation. The hon gent. also gave notice, that on Friday, he should move for the revival of one or two of the bills for the education and relief of the Poor.—Mr. Croker wished to know from the noble lord opposite, who had in the debate of the preceding night, adverted to the subject of Tithes in Ireland, whether it was his intention to bring forward any measure on that subject this session? The hon. member was proceeding to comment on the importance of the question to Ireland, when he was reminded by the Speaker, of his being not in order.—Lord Howick replied, that there had been plans for the amelioration of the Tithes system in Ireland, under the consideration of his Majesty's late ministers, and that it was their intention as soon as they could bring any one to maturity, to submit it to parliament. He had alluded to the subject on the preceding evening only to recommend it to the most serious attention of his majesty's ministers. He did not mean to take up the question this session, but might in a future session, though for every reason he thought it better that such a measure should originate with government.—Mr. Hall brought up the report of the address, which was agreed to, and the address ordered to be presented by such Members as are of his majesty's privy-council.—The lords commissioners' speech on opening the session was then ordered to be referred to a committee of the whole house on Monday.—lord Castlereagh brought down the following Message from the king: viz.—"George R. His Majesty being desirous of conferring a signal mark of his favour and approbation on major general sir John Stuart, knight of the most honourable order of the bath, in consequence of the eminent services rendered by him in the brilliant and decisive victory obtained by the troops under his command against a superior French force upon the plains of Maida, on the 4th day of July 1806, and of the valour and skill displayed by him on that occasion, recommends it to his faithful Commons to enable his majesty to make provision for securing to the said sir John Stuart a pension of 1000l. per annum for the term of his natural life. G. R." Ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday.—The usual resolutions respecting the Trial of Election petitions were then voted, and petitions were presented, complaining of the returns for Saltash, Horsham, and Great Grimsby. The first was ordered to be taken into consideration on the 14th of July, and the two others on the 16th. In answer to a question from lord Temple respecting the course proposed to be adopted concerning the Election petitions, the chancellor of the exchequer replied, that it would not be desirable to proceed with any petitions this session, which would be likely to extend to any length in the examination of their merits.

[India Budget.]—Mr. *Hiley Addington* seeing his hon. friend (Mr. R. Dundas) in his place, wished to know whether it was his intention to bring forward the accounts of the East India Company this session. If so, he trusted that he would bring them forward on as early a day as possible.

Mr. *R. Dundas* replied that it was certainly his intention to bring forward the accounts of the East India Company this session, and that no time should be unnecessarily lost. At the same time he begged to remind the right hon. gent. that for some years back, these accounts had been one year in arrears. It was his intention to endeavour to bring up that arrear in the present session, and the right hon. gent. must be aware that this would require some time.

Lord *Howick* observed, that from the papers then upon the table it appeared, that, upon a comparison of the Revenue and Expenditure of the Company in India, there was a deficit in the latter of above two millions and a half. This was a state of things, in which any one might see that it was impossible for the company to go on, without some adequate provision to make good this deficit. It was the more necessary, as the public had been led to expect that there would be a considerable participation, derived from the East India Company's funds, in aid of the national resources. He wished to know whether the hon. gent. meant to bring forward any proposition upon that subject.

Mr. *R. Dundas* informed the noble lord, that it was his intention, at an early day, to propose some regulations respecting the affairs of India, which would include the point to which the noble lord had adverted. He was afraid, however, that he should not be able to bring forward the annual accounts at so early a day, as only a few of the ships had yet arrived, and it would be desirable to have the accounts stated in the most correct manner that was possible.

[IRISH REVENUE BILLS.] The order of the day being read for the house going into a committee on the Irish Revenue bills, and the question being put, that the Speaker do leave the chair,

Lord *Howick* rose, not to oppose the motion, but simply to observe that, by the dissolution of parliament, they had been placed in this situation, that about two millions of money, raised under the Irish Revenue acts, must either not be levied at all, or must be collected on British subjects without any legal authority. Without sending the act of parliament by a balloon, or a carrying pigeon, it was out of the nature of things, even supposing it to pass both houses with the most unexampled rapidity, that it could arrive in Ireland till several days after the existing act had expired.

Mr. *Rose* argued that the hereditary duties to which all goods were already subject, would, even in the event of the payment of the additional revenues being resisted, which was not probable, enable the revenue officers, on the arrival of the act, still to levy the additional duties with precision.

Mr. *Foster* observed, that a similar dilemma had already twice occurred, and no bad consequences had resulted.

Sir *John Newport* was glad the right hon. gent. had stated this fact. He would tell the house how the dilemma had been got the better of; it was only done by adding one illegal act to another; by informing those who refused to pay the additional duties on the goods which they had removed in the mean time, that until they paid such additional duties, they should not be allowed to land any more goods. The father-in-law of the present member for Dublin (Mr. Shaw) rather than do so had retired from business sooner than he intended; declaring that he would never submit to the allowing the Custom House officers to take from him what they were not entitled to by law. In this way the merchants in Ireland had been surcharged every year, except the year when he had the management of the Revenue of Ireland.—After some additional conversation the house went into a committee. Ordered that the report be brought up on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 29.

[AMERICAN TRADE BILL.]—Lord *Hawkesbury* presented, by his majesty's command, the Order in Council, continuing the provisions of the American Intercourse act, which expired during the recess, and gave notice that it was the intention of his majesty's government to propose to parliament a bill for continuing the above act for a time to be then specified, and to propose in such bill a clause of Indemnity for the advice given to his majesty to continue the provisions of the former act, after it had legally expired.

Lord *Auckland* stated that the reason he did not, when in office, recommend the continuance of the act which had now expired was the pending negociation with America. He trusted, that when the treaty which was the result of that negociation came to be discussed, it would be discussed as a treaty ratified, and he felt satisfied it would be found that every possible attention had been paid to the interests of this country. He thought it but fair now to state, that when the question of the renewal of the American Intercouse act came to be discussed, he should probably be of opinion, that the same reasons which before operated did not exist for the continuance of the act. One part of it, in particular, he objected to, and was objected to during the negociation; he alluded to that part of it which allowed to the Americans a carrying-trade between our possessions in the East Indies and Europe.

Lord *Holland* referred to the Bill of Rights to prove the illegality of levying money by the authority of the crown, without the consent of parliament, and which he contended was done in the present instance, by continuing to levy duties without any competent authority.

Lord *Hawkesbury* admitted that it was an infraction of the law, and therefore his majesty's ministers came to parliament for indemnity. Admitting the general principle, as stated by the noble lord, he wished to be understood that this case must stand upon its own special circumstances, of which that house would judge when the subject came regularly before them.

Lord *Grenville* contended that the order f council for levying duties which had no le-al existence was a violation of a most impor-ant constitutional principle, which ought to ndergo the most serious discussion in that ouse. Ministers had advised his majesty to evy duties for a whole month without any le-al authority, and now proposed to introduce a lause in the bill intended to be brought in o indemnify themselves for this violation of he law. He thought at least that house ught to have the opportunity of discussing he great question involved in this act of the ninisters in a manner which its importance eserved, and not in the shape of a clause acked to a money bill.

Lord *Holland* considered the question of o much importance, that he deemed it ne-essary to move for the appointment of a ommittee to search for precedents since the ear 1688, of money being levied or ap-lied by the crown without the authority of arliament.

Earl *Bathurst* explained the nature of the peration of the order of council, which in act raised no new duties, and raised in many nstances less duties, in no instance higher han the crown was legally entitled to after he expiration of the act under a former sub-isting act.

Lord *Grenville* contended that this statement did not alter the nature of the case. By levying lower duties than the crown was legally entitled to, might, in some instances, be levying more money than before, as in the case of prohibitory duties, in which, by lessening the duty, more money might be raised. It was still, therefore, a violation of the principles of the constitution, for which only urgent and imperious necessity could be pleaded, and if the necessity arose out of the late dissolution of parliament, it would still remain for ministers to account for their conduct in advising a dissolution of parliament, without making provision for the legal continuance of an act which they afterwards deemed it necessary to continue without legal authority.

The *Lord Chancellor* defended the expediency of the order of council, but admitted that it might be more adviseable to bring the indemnity as a separate measure before parliament.

Lord *Harrowby* urged that the order of council only went to carry into effect the last known intentions of the legislature; similar circumstances had repeatedly happened under almost every government, and in many instances an indemnity had not been applied for. He conceived the motion of the noble lord (Holland) was not called for by any circumstances in the present case, which was nothing more than a mere formal violation of the law.

Lord *Grenville* observed that the argument of the noble lord (Harrowby) did not apply, as it was a matter of great doubt, whether the legislature would again continue the act; it therefore did not appear that ministers had carried into effect the intentions of the legislature.—Some further observations were made by lords Hawkesbury, Auckland, Holland, Grenville, Boringdon, the earls of Lauderdale, Roslyn, and the lord chancellor, after which lord Hawkesbury moved the previous question, which was put and carried.

Lord *Grenville* wished for some farther information with respect to any subsequent directions for carrying the order of council into effect.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said he would make the necessary inquiries.

[Scotch Judicature bill.]——Lord *Grenville* moved for leave to present two bills for the amendment of the Judicature of that part of the united kingdom, called Scotland. His lordship stated, that there was nothing new in his motion, for that these bills were presented pursuant to resolutions passed in a former session, and which resolutions were framed, proposed and passed, with the avowed determination not to take the people of Scotland by surprise, but, on the contrary, to afford the most ample opportunity to that part of the united kingdom to deliberate upon, and maturely to consider the necessity and importance of passing the bills here proposed, without any unnecessary or further delay. If any delay had occurred in the passing of these bills, it was not the fault of the mover of the resolutions, in which it was expressly provided, that these bills should be passed in the present session, as their great and expedient advantages were called for, upon the admitted defects and insufficiency of the present mode of administering justice in Scotland. The titles of these bills were, a bill for the Amelioration of the Administration of Justice in Scotland, in certain Civil Causes, by the trial by Jury; and a bill for the better regulating the court of session in Scotland.

The *Lord Chancellor* stated, that he was a friend to the principles of these bills, but that great difficulties having occurred in some of the clauses therein, he had proposed another bill, which he hoped would stand clear of several objections in the noble lord's bills, or resolutions, and which bill, the lord Chancellor stated, he would bring forward in the next session of parliament, it being manifestly too late to introduce such a subject in this.

Lord *Grenville* replied, that as the subject of these bills was fully and universally understood, and imperiously called for, to put an end to an admitted and crying defect in the administration of justice in Scotland, there was abundant time for passing these bills, which had been so long considered and adjusted, unless it was the object of his majesty's ministers, to have, for their own convenience, dissolved the late parliament, and to make this so short, as that no efficient or important business could be done in it; which intention of the ministry would be fully evinced, by the result of this question, in rejecting, or even postponing these bills.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he felt himself warranted in insisting on a notice, previous to the bringing these bills forward, although he felt no difficulty in asserting, that the great body of the Scotch nation were not for the change proposed.

The Duke of *Athol* stated, that he had taken care to make inquiries upon the subject, and found that it was not the general sense of the people of Scotland to have these bills passed at present.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* stated that it was the general and prevailing sense of the country, that such bills were necessary, and that he wondered to hear such a change of sentiments in those noble lords, who in the last session were such strenuous approvers of the measure.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* contended that these bills should not be postponed, on account of the act of the ministry, in dissolving the late parliament; as such a dissolution, unnecessary, in his opinion, caused much delay to many measures of urgent and important necessity. He stated, that the sense of that great and enlightened body, the Scotch bar, had been taken upon this subject, as also that of the commercial and mercantile interests of that country, which were in unison with the noble mover for the expediency and necessity of the speedy passing of these bills.

The Duke of *Athol* again rose, and stated, that notwithstanding all the noble earl had said, he knew that the present measure was not the universal or general sense of the Scotch nation.—The bills were then read a first time and ordered to be printed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 29.

[Minutes.] Sir S. Romilly obtained leave to bring in a bill for rendering the freehold property of persons subject to the bankrupt laws assets for the payment of their debts.—On the motion of Mr. Long it was ordered, that there be laid before the house, an account of the expenditure of the British Museum in the years 1805 and 1806, together with an estimate of the expenditure of 1807.—Mr. Rose presented a petition from the Trustees of the British Museum, setting forth, that the Trustees and administrators of the will of the late marquis of Lansdown have proposed to the consideration of the petitioners, the expediency of purchasing for the use of the public a valuable collection of manuscripts belonging to the said late marquis of Lansdown, chiefly concerning the public writings and records of this country, composed and collected by William lord Burghly, lord high treasurer in the reign of queen Elizabeth, sir Julius Cæsar, master of the rolls and judge of the high court of admiralty in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James I., and other learned and eminent persons; and that there is already in the British Museum a very valuable and extensive collection of manuscripts important to the public, for the purpose of elucidating the public history of this country, and for furnishing evidence of the rights and possessions of individuals, to which the Lansdown collection of manuscripts would be a most valuable addition; but that the funds of the petitioners being insufficient for the common annual expenditure of the Museum without the accustomed aid of parliament, they are unable to provide for the purchase of the said collection of manuscripts; and therefore praying the house to take the matter into consideration, and to adopt such measures as to the house shall seem fit, for ascertaining the public importance of adding the Lansdown collection of manuscripts to those already lodged in the British museum, and also the value of such collection; and further to act therein as to the House shall seem meet.—Mr. Bankes, with a view to shew the progress that had been made towards rendering the British Museum useful in the degree that it ought to be to the public, moved, that there be laid before the house copies of all the Regulations adopted for the better preservation of the different collections, and for rendering them more accessible to artists and others;

nd also, an account of the number of persons admitted to see the Museum, since the year 1805, distinguishing the year, month, &c. Ordered.—The house, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, went into a committee on his majesty's message, and resolved, *nem. con.*, that a sum of 1000*l.* per annum be granted to his majesty out of the Consolidated Fund, to be settled, during his natural life, on general sir John Stuart. The house then resumed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Petitions were presented, complaining of the late elections for Evesham and Downpatrick, which were severally fixed for consideration on the 21st of July.

[Offices in Reversion Bill.] On the motion of Mr. Bankes, the resolution of the 24th of March last against granting Offices in reversion, was read, and leave was given to bring in a bill, similar to that pending when the late parliament was dissolved, for carrying the resolution into a law.

Sir *John Newport* took this opportunity of stating, that in the bill introduced by him in the last session, for abolishing certain useless offices, and for the better Regulation of other offices in Ireland, one had been omitted, which he had since found ought to have been included. He meant the office of Surveyor and Inspector of the River Kenmare; an office created a few years since, and granted to Sir Boyle Roche and J. Aylmer, esq. with benefit of survivorship. There was no Surveyor or Inspector, of the same description, for any other river in Ireland: it was quite a sinecure, with a salary of £300 a year. It had been, he knew not how, omitted in the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry in Ireland, and therefore omitted in the bill brought in by him on that report.

Mr. *Herbert* (of Kerry) said, that the river Kenmare lay principally in the county he had the honour to represent. Its course was forty miles long, and above five or six broad, with numberless creeks, and without a single Revenue Office in its vicinity to controul the smuggling exercised upon it, till this office had been created. The smuggling had, shortly after the appointment, been greatly reduced.

Lord *H. Petty* was aware of the smuggling upon the river Kenmare; but that was a stronger reason for suppressing a useless sinecure, and substituting an active prevention.

Mr. *Herbert* explained. He meant that some inspection was necessary. The smuggling was not now so considerable as it had been before the creation of this office.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* said this office appeared, from what had been said, to be one of those that ought to be regulated, rather than suppressed. It was, however, subject to the disposal of parliament, as the vacancy created by the death of sir Boyle Roche had not been filled up, unless it had been by the late ministers.

[Resolutions relating to Private Bills.] The *Speaker* acquainted the house, that, pursuant to the direction of the house, an account had been prepared of all Private Bills pending at the time of the late dissolution, with the several stages in which they were on the 27th of April, and those that were passed, with the exception of receiving the royal assent.—The account was ordered to lie on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. *Perceval* rose to submit to the house a motion, which he hoped would remove all the inconveniences affecting private bills, arising from the late dissolution of parliament. If, however, the house should estimate more highly than he did those inconveniences, those who had such a superior feeling of them, would, he trusted, be but more strongly compelled to adopt the resolution which went to remedy them. He was sure that those who regarded the dissolution as a crime not to be forgiven, would be disposed to visit the punishment of it wholly upon the advisers, without involving those who were but innocent sufferers. He never had said that the dissolution was not attended with inconvenience: it was merely on a comparison of that inconvenience with the superior importance of the reasons that rendered the dissolution necessary at that precise time, that he defended it. The principal inconveniences complained of were the delay and the additional expense. The delay of two months, he hoped, could not be attended with any material inconvenience; and as to the expense, it would be obviated in one of its branches by the liberality of the officers, who, according to the precedent established by their former liberality in 1784, agreed to advance the bills so pending at the dissolution, to their former stages, without any additional fees. It remained only to obviate the expense of agency, and the attendance of witnesses in town. This was the principal object of the resolution he meant to propose, which was to give an instruction to the committee, to which every petition for a private bill should be referred, to inquire whether any petition had already been presented in this late session, from the same parties, on the same subject; and if so, that the minutes of the evidence, taken before the committee on the former petition, should be evidence before the said committee; and so, in like manner, with respect to private bills, founded on such petitions, allowing the committees to call for further evidence, if necessary. He hoped that the inconveniences arising from the late dissolution to private business, would be in a great measure done away, by adopting this arrangement. Those who looked upon the dissolution as an evil which nothing could remedy, would not, of course, think this remedy satisfactory. But those who, on the contrary, looked upon it as a necessary appeal to the sense of the country, under the circumstances existing at the time, would be gratified to think that the inconveniences which the appeal occasioned, could be made so light. He concluded with moving a resolution accordingly.

Lord *H. Petty* was ready to concur in every proper measure to lighten the inconveniences caused by the late dissolution. He, however, wished the house to consider, that to the serjeant at Arms, and others of the officers, the deficiencies of their fees beneath a certain amount was to be made good from the public purse, and this deficiency would of course be increased by remitting the fees.

Mr. *Curwen* could not reconcile himself to so dangerous a precedent as this, which by presenting a mode for relieving the private inconveniences incident to such a stretch of power, would always render it a matter of facility to a minister to dissolve parliament, in every case in which its temper and disposition might be adverse to his views. It was true, there had been a strong opposition to the late ministers on the two questions that had been tried touching the manner in which they had come into power. He had been one of those who had opposed them upon these questions, and he lamented that the decision upon them had not been different; for as it was, it tended to endanger the security of the crown, and of the country itself. He was sure, however, that no vexatious opposition had been intended; and if there had been, he would not have been a party to it. He lamented the inconveniences to private persons resulting from the dissolution; but though he wished to alleviate those inconveniences, he could not consent to relieve them by opening a door for public mischief.

Lord *Howick* coincided in what had fallen from his hon. friend near him. However desirous of remedying the inconveniences occasioned by the dissolution (and every day shewed those inconveniences to be so great, that the period seemed to have been purposely chosen at which they must have been the greatest), he could not easily bring himself to consent to the measure now proposed to remedy those inconveniences. The magnitude of the inconveniences might indeed be well estimated, from the extraordinary nature of the remedy proposed. That remedy went to suspend and repeal for the time, the forms by which the privileges of the house of commons, and the rights and the property of the people, were secured and protected. However highly he might be disposed to commend the liberality of the clerks, it was not a very pleasant situation in which to place the house or the country, to make them dependent on that liberality. However it might answer in cases in which there was no opposition to allow the bills to proceed, without the necessity of bringing up witnesses, in cases of contest and opposition, the vast expence attending such cases must be again incurred. The necessary notices were not to be insisted upon, and individuals might find their property invaded, without any intimation to put them on their guard. It was impossible for him, in these circumstances, to consent to the arrangement proposed. If the right hon. gent. would but allow himself a pause of 24 hours, he would not think of pressing a measure, not only differing widely from all precedent, but violatory of every parliamentary principle. He recommended at least the appointment of a Committee to search into precedents. In 1784, though the expedient of forwarding the bills without fees had been adopted, no standing order had been violated. He again expatiated on the mischiefs attending the dissolution. He disclaimed all idea of vexatious opposition. Though there had necessarily been a decided opposition on the questions immediately touching the change of administration, and involving great constitutional principles, the decision that had been formed upon which he feared there would be cause to regret, there would not have been another division in the course of the session, unless something new had been brought forward. The Inclosure bills could not possibly be carried into effect, when passed at so late a period of the session.

he precedent was totally novel, and danerous in its principle, and therefore he could ot assent to it.

Mr. *Perceval* said, he could not hope to ter the noble lord's opinion, nor that of aose who acted with him, as to the merits f the late dissolution. He was happy to aink, however, that there was a great marity of the house, who were of opinion ith him, that the prerogative was properly xercised in that instance. The importance f the circumstances that led to the dissoluon were more than sufficient to counterbance the private inconveniences. It was ne great public interest that was to be conalted, and not private convenience. The oble lord was mistaken in supposing that ny standing order was violated, or that the sual notice to parties was infringed upon. he standing order relative to notices requird that they should be given at the Michaelnas, or in the August and September precedng the session in which the bill was to be rought in. The Michaelmas, the August, nd the September that preceded the last ession, were also the Michaelmas, Auust, and September preceding this, and herefore the same notice answered for the ills to be now brought in. The same contruction had been put on the law of notices n the year 1784, and in the year 1800, in he first session of the United Parliament ollowing the short session of the British parament. He thought it rather a strange vay of strengthening the argument derived rom the inconveniences attending the disolution, to refuse to alleviate those inconeniences.

Lord *Howick*, in explanation, vindicated imself from the imputation of being disosed to add to the inconveniences arising rom the dissolution, which he had every vish to remedy, so far as that could be done vithout creating public mischief. He denid the application of the precedents of 1784 nd 1800, in the most material circumtances. No resolution, like the present, ad been then adopted.

Sir *John Newport* objected to the resoluion, as going to substitute written evidence or parole evidence, with the power of peronal examination.

Mr. *Rose* said, the committees were to be t liberty to call for parole evidence whenver they might think it necessary He thought he house could by its own power obviate he difficulties touching the fees in every intance: for though the fees were, in some nstances, appropriated by act of parliament, they were levied only by a resolution of the house, which the house could dispose of according to its pleasure.

Lord *H. Petty* allowed that the power of the house might extend as far as the hon. gent. stated; but it would not, perhaps, be right, after the house had passed an act of approbation, to withdraw the sums to be appropriated.—After a few words from Mr. Bastard and sir J. Anstruther against the motion, Mr. Shaw Lefevre moved, that the debate be adjourned till to-morrow. This produced a short discussion between the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Howick, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. C. Wynne, and Mr. C. Dundas, in which it was contended, on the one hand, that there were no grounds, and on the other, that there were ample grounds for such a postponement. Upon which the house then divided: For the adjournment 76. Against it 164. The resolution was then put and carried.

[CONDUCT OF MARQUIS WELLESLEY]—Lord *Folkestone*, entertaining still the same opinion that he had from the beginning, relative to the conduct of marquis Wellesley in the Oude transaction, moved, that the several Papers ordered with a view to the accusation and defence of the noble Marquis on that charge in the last session, be again laid before the house.

Sir *John Anstruther* said, it must be equally the wish of all persons, as well those who disapproved of the administration of the noble marquis, as those who thought like him, that it was the brightest period of the British history in India; that as well on public as on private grounds, these charges so long pending should be brought to a decision as speedily as possible. As those who had been in the last and the preceding parliament, must have already made themselves masters of all the documents; and as there were in the vote office a sufficient number of copies to supply all the new members, he recommended, with a view to economy and expedition, that instead of renewing the general order for presenting and printing, the remaining copies should be distributed to the new members, and that the business should be decided on as early a day as possible in this session.

Lord *Folkestone* expressed his willingness to promote a speedy decision, but with a fear that the present session, from the variety of other important business, would not in its short duration afford either sufficient time, or a sufficiently full attendance for this question.

Mr. *Creevey*, from the difficulty of deciding in a case in which the noble marquis's friends thought his administration most useful, and the East India Company, according to a book published under the authority of the Court of Directors, represented it as the most injurious to their trade and revenue, as an absolute despotism, violatory of all the laws for the government of India, thought the present short session, occupied as it would be with a multiplicity of other important matters, would not afford a proper opportunity for coming to a determination upon it.

Mr. *H. Addington* thought there was a combination of every private and public reason for coming to a decision as speedily as possible. Those who had been members of the last parliament, had read all the documents which had been ordered, he would say too precipitately, without the substantiation of a *prima facie* case of guilt. The papers in the vote office would supply the new members.

The *Speaker* said, it was not necessary that papers should be presented and printed in every new parliament, in order to afford ground for parliamentary proceedings. It was enough that they were in the custody of the house, and might be read. If the sense of the house should be to dispose of any papers in its stores to any particular description of members, it would be the duty of the Speaker to carry the wish of the house shortly into execution.—In answer to a wish expressed by sir A. Wellesley, that a day should be appointed for the decision of the question, lord Folkestone stated, that for himself he was always ready to come to the discussion, but he could not fix any day without consulting others.

[Memorial of Sir Henry Mildmay.]—Sir *Henry Mildmay* rose, to give an explanation of some circumstances, which had caused much unmerited obloquy to be cast upon him. He did not wish to conceal the state of anxiety in which he was. But that anxiety arose from a fear, lest his abilities should not be sufficiently adequate to the task; and lest the feelings of one, little accustomed to calumny, should render him incapable of giving a full explanation. That transaction was the only one he had ever had with government, or ever would have if he could help it. The fourth report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry had been perverted for the purpose of casting aspersions on him; and it had been said, that he had received undue favours from government, and had taken an undue advantage of the public. That charge was most false and unfounded; but he did not think himself called upon to answer anonymous aspersions, and had therefore waited with patience till the meeting of parliament gave him an opportunity of justifying himself. He felt that this explanation was due to the house, to himself, and to his constituents, but particularly to the administration of Mr. Addington (lord Sidmouth), during which the transaction had commenced; and more particularly still to one of the present lords of the Treasury (Mr. S. Bourne), who at one period of the affair had been secretary of the Treasury, which had exposed him, as well as himself, to a great deal of unjust calumny. In 1795, he had come into the possession of a large estate in Essex, on which he was obliged to reside three months in the year. The works began to be erected in 1803. During the time he resided there about 1500 people were engaged on them, which certainly did not render the residence the most desirable. All his tangible property on the outside of the house was in danger, and his family not very comfortable; but he still resided there till, nine nights out of ten, footpad robberies were committed in the fields near his house. He then thought that he had some claim to relief by law from the residence, and applied to Mr. Addington's administration for that purpose. He then was directed to apply to Mr. Vansittart, and obtained what he wanted. But the bill went only to relieve him for four years, and he was actually obliged to return to the place with all its inconveniences on the 24th of June next. If this was a job, it was singular that the administration should have jobbed against themselves, for he never gave them a vote in his life. He made the proposal of the house as a residence for the general of the district, to colonel Gordon, who told him that he could do nothing without a report from the barrack board. Their report was favourable, and he had a meeting with Mr. William Dundas, the Secretary at War, who said that it would be necessary to send a surveyor to examine the premises. Mr. Johnstone, the surveyor to the board, was then sent. He was totally unconnected with Mr. Johnstone, whom he had never seen in his life, and who had his own way in the whole affair. He made a report that £400 was a fair rent for the house and 20 acres about it. The house was furnished, as he had not removed one article. The house had cost £70,000. He had received £200 for repairs and £400 a year for rent. On the 24th of June, 1804, the bargain was made, but the lease was not signed as general Delancey left the board. The rent was, however, due from that period. As to the letters from one department to another, he had nothing to do with them, and never saw them till they appeared in the report. By the general's residing in it, the government would save money. For their repairs he was not obliged to them, as he wished to have the house pulled down. But he had received no atom of compensation for being turned out of doors. On the 18th of August a jury was impannelled—one would think from the report that it was in 1803; but it was in 1804, which made a very material difference. On that occasion he employed the agent that generally acted for the gentlemen in that part of the country. The agent employed counsel; but he had given him no instructions to do so, and knew nothing of it. The jury was one of the most respectable that ever sat, and did not give a rash or hasty verdict, for they were locked up three hours before they agreed upon it. They gave a verdict of £1300 for thirty acres one rood, &c. on which the military works stood. But he would ask, if there was a single word in the verdict that prevented him from living in the house or pulling it down, if he thought proper: and a surveyor had valued the materials of the house at £10,000, which would produce £500 a year. Was there any thing that prevented him from letting the house to the Speaker of the House of Commons, to government, or to any one else? The thirty acres for the military works, had nothing whatever to do with the Barrack Office agreement as to the house and 20 acres. The furniture for such a house was worth a good round sum. This estate was worth above £11,000, and had a suitable house. For this £400 a year was no adequate compensation. He wished that the value of the furniture of the house could be ascertained, or to what sum the fair annual valuation would have amounted; and he also wished to know, what gentleman who heard him, having such a house, so furnished, would have considered £400 a year an equivalent. He appealed to those who had known him for many years, whether, in his conduct, he had evinced any thing which could induce them to believe him capable of a transaction, such as this had been described to be. His estate in Essex had been granted to his ancestors by Henry VIII. He repeated the question, was £400 a year a compensation? He had been told that the Grand Junction Canal had to go through lord Essex's Park, and he would be contented with one-fourth of the compensation from government that lord Essex received from private individuals. The noble lord over the way (lord Howick) had hinted, that he was unfit to sit on the Committee of Finance, on account of the facts that were stated in the Report. This was certainly premature decision. The Military Commissioners themselves had said that no imputation rested on him. They only said that the Barrack Board had made a negligent bargain for the public; at all events, he would not be a moment longer in possession of this lease, and he intreated of his majesty's ministers to have a fresh jury impannelled. He wished to justify himself, and would answer any questions that should be put to him, either at the Bar of the House, in his place, or in a Court of Justice. As he had spoken from memory, some subordinate points might not be accurately stated, but the substance was correct. He concluded by moving for the production of a Memorial which he had that day given in to the Commissioners of Military Inquiry.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* seconded the motion. He rose, he said, in consequence of the calumnies that had been circulated against him, which he regarded less on his own account than on account of his hon. friend. Indeed, they would have been unworthy of notice if they had not been echoed by the noble lord over the way (lord Howick). He seemed to have looked at the newspaper report rather than at the Report of the commissioners. His name had not occurred in the Report, except where it was found at the bottom of one letter on this subject. He had been told that the age of insinuation was past, but if it was so, he was very unfortunate, for no one had met with more insinuations. He hoped the practice of making insinuations on account of private friendships, would be done away. He had no concern with the origin of the business, and yet he was accused of giving 630*l.* for repairs instead of the estimated 250*l.* and that because he had not chosen to deny a charge in the newspaper, but had waited for the meeting of that house. The business came to his notice officially in 1805, and the reason was, that by a late regulation no issue could be made for the Barrack-Board above 500*l.* without a communication to the Treasury; and the application was not misunderstood, nor passed over without attention, as had been said. The object at that time was not the policy of the agreement, for that had been determined and acted on, and the repairs had been done. The Treasury, therefore, gave its authority, though sensible of the disadvantage of the terms. In every instance of this sort a jury gave a large compensation, and so it ought to do, where the one party had no choice. It fell to his lot as secretary to the treasury, to communicate the determination to the Barrack-Board; but the object was not to execute the lease, for that had been done already. Some of the gentlemen on the other side must know the course of the Treasury. He was answerable for any mistake in the letter, but when he had to sign so many, it was not surprising that a mistake should have occurred in one, which it was not thought required any very minute attention. The letter ought not to have alluded to repairs at all, and the gentlemen must have known that the letter admitted of a different construction from what they had put upon it. Having stated this, he left it to the house to judge of the fairness of their proceedings. He would ask the noble lord (H. Petty), whether he had found that he had ever been apt to make use of his official situation to serve his friends particularly? The charge against him was false, foul, and scandalous, and he had only to say that he had much rather be the object of it than the author.

Mr. *H. Martin* considered the bargain as highly advantageous to the hon. baronet, and ruinous to the public, and therefore contended that the matter should be inquired into. It appeared to him also objectionable, that the hon. baronet, in justifying himself, seemed to impute blame to the Military Commissioners. He did not mean to say that the hon. baronet intended to do so; but the consequence that would follow from his statement was, that the commissioners did not understand the transaction. The compensation of 1300*l.* awarded by the jury for the first year for thirty acres, amounted to the fee simple of the land. The hon. and learned gent. made some further observations on the terms of the bargain, and contended that the matter should be enquired into. It was desirable, particularly at this moment, to show that the reports of these commissioners were deserving of credit, when they had made so small a progress in the subjects they had to investigate. He knew the commissioners to be men of as much honesty, integrity, and principle, as any gentlemen in that house, and was sure they had no intention to make any unfavourable report against the hon. baronet. When the matter should again be brought before the house, he hoped the hon. baronet would be prepared to explain, why no person had attended on the part of the crown, to take care of the interests of the public. He was much misinformed, or it was the duty of the person who was counsel to the Board of Ordnance, to attend under the defence act, upon such occasions, if directed. This explanation would relieve his mind from a suspicion, not of the hon. baronet, but of the negligence of the public boards.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* approved in warm terms of the candid statement made by his hon. friend. He did think it an ingenuous statement, and he hoped that the gentlemen who were so ready to charge would prove equally ingenuous in their own defence when called upon under any circumstances that might hereafter arise to vindicate themselves. He censured the manner in which the calumnies of the daily publications had been sanctioned by the authority of the noble lord (Howick), and contended that such calumnies would have sunk into their merited oblivion, had they not received a sort of stamp and currency from what had recently passed within that house.

Lord *Howick* said, that in the very few words he should feel it necessary to say upon the present subject, he should cautiously abstain from following the example of the right hon. secretary, by trying to divert the attention of the house from a serious charge affecting one of its members, by a vague recrimination, equally inapplicable and groundless. He did not blame, he rather approved of the hon. baronet's refusing to answer the newspaper attacks that had been made upon him; and though the right hon. secretary had accused him (lord Howick) of sanctioning newspaper calumnies, he had been so much more the object than the promoter of such attacks, that he did not think such insinuation in any respect just towards him. He would not retort the charge upon the right hon. secretary, though, at the same time, he could not forget the keen and poignant wit that in other times had distinguished the papers of the Anti-jacobin. As to the other hon. gent. (Mr. S. Bourne) he had never imputed to him any thing more than negligence, which might naturally be the consequence of a great multiplicity of business; but he had satisfaction in saying, that so far as that gentleman was concerned, he was totally exculpated. He felt it a painful uty to state, that he was not satisfied with he explanation given by the hon. baronet. He censured any blustering attempt upon he part of his majesty's ministers, to influence that house in its decision on the present case; if the cause of the hon. baronet was bad one, the injudiciousness of the defence might tend to aggravate the crime, and if it was a good one, it was certainly most impolitic to attempt to controul, when it could o easily convince. This was not a time to resist inquiry by menacing challenges; the country expected inquiry, and recrimination would prove but a bad method to evade it. If there was calumny in this attack upon the hon. baronet, that calumny was to be found in the Fourth Report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, and surely no member in that house was to be censured for not at once discrediting and denouncing that Report, though not one title had been yet offered by the hon. baronet or his friends in denial of its statements. As to what had fallen from him (lord Howick) upon a former night, with respect to the reappointment of the hon. baronet on the Finance Committee, he was willing to repeat, that till this transaction was fully explained to the satisfaction of parliament, and the public, he did think it most inadviseable to allow that gentleman's name to appear on the list of a committee appointed for looking with a jealous caution to the expenditure of the public money. He had said that the hon. baronet's explanation had not satisfied him; and why? because that explanation did not in any way go to disprove what had been stated, that the public had paid twice for the same thing. This had not been cleared up, and until it was, he could not, consistently with his duty to that house and the public, totally acquit the hon. baronet.

Lord *H. Petty* justified the hon. gent. (Mr. S. Bourne) from the imputation against him. So far as he had an opportunity of judging, there appeared no ground to suspect that hon. gent. of any corrupt practice while Secretary of the Treasury.—After a few words from general Hope, Mr. P. Carew, Mr. Montague, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Ashley, and lord H. Petty, the motion was agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 30.

[PRIVATE BILLS.] The *Lord Chancellor* stated, that, upon consideration, he thought it most expedient that the first step towards the relief of parties interested in Private Bills, which had been interrupted by the dissolution, should be to take into consideration the Standing Orders. He therefore moved that the Standing Orders relative to Private Bills, should be taken into consideration on Thursday, on which day he intended to move with respect to such bills, four propositions; first, That with respect to petitions for bills, upon which reports had been made last session, such reports should be taken as of this session, without a new reference, provided the renewed petitions were in substance the same as those presented last session. Secondly, that instead of a fortnight being required to elapse previous to the commitment of a bill of this description, a week only should be necessary. Thirdly, that the evidence taken last session in committees on Private Bills, should be referred to the committees on the renewed bills, with a proviso that such new committee should not be concluded by such evidence, but should be at liberty to call such further evidence as they might deem necessary; and fourthly, that the Standing Orders in other respects should be strictly complied with.

Lord *Grenville* acquiesced generally in the mode proposed by the noble and learned lord, and thought that whatever difference of opinion there might be with respect to the late dissolution of parliament, there should be a general disposition to give relief to the parties interested in private bills as far as such relief was consistent with the dignity of the house, and with justice to all parties.—The Standing Orders, together with the propositions of the lord chancellor, were ordered to be taken into consideration on Thursday.

[AMERICAN TRADE BILL.] Lord *Hawkesbury*, in consequence of the wish expressed by a noble lord (Grenville) on the preceding evening, for further information respecting the Order of Council, stated, that the only proceeding had was the usual circular letter from the Treasury to the Officers of Customs and Excise, to conform to the regulations contained in the act.

Lord *Grenville* moved for the production of this circular letter; and also an account of the rates of duties levied under the act; adding to the latter motion, on the suggestion of lord Hawkesbury, an account of the rates of duties payable by law after the expiration of the act alluded to.—Agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 30.

[BRITISH AND FOREIGN SHIPPING.] Mr. *Eden* rose to move for a return of the British and foreign ships employed in the British trade for the last three years; he said he had been induced to make such a motion, as he thought, if it could be complied with, the house would be enabled to judge how far the shipping interest had been affected by the measures of the late administration. He was sure the house would be convinced, as he was, that notwithstanding the contrary assertions of his majesty's ministers, the British ships had increased 1-6th in the course of the last year, while the foreign vessels had diminished in nearly the same proportion. Of the serious accusations advanced against the late ministers, the chief source (as alledged by those who made them) was the American Intercourse act, which, to use the very words of the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Rose) "did for our enemies what they could not do for themselves"; if that was the case, he wondered that ministers had not before now availed themselves of the opportunity their present situations gave them, of repealing an act of such dangerous consequences, and restoring the British navy to its original footing, or as Robespierre was known to have said, "to starve the colonies, rather than give up an iota of their principles." The late ministers had been charged with having made fatal concessions to the neutral flags; he trusted, however, that those who had succeeded them would not, by any rash or precipitate measures, hurry us into those evils such concessions were so well calculated to prevent; he trusted their rashness would not end in a rupture with America. In 1801, the Russian Convention was concluded upon, by which Russia gave up the treaty of 1756. Did the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer intend to carry into office with him those sentiments which in opposition made him despise all commercial advantages however extensive or important, which were to be held through neutral flags? He hoped he did not, and from the silence of the right. hon. gentleman and his colleagues, upon the American Intercourse act, he was inclined to believe that in this respect that right hon. gent. fortunately for the country, had abandoned those principles, which while out of power directed his opposition to this measure. He wished the house to examine attentively these accounts, which he now moved for; they would enable the house to form a just estimate of the accusation which had been thrown upon the late ministry, for neglect of the shipping interest; so far from having suffered from the measures adopted by the late ministers, he would take upon him to assert, that for the last year the number of British ships had increased in a proportion unexampled for the same time in any former war, notwithstanding the diminution that must naturally arise out of the high rates of insurance during a continuance of hostilities. He concluded with moving, That there be laid before the House an Account of British and Foreign Shipping employed in the British trade for the last three years, ending 5th of January, 1807; shewing the number of vessels, tons, and men, entered inwards and cleared outwards, in each year.

Mr. *Rose* said, he had no objection to the motion, but could not see what object it could answer. As to the number of British vessels in the British Trade, it was not possible for the late ministers, during their short stay in office, to have diminished it in any considerable proportion. As to the American Intercourse bill, he had no hesitation in repeating what he had when out of office stated to the house, that he thought it an act big with the worst consequences to our West India trade. A right hon. friend of his had been asked yesterday, whether it was intended to propose the repeal of this act? Did it follow, that because the measure might be objected to on its being proposed, that after its adoption it ought to be repealed? It was a different thing to oppose a law before it was made, and to repeal it when made. While the bill alluded to was pending, he thought it would be highly mischievous; in that opinion he was confirmed. It gave the Americans such advantages, that the British shipping were almost driven out of the trade. He had been lately applied to, by an agent of Jamaica, for a convoy to secure the little trade carrying on there in British bottoms, but he thought the advantages on the side of the Americans, as to cheapness of insurance, number of vessels, and shortness of distance, too great for the British vessels to rival them in that trade. He had however, no objection to the motion of the hon. gent. though he felt it difficult to discover what object could be attained by it, and thought it by no means justifiable to throw out any hint or disrespectful insinuations against such a weighty and respectable body as the shipping interest of this country.

Lord *Howick* thought the observations made by the right hon. gent. who had just sat down, the most extraordinary he had ever heard; was it to be believed, that there was a man in that house who could so far have mistaken his hon. friend who had made this motion, as to infer from what had fallen from him in support of it, any thing like contempt towards the shipping interest? His hon. friend, in the speech he had made, had evinced a knowledge of the subject now before the house, utterly irreconcilable with any sentiment towards the shipping interest, but that of respect. At the same time he professed to entertain the same sentiments for that body, it certainly did appear, that they were induced, under the influence of erroneous apprehensions, to petition that house against measures which were not of the nature that respectable body were led to believe; they were not productive of the consequences that certain persons were desirous of attributing to them; in this respect they were certainly misled by various reports, insidiously set on foot and industriously propagated, and the house knew well how great bodies might for a time be misled by insinuations disseminated in that way. But what particularly induced him now to trespass on the indulgence of the house was, what had fallen from the right hon. gent. That right hon. gent. had been bold enough to declare that he believed the American Intercourse act had been productive of the most injurious consequences to the British trade in the West Indies, and after so stating, the right hon. gent. avowed that he had no intention of moving for the repeal of an act he thought so injurious; but there was even a shorter process—the repeal might not be necessary. If he understood the act, it was this, a bill to empower the king in council to permit an Intercourse, &c. which, therefore, implied the right of withholding that permission; consequently all that ministers had to do, if they really thought this measure attended with such danger, was to suspend the intercourse: but if they should hesitate to do that, he did not know how to reconcile their professions with their practice. The right hon. gent. complained of the evils which have caused the decline of our trade, compared with that of the Americans in that quarter; would the right hon. gent. take upon him to say, that all those evils have sprung up within the last 12 months, or had they not existed for the last 14 years? and if they had been accumulating within that period, was it fair or candid to attribute them to a cause so foreign from them, for the mere pretence of justifying his friends by attempting to criminate their predecessors? All the reasons that existed then, for a more vigorous Order of Council, existed still; the famous decree of the 21st of Nov. was now, as then, in full force against our commerce, and the power of the French government to enforce it, was as strong as ever. God grant that power was not now alarmingly greater! Why then not substitute for that order of council, which had been thought so weak and futile, another of more vigour, and able to effect all that the present ministers, when in opposition, had said that it ought to effect?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he rose merely to observe upon the candour with which the hon. mover had charged him with rashness and precipitancy, in adopting measures which had not yet been adopted. He repeated what he had before said upon the order in council, and thought that if the decree of the 21st of Nov. had been then more firmly met by his majesty's then ministers, such firmness would have been productive of the best possible results; but it did not at all follow, though he then condemned that order, that now, under different circumstances, and at such a distance of time, he should be bound to advise its being entirely abandoned; he should, however, assent to the motion.

Sir *C. Price* vindicated the shipping interest.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that the hon. baronet must have totally misconceived his hon. friend, if he understood him to have said any thing disrespectful of the shipping interest; as to the petitions that had been, day after day, presented to that house, in the course of the late parliament, he should not say by what misrepresentations that body had been induced to present them, but this he would say, that that body had but partially acted, for certain he was that a great part of the shipping interest had nothing to do in presenting such petitions: but what he rose to notice, was the extraordinary ground taken by the right hon. chancellor of the exchequer; that gentleman would now abstain, forsooth, from more vigorous measures, in order that he might not incur the charges of rashness and precipitancy; and what had been the answer of the same right hon. gent. to the statements of his hon. friend? it was contended, that all the benefits resulting within the last year to the shipping interest, by which the number of British ships in the British trade had been increased in so considerable a proportion, that all those benefits could not within the short space of a year be attributed to the late ministers, because in so short a time they could have done no considerable harm, while it had been at the same time contended, that all the evils alledged to have arisen out of the intercourse act, were to be attributed to the late ministers within the same short year. With what candour the right hon. gent. could refer to the late ministers the evils that had been accumulating for the last 14 years, and deny to the same men the merit of the good effects of their own measures within a year, he left it to the house to determine.

Lord *Castlereagh* contended that the policy of the present question, as affecting the order of council, was widely different from what presented itself to the late ministers.

Lord *Temple* observed, that the order of council was issued after the Treaty with America.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* denied that ministers were bound to look to the order of council under the circumstances existing when it was issued, but under present circumstances. At the same time, he had no hesitation in declaring, that he thought that order partook of all the bad qualities of half measures, attended with all the inconveniences of strong measures, without being productive of any of their good consequences.

Mr. *Whitbread* recapitulated the arguments advanced by his noble friend (lord Howick), and concluded with saying, that he seldom knew any good consequences to arise from the over-strained violence of blustering politicians.

Mr. *Canning*, in explanation, said, that he was not aware of having deviated from the question; but at all events he should rather appear in the character of an injudicious adviser than in that of a blundering accuser.

Dr. *Laurence* contended, that the present ministers were pledged to repeal the act, which in opposition they had argued, and still professed, to be destructive to the British trade in the West Indies. All that was in their power to do the late ministers had done, as far as related to the altering or abolishing, what, when out of power, they had condemned. They had not been idle in plucking up the numberless thorns and briars from the bed of roses they had been placed in—the measure was under consideration, was not dependent upon circumstances, it was the same now as five months ago, and therefore it was a mere pretence for ministers to say, that though they condemned it five months ago, it was not now expedient to abolish it. There was no way of proving to the house they were sincere in their opposition to it, but by repealing it at once. They professed it to be dangerous, they denounced it as injurious to British commerce, that its operation had done mischief, and continued to do mischief, and yet they did not think it right to repeal, or even temporarily to suspend it. And all who presumed to complain of such satisfactory explanation, and self-evident consistency, were to be derided as "blundering accusers." But, continued the learned doctor, these polite terms, as applied to my hon. friend (Mr. Whitbread) are intended, I suppose, to convey something beyond the present question. The man who was impeached by this house, as a public peculator, had been acquitted, it would seem, not because of his own innocence, but on account of the "blundering" manner in which the accusations, however grounded, were preferred against him; was this to go abroad to the public? we all know the right hon. secretary's love for an epigram; but if this was meant to be in point, it was as cruel a blunder at the expence of the accused, as the most blundering accuser could be guilty of.

Mr. *M. Montague* said, he thought that instead of waging this war of words about a measure which had already passed into a law, and that as his majesty's present ministers had not had sufficient time to determine as to their future conduct in relation to it, the house would do much better to pass on to the many very important matters which awaited their consideration.—The motion was then agreed to.

[Breach of Privilege—Newspaper misrepresentation.]—Mr. *Sturges Bourne* rose to complain of a breach of privilege, and spoke as follows:—It was my misfortune, sir, to have to trouble the house last night, in consequence of the foul and ignorant calumnies of which I have been for the last month so undeservedly the object, and which the editor of a Morning Paper has been so active in propagating; two noble lords over against me (lords Howick and H. Petty) in that manly and honourable manner which became their character and station, bore witness to my innocence, and declared me in their minds wholly exculpated. This part of the proceedings on that subject, so essential to my character, were suppressed by the editor of the Morning Chronicle, in the same spirit with which he has vented his libellous aspersions against my integrity and my honour. The house must be aware that I should now be justified in calling this person to the bar, but this step I shall forego, contenting myself with having thus stated the circumstances, which I thought it my duty to state, feeling, as I do, that no such misrepresentation of the proceedings of this house, should be suffered, and particularly in any question that involves the personal elings and character of any of its members. n stating this, I feel that there cannot be in is house a man who more highly values the berty of the press than I do, but the house ill see that those who so abuse it are its orst enemies. I shall take no further roceedings in this case, but if a similar one ould occur, in that or any other paper, I all feel it my duty to enforce the standing der of the house.

[British Troops in the West Indies.] Ir. *Cochrane Johnstone* called the attention the house to the dreadful mortality of our oops in the West Indies, and described the uses to which, in his opinion, it was gene-lly to be attributed. These were, chiefly, e want of air in the barracks and their im-oper situation on the coast. The barracks in e West India Islands, had no ventilators, and n entering them, the smell, in consequence, as most offensive. It was well known, at when the thermometer was under 83 egrees, the yellow fever was not to be ap-rehended; and it was also well known, that e sea coast, where the barracks were usual- built, was considerably hotter than the terior of the Islands. A striking instance this occurred to himself. He had the ommand of a regiment 1000 strong, quar-red on the coast of one of the West India lands. In the month of July the yellow ver broke out among them. In four eeks 550 men died. He marched the re-ainder into the interior, and he had the tisfaction to find, that the ravages of the sorder were completely stopped. In the ear 1801, no less than 3000 of our troops ed in the West India Islands. A great use of the mortality was, that the British oops were employed in garrisons. By ab-aining from this practice, and by adopting her regulations, he was convinced that the Vest India Islands might be made as healthy any station at home. He painted very elingly the dreadful situation of many of e subalterns in that country, compelled to bsist on 5s. 8d. a day; and declared, that the humanity of the women of colour, any a British Officer owed his existence. Vhen the ill health of an officer procured m leave to return home, it became neces-ry for him to raise 50 or 60l. to pay for his ssage; in many cases this was impractic-ble, and it was an evil which ought to be emedied. These observations were the nfortunate result of his experience for many ears. He had no doubt that the noble rd who was at the head of the colonial epartment would pay every attention to the subject; but he hoped the house would appoint a committee to inquire into these evils, and to endeavour to find means to counteract them. Were they not counteracted, it would be better to withdraw every man of our army from that country. As a preliminary step, he moved, "That there be laid before the house an Account of the Mortality that had taken place in the Troops sent to the West Indies, from the 1st. of Jan., 1797, to the 1st. of Jan., 1807, distinguishing the Officers from the Privates, and specifying the names of the Officers."—Mr. Biddulph seconded the motion.

Lord *Castlereagh* did every justice to th motives of the hon. gent.; but, however important the subject, he was rather inclined to think, that it was not one on which a committee of the house of commons was the body most qualified to prosecute an inquiry. In his opinion, it would be better to leave it to the executive government, unless, indeed, it was suspected that they were asleep on their posts, and inattentive to a matter of such moment. The papers moved for by the hon. officer, would not afford the information which he desired. An account of the number of deaths in the troops sent out, would convey an undue impression. It should rather be in the troops who were serving. Certainly, there was a strong feeling in the public mind of the great mortality in the army in the West Indies. He was anxious to reduce that feeling by proving that the apprehensions were exaggerated. Within the last ten years, such attention had been paid to this important point, that a striking diminution had taken place in the proportionate number of deaths, which at the present time amounted to only one third of what they were ten years ago. It could hardly be hoped to make the West Indies as healthy as at home; but a great deal might yet be done. He would set himself diligently to the task, and he should be glad to profit by the advice and suggestions of the hon. officer. When he before held the seals of the colonial department, considerable investigations had been instituted on this subject, with a view to ameliorate the condition of the British army on the West India service.

Mr. *Windham* observed, that much of the mortality of the troops arose from causes that could not be remedied, as inseparable from tropical climates. As to the suggestion of the hon. gent. not having been acted upon, he had only to remind him that a great variety of opinions prevailed upon the subject among officers of great experience. The same was the case, with respect to the advantage of Floating Hospitals over Hospitals on shore. He had listened with attention to the suggestion of the hon. gent., but the question could not be decided, except by persons of considerable experience. As to the situation of the barracks, regard must be had to the defence of the Islands. The statement of the hon. gent. would be good, as a stimulus to government. As to the pay of subalterns being insufficient to procure them the comforts that every one would wish them to have, the case was the same in every other service, and only proved that a person who entered the military profession, should, like him who engaged in other vocations, have some capital, when he entered it, as he had said last year, when he proposed a small addition to the pay of subalterns.

The *Secretary at War* was perfectly convinced of the propriety of the motives of the hon. gent. in bringing forward this subject, but he could assure the house, that the attention of his majesty's servants was particularly called to it, as the regiment which he had the honour to command had been employed on service in the West Indies. He was of opinion that great advantage would be derived from attending to this matter; but he was not sanguine enough to expect, that by any arrangements that could be adopted, the health of the troops could be preserved as well as in Europe. When his regiment had been sent out first they were quartered in Stony Hill Barracks, in Jamaica, situated according to the idea of the hon. gent. and yet the regiment had suffered considerable sickness. He thought that much benefit would result from the adoption of improved arrangements respecting the Barracks, but on the other points considerable difference of opinion prevailed amongst experienced officers.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, that the arguments of the noble lord tended to put aside all enquiry by a committee of that house, which he could not agree to. An enquiry by a committee might sometimes be of great use. The noble lord had said, that the deaths had decreased one-third in the last ten years. He made no doubt but if an enquiry had taken place previous to that time, the decrease would have been still greater. There was another point of view in which an enquiry might hereafter be of great importance, viz. as to our West India possessions, and what was the amount of the expence in men or money of maintaining them. He supposed, however, the noble lord and ministers would do their duty, and would, therefore, recommend to the hon. officer not to press his motion at present.

Mr. *C. Johnstone* said, he never would have brought this matter before the house, but that he had been refused attention to it by ministers. He believed he was the first officer who applied to the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) on the subject, and thought it would have been immediately laid before the commander in chief, and a Board of General Officers appointed to enquire into it. No alteration had been made, and if something was not done in the course of the next twelve months, he would annually submit a similar motion to the house. He had no objection to withdraw his motion at present, but he conjured ministers to press the matter on the Commander in Chief, and to have a Board of General Officers appointed, for it was a subject on which there ought not to be any further delay.—The motion was then withdrawn.

[Finance Committee]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer,* pursuant to his notice, in consequence of the general sense of the house, and in obedience to the recommendation in the lords commissioners speech, for the renewal of those inquiries which had been interrupted by the late dissolution of parliament, rose to move for the renewal of the Finance Committee. In recommending the proposition he had to submit to the house, it was unnecessary for him to enlarge upon the importance of such inquiries to the public interest, because no difference of opinion existed, no objection was felt to the revival of the committee. The only question upon which any difference would arise was, as to the appointment of the committee, and the persons whom the house might think proper to select. He had reason to think, that a difference of opinion would prevail on this subject, because he had, on a former night, heard expressions from the other side of the house, that the gentlemen there would be disappointed, if all the members of the former committee, who were now members of the house, should not be appointed. He was sensible of the inexpediency of such an appointment, that though he should propose to continue some of the members of that committee, he should leave out others, in order to make room for the introduction of members of a different description. The noble lord opposite (lord Howick) had said, that all the members of the committee ought to be appointed, except two, his hon. friend (Mr. S. Bourne), and the hon. baronet (sir H. Mildmay) who had, on the preceding day, made a satisfactory tatement in his justification from the charge which had been imputed to him. He should follow, therefore, in that instance, the advice of the noble lord, and not press the appointment of either of his hon. friends; and as the noble lord, who had originally recommended the committee, had not appointed any person in office, he should adhere to his precedent. His hon. friend (Mr. S. Bourne) being now in office, would not, therefore, be proposed on the committee, though acquitted by the noble lord opposite of the charge urged against him; and the hon. baronet, acting under the influence of a sense of delicacy greater than the occasion called for, had requested that he might not be proposed, as it appeared to be the opinion of some members of the house of commons, that some farther explanation was necessary.—He could not help here calling to the recollection of the house the manner in which the committee had been originally appointed, so different from any committee that had ever been appointed in parliament, and composed almost exclusively of one description of persons. There were only two persons upon it, who could be supposed, from their parliamentary conduct, to be friendly to the present administration; three others were not biassed towards either party, and all the rest were such as would de disposed to view subjects in the same light with the noble lord (hear! hear!). A committee so appointed could not be impartial, or answer the expectations of the house or the public. As he did not mean to enlarge the number beyond 25, the number of which the former committee had consisted, because that was the greatest number that could conveniently assemble for business, he meant to exclude some of the former members, in order to introduce others, for the more impartial constitution of the committee. The five that had been removed by the event of the election, were not enough for that purpose, and the house would in its discretion decide upon that point. In the appointment of the committee also, he meant to adopt the suggestion of the noble lord, by giving the preference to the appointment of it openly to a ballot. It was his opinion, however, that the appointment by ballot was in general to be preferred. Nothing could be more invidious than the discussing whether any particular individual was a proper person to be appointed on the committee; and the fitness of persons to act together upon such a committee, could be better consulted by individuals making out their lists for a ballot. He had acceded, however, to the suggestion of the noble lord, because he should thereby get rid of any suspicion that any thing was intended, which he was afraid to avow openly. Before he made any motion, he should read over the list of the committee he meant to propose, in order that the house might see whether he had not retained the most efficient members of the late committee. He had already stated the necessity of making some alteration in the constitution of the committee, because there were many acts of the last administration which would be subjects of inquiry. He could state many facts which would induce the house not to trust with implicit confidence to those, who were disposed only to praise the late administration, and who, by their overbearing authority in the committee might keep back the inquiries into their particular acts. The late ministers had expressed themselves, on the first appointment of the committee, very much averse to the grant of places in reversion; there was, however, the instance to which his attention had been called, of their having a short time before they went out of office, appointed two offices in reversion of a most extraordinary nature; he alluded to the appointment of a Collector and Surveyor of Customs in the port of Buenos Ayres, a place not then in the possession of his majesty. These were reversionary grants to take place upon an uncertain contingency, and made by those gentlemen who appeared to be so nice on this subject. (hear, hear!)—He had, on a former occasion, stated, without giving any opinion upon the propriety of appointing such officers, the nomination of 300 Surveyors of Taxes. The nomination was founded on a representation from the Commissioners of Taxes, made in March, 1806, but the appointment could not take place till the business was submitted to parliament. When the dissolution took place in October, without any sanction of parliament having been obtained for these appointments, the persons were designated to the offices, in the way the noble lord had said on a former night: members of parliament waited on the minister, they were received civilly, and the promise made. But the parliament met in December, and sat some months; the measure for sanctioning the appointment was not brought forward, and the hon. gentlemen opposite, when they lost the power of performance, were compelled to revert to the condoling letters which he had before alluded to. This circumstance would induce the house not to place implicit or peculiar confidence in those gentlemen, who viewed every thing in the same light as the late administration. Another appointment made by the late administration, was that of Gazette Writer, created by patent, for Scotland, with a salary of £300 per annum. This office had been before divided between the editors of three newspapers (hear! hear!). He wished the hon. gentlemen to hear his statement, and to bear in mind that the business of the office was performed by these three persons, without any expence to the public, though they made a profit of £200 a year by the publications in their newspapers. These persons had been turned out of their employments, and an appointment by patent given to the present possessor; and he should ask whether any gentleman believed that this had been done with any other view than to give the place to that person? He should not dwell in detail upon all the acts of the late ministers, but he confessed himself at a loss to understand what they could mean by the appointment of a Professor of Medical Jurisprudence. (a laugh, and hear! hear!). He acknowledged that he was ignorant of the duty of that professor, and could not comprehend what was meant by the science he professed. There had also been three new sheriffs appointed in Scotland, with salaries of between £250 and £300 a year, on a division of counties, where the duties were before executed as in one Shrievalty. These were some of the many acts of the late administration, which would be likely to come under the consideration of the committee. Another appointment, which was equally censurable, was the grant of a pension, during pleasure, of £400 a year, to a civil and criminal Judge in Scotland. (loud cries of hear, hear!). This grant had, no doubt, not been carried into effect, but that was owing to the doubts entertained by the person who was to carry it into effect in Scotland, as to its legality. He should not go through the other exceptionable appointments made by these gentlemen, as he had stated enough to shew, that those who thought exactly with them were not to be exclusively confided in. He should next proceed to read the names of those whom he proposed to be appointed as the committee. It had been usual, that the person who named the committee should always stand the first on the list; but from this he begged to be excused. The noble lord opposite him (lord H. Petty) had done the same; but the house had declared it to have been the usual practice, and on that alone he was induced to continue on it. He hoped, however, there would be no irregularity in his requesting to be left out of it. The following were the gentlemen he proposed;—On the former committee—Mr. Bankes, Mr. Biddulph, lord H. Petty, Mr. Grattan, lord A. Hamilton, Mr. H. Thornton, Mr. W. Cavendish, Mr. N. Calvert, Mr. Alderman Combe, Mr. Brogden, and Mr. T. Baring.—New members—Mr. Leycester, Mr. Alderman Shaw, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Mr. Joddrell, Mr. Hiley Addington, Mr. Richard Wharton, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Milnes, Mr. P. Carew, Mr. Leslie Foster, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Ellison, and Mr. Wigram.—These were the persons whom he wished to have appointed on the committee; and he trusted that the house would be sensible of the propriety of the selection he had made. They would observe, that in the list, there were two of the Northern members for Scotland, namely, lord A. Hamilton, and Mr. Rutherford; and two for Ireland, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Foster. Having said thus much, he should first move, "That a Committee be appointed to examine and consider what regulations and checks have been established in order to controul the several branches of the public expenditure in Great Britain and Ireland, and how far the same have been effectual, and what further measures can be adopted for reducing any part of the said expenditure, or diminishing the amount of salaries and emoluments, without detriment to the public service." He should then propose the members individually.—On the question being put upon the first motion,

Lord *Henry Petty* said, that it would be impossible for him not to admire the candour of the right hon. gent. who at the moment of moving for the appointment of a committee of inquiry, had introduced his motion by a gross and partial statement of facts, which the committee was to decide upon. He said the statement was gross and partial, because it was unsupported by any document. He did not impute any unfair intention to the right hon gent. who appeared to him to have spoken from that bias which gentlemen on either side of the house usually felt. If he should fail of refuting the observations of the right hon. gent. it was because he had no notice of the attack, and could not have had the advantage of consulting those documents which would have enabled him to repel it. The conduct of the right hon.

gent. was the more extraordinary, as he had sheltered an hon. baronet, on the preceding night, from the effects of a charge against him, till the document should be produced to justify it; and yet, without any documents to bear him out, that right hon. gent. now called upon the house to receive his various charges against his majesty's late ministers. Unprepared as he must be from his ignorance of the intention or attack of the right hon. gent., he should, so far as his memory served him, endeavour to follow the right hon. gent. through his statement. One of the charges made by the right hon. gent. was, the appointment of a Collector for the Port of Buenos Ayres. Would not every gentleman imagine, from the manner in which this charge had been urged, that a considerable expence was incurred, a heavy burthen accrued in consequence to the public? Was it not common candour, or rather was it not a gross want of candour in the right hon. gent. not to have stated, that no expence was to be incurred on the part of the public, till the duties of the office were to be performed on the recapture of Buenos Ayres? Considerable inconvenience had been felt from the want of an establishment for the collection of the duties in the first instance, and the appointment had been made to guard against a similar inconvenience in case of the re-capture of the settlement. The right hon. gent. had renewed his statement with respect to the appointment of the 300 Surveyors of Taxes, a measure which had originated with the Commissioners of Taxes. As to the nomination of the officers, some might have been so nominated, but since the matter had been mentioned, several persons had stated to him, that they had recommended individuals to these offices, but it had been uniformly answered that no appointment could take place without the sanction of parliament. Another charge was the creation of an office, to which some might object, but which had been given to an individual, who had devoted a long life of disinterested service to the public, and who had in the University but an income of 135*l.* per annum. It had been thought a better mode to provide for this distinguished and meritorious gentleman, Mr. Dugald Stuart, by giving him that place, which had before been enjoyed by three newspaper writers, than by a pension. Were editors of newspapers the only literary men the gentlemen opposite would protect? was theirs the only science they encouraged? As to the pension to a civil and criminal Judge, he had heard nothing of any such grant. He should not be bold enough to say, that any administration might not fall into abuses, and he had always, since he had a seat in that house, supported motions for inquiries, whether in the shape of naval or military commissions. He was glad to see the right hon. gent. following the example which he had himself, for the first time, given of excluding persons in office from such a committee. As to the gentlemen whom the right hon. gent. left out from the number of the former committee, he should only say, that he saw no good ground for such exclusion. He thought the object of the right hon. gent. would be gained by introducing eight new members in the place of those who were not members of this parliament, and of the hon baronet (sir H. Mildmay) and the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. S. Bourne) now in office. If the parliament was not dissolved to get rid of the committee, why not revive it, as far as that could be done, as it existed before the dissolution? The members who had proceeded with the business in the former committee, would more readily take it up in this, and he should therefore object to any individual who should be proposed to the exclusion of any of the former members who were eligible. The following was the list of the former members in the present parliament: Mr. H. Thornton, Mr. Bankes, lord Mahon, Mr. Biddulph, lord A. Hamilton, Mr. Lamb, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Baring, Mr. Brogden, Mr. Calvert, Mr. W. Cavendish, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Western, and Mr. Alderman Combe. If these members should be appointed on the committee, he should not then object to the nomination of any other members whom the right hon. gent. might think proper to propose.

Mr. *Boyle*, (Solicitor-General for Scotland), contended, that it was the duty of the committee to investigate the jobs of one administration as well as those of another. It was not only the cases alluded to by the noble lord opposite that challenged inquiry, but others also. The appointment of a collector for Buenos Ayres, among others, called most loudly for investigation. It was true, the appointment would not take place, unless the settlement should be reduced by his majesty's arms; but the nomination constituted a new species of reversion contingent on an event which might or might not happen. The appointment of Gazette writer of Scotland, an office quite new, and the purest of all possible sinecures, was also a proper object of inquiry. He allowed the high merit of the individual who was appointed to this office, but that merit ought to be rewarded by a less exceptionable provision. The printers of the Edinburgh newspapers had been allowed to publish what was called a Gazette, when a change was introduced in the Bankrupt Laws of Scotland, in 1793, on the express condition stipulated by an illustrious individual now no more (Mr. Pitt), that it should cost the country nothing. Now it was taken out of the hands of those newspaper printers, to whom it had afforded a profit of £200 a year, and with a salary of £300 annexed, it was transferred to Mr. Dugald Stuart, his heirs and assignees. This was surely a grant which in every shape called for investigation. It was a sinecure and a reversionary grant united.

Mr. *Biddulph* said, that though he had introduced the measure of the Committee of Inquiry, he had not been allowed to chuse the members. Yet he was anxious to impress upon the house the propriety of adhering, as much as possible, to the names of which it was originally composed. He had attended the committee constantly, except on a few days, on which he had been prevented by ill health, and he could say, that the candour, the good understanding, and the inquiring spirit that had been manifested in it, had never been surpassed. It was impossible to state any political grievance to which it did not attend. The act which it had brought forward, was the application to the house upon which the bill for restraining the grants of places in reversion was founded. The time required for the investigation necessary to prepare well founded and useful reports, had prevented those reports from being made as early as they might otherwise have been. As to the persons who were to be introduced to fill the vacancies created by the changes in the representation, he saw no great exception to the persons proposed. At the same time, he should take occasion, when the names should come to be considered, to propose the name of one person, whom he should, at present, designate no further than by saying, that he appeared to have the keenest sense of the public wrongs, and the strongest disposition to investigate and to reform the wasteful expenditure of the public money.

Mr. *Brand* wished for a fair and honourable inquiry, such as was due to the character of the house, such as was expected by an anxious country and a suffering people. He was partial to the right hon. gentlemen on the bench below him (the late ministers), from a high opinion of their talents and integrity. But if any charge should be made on them, he would be the first to call for inquiry and investigation into the grounds of that charge. But when he looked to the bench opposite (the Treasury Bench), and saw on it men certainly all remarkable for their talents, but of whom no two were without pensions, sinecures, and reversions, settled on themselves, or on their families, inquiry was loudly called for, to shew how they and their infants had become possessed of those drains from the public purse. He was shocked at the mode of meeting one accusation by retorting another. When those most remarkable for ability in investigation were excluded, when the names of the new committee were more numerous than those of the old, when the present ministers, not satisfied with introducing eight names instead of those of the old members not returned, he was sure the country would not think the present committee auspicious to the cause of retrenchment and reform. To baffle a people loaded with burthens by holding out a delusive investigation, could lead to nothing but disappointment and discontent. He lamented the insinuation, that no set of men could be found in the house free from party devotions, or from party animosity, an insinuation that must sink the character of the house in the opinion of the country, and must diminish the hopes entertained from the investigation.

Mr. *Secretary Canning* had no doubt that the hon. gentlemen opposite wished for a fair inquiry, and perhaps they thought the appointment of the former members the best means of securing such an inquiry. In answer to them, and particularly to the hon. gent. (Mr. Biddulph), who was entitled to particular consideration in every thing connected with this subject, he had to say, that if human affairs could be conducted without partiality or prejudice, the plan they recommended would be entitled to preference. But as the contrary was the fact, and as personal and party attachments were known to be almost universally prevalent in that house, he saw no danger in avowing to the public what was already well known, the prevalence of those party attachments, and to guard against any unfair preponderance of those attachments, by balancing the numbers of the parties. It was therefore desirable to avoid appointing those whose party prejudices ran all in the same course. He would, indeed, be ready to allow, that if there was one set of men free from all party prejudice and animosity, that if those men had been for many years out of office, and if on coming at length into office, they exercised their power, neither to stigmatize their opponents, nor immediately to reward their adherents, he would allow that it would be very fit to encourage so brilliant an example of purity, by appointing these men to be of the committee. If not perfectly pure, they would at least be perfectly unaccused, while the conduct of the inquiry would be in their own hands. If, however, he were called upon to point out the description of men most free from political animosity, it was not to the opposite bench that he would look. If he was called upon to point out those who had abstained most from the use of power for the advantage of their dependents, he would look there as little for the reality of the fanciful perfection which was so much to be wished for. If, on the contrary, he were to look for those who made the best use of a very short interval of power for the benefit of themselves and their adherents, the hon. gentlemen were those on whom he should fix. A noble lord (H. Petty) had, upon a former occasion, told a story of an old Roman Moralist, who wished to live in a house of glass, that all his actions might be seen. The noble lord had expressed a wish to live in such a house himself. He could not avoid, however, repeating to him the vulgar proverb, "Those who have a house of glass, ought not to begin by throwing stones" [a laugh]. Those by whom this principle of parliamentary practice had been not long since laid down, were now unwilling that the house of glass, which this inquiry was to constitute, should be enlarged by a bow window, so as to include them (a laugh). It was impossible to state grounds for inquiry, otherwise than generally in detail. When his right hon. friend made general charges, he was called as loudly to particularise, and when he did particularise, those who forced him to do so cried shame. Well, indeed, might the specification be objected to by the noble lord opposite, and his colleagues. The noble lord and his colleagues had found out, that a collector, comptroller, searchers, and tide waiters, were wanted at Buenos Ayres, a place not yet in our possession. Common reversions were at least exempt from the fault of bringing immediate charges on the country. But this appointment conveyed so many reversions, which would become immediately chargeable, unless, indeed, the place should not be taken, and the mischief would fall entirely on the unfortunate collector, comptroller, searchers and tide waiters. But it was not only in the burthen that this appointment was mischievous, but in the influence which it created. If it had been in the contemplation of a government that covered sea and land with its glories, and was to extend its power over the world, to apply this system to all its conquests, not only to those actually atchieved, but to those they meant to accumulate one upon another, opening a scene which would have made Buonaparté little in comparison—we should have had collectors and comptrollers of the Bosphorus, and searchers and waiters of Rosetta (a laugh). There was here to be observed, a great change in the tone of the hon. gentlemen on the subject of Buenos Ayres. When the conquest of that place was effected, the hon. gentlemen thought it not worthy of being mentioned in the king's speech. Now it had acquired a vast importance in their eyes; and why? not from its importance to the commerce, or navigation, or to the general resources of the country, but because it was a place that afforded room for the appointment of collectors, comptrollers, searchers, and tide waiters. This was a complete key to the whole policy of the late ministers—and a most happy illustration it was of their large, liberal, and enlightened views! However far the range might have extended in contemplation, the actual list ended here, and it became necessary to return home to the 300 surveyors of taxes. The noble lord's defence here, as in the former instance, was, that the appointment was prospective. But was the influence prospective? Why did the appointment take place on the eve of a general election? If the coincidence was accidental, the hon. gentlemen were certainly the first favourites of fortune! He acknowledged the high literary merit of Mr. Dugald Stuart, who had besides the merit, and he thought it no light one, of having educated the noble lord. He acknowledged and lamented the general insufficiency of the rewards bestowed on literary merit in this country; but he highly condemned the mode of reward here adopted, by constituting a new sinecure, and bestowing it on Mr. Stuart and his assignees for 21 years. As to the comparison instituted by the noble lord between this grant and the rewards granted to the writers of the Anti-jacobin, he for one, felt no shame for the character or principles of that work; nor any other sorrow for the share he had in it than that which the imperfection of his pieces was calculated to inspire. He was told that this provision of Mr. Stuart was substituted for a professorship of medical jurisprudence, which it had been intended to institute. He should like to see the hon. gentlemen in the full swing of their insolence of power, making this appointment, immediately after their unqualified attacks upon their antagonists, as much as to say, "Though you can do nothing, we dare do every thing." He doubted whether this same science of medical jurisprudence could be found any where mentioned, even in the Scotch Encyclopædia. In answer to what the noble lord had said about newspapers, he would ask, was there no instance here of a newspaper (the Morning Chronicle) conspicuous for its attachment to the constitution, and for the fairness of its mode of detailing all transactions in which its party interests had a place, whose proprietor was appointed Secretary to the Barrack Board, at which a secretary was a new and a sinecure institution? With such an instance in their own conduct, how could they tax the present ministers with partiality to newspapers? There was another act which he looked upon as a flagrant breach of the constitution, the grant of a pension of 400l. a-year during pleasure to a Scotch Judge, [lord H. Petty said, across the table, he knew nothing about this matter]. The hon. gentlemen, when in power, were so united, that no difference of opinion prevailed among them; when out, and charged with a job, they fled in all directions, and left it to light on what head it would.

Mr. *Curwen* rejoiced to see the right hon. gent. throw the first stone from the glass-house. Though he was partial to his hon. friends below him, he was not one of those who would defend any man through thick or thin. He was sorry there were those who acted on the contrary system. There was a vote of the house, declaring the propriety of abolishing sinecure places. He was glad to hear the hon. gentlemen opposite so strenuous in condemning the creation of such places. It was a pledge that no such thing would be done in the administration of the hon. gentlemen. It was however reported, that all the right hon. gentlemen opposite held sinecure places for themselves or their families. If such a system was conquered, though our allies might have lost a battle, we should have acquired a great victory, when the money that was wrung from the people could no longer be absorbed in this manner. The right hon. secretary had said, there was no independent man in parliament: he was at least thus far independent, that he had never accepted a favour from any minister, nor ever would. He would ask the right hon. secretary, whether or not he himself had a pension?

Mr. Secretary *Canning* denied having said there were no independent men in the house. He had asserted only that party attachments were prevalent. As to the hon. gent's. question, the answer was, that on his retiring from the office of under secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville proposed to make a provision for him, which he had accepted, and settled by his desire one half on himself, and the other half on two very near and dear relations, who were dependent for their subsistence upon his labours.

Dr. *Laurence* thought it was extraordinary, that on the very day when we had received from the continent news most disastrous to our allies, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, should, in the course of his speech, amuse the house so much with idle fancies, with jokes and epigrammatic points. As to his argument, it did not bear at all upon the question. The question was for the appointment of a committee, to consider and report what retrenchments might be made in the public expenditure, and what useless places might be abolished. Now, there was no one instance mentioned, either by the chancellor of the exchequer or the right hon. secretary, which could be referred to that committee. As to the appointment of a Collector or Comptroller of Buenos Ayres, there was no burden now upon the country on that account, and if the place should be taken, it was evident that there must be such officers. The question, then, between the late and present administration on this point was merely who should have the influence that was to be obtained by the appointments? Next, as to the place given to Mr. Dugald Stuart, the right hon. gent. did not object to the burden but only to the mode, and thought it would be better to provide for him by a pension than a place. On this point, therefore, there was no retrenchment proposed. With respect to the 300 Surveyors of Taxes also, the right hon. secretary confessed that the appointment of them was right, and that the present ministers meant to pursue the same measure, but that they intended to appoint the surveyors themselves. In all those instances which the chancellor of the exchequer had mentioned, there was not one in which they proposed the least retrenchment of expence, or any matter which could be referred to the committee. They only seemed angry at having their own patronage and influence somewhat intrenched upon by the appointments of their predecessors.

Sir *S. Romilly* lamented that the simple question before the house had been so much wandered from. Much was expected from the inquiry which it was now proposed to institute. The character of the house would depend upon the issue of that inquiry; and the confidence in it would depend on the description of men of whom it would be composed. When it was sought to replace in its proper situation every thing else that had been disturbed by the dissolution, this most important matter ought not to be deranged. Though other gentlemen might be as well qualified in other respects, the knowledge already acquired by those who composed the last committee rendered them by far the fittest persons to be re-chosen now. If they were not appointed, the pledge given in his majesty's speech would not be kept.

Mr. *Bankes* said, that it was with the utmost pain he had heard the accusations and recriminations which had been brought forward this night. He thought the effect of them must be to degrade the character of all public men in the eyes of the public at large. He could not avoid expressing his strongest disapprobation of some of the acts which had been stated to have been done by the late administration. As to the granting a pension, during pleasure, to a civil and criminal Judge in Scotland, he thought it a measure so unconstitutional, and in every point of view so reprehensible, that it must be seriously investigated before the committee. As the Finance Committee was a committee of inquiry only, and had not the power of acting upon whatever might be the result of their investigation, he did expect that not a single member of the late committee would have been excluded on the re-appointment of it. What danger, he would ask, was there to be apprehended from the same persons that had already shewn themselves to be both able and industrious in the pursuit of these inquiries, continuing to inquire, and to report the evidence which they received, together with their opinion thereon, to the house, when the house would afterwards have the power of judging for itself upon the evidence, and of agreeing or disagreeing with their committee as to their discretion might seem fit, and of acting only according to the judgment of the house? There was one point, in fact, upon which the late committee had not entirely made up their minds; it was but justice, therefore, that an opportunity should be given them that they might be enabled to come at that final determination. The particular point to which he alluded was that of a discovery which was made by the committee of some abuse in the office of the Paymaster-General. At the time when that discovery was made, no apprehension was entertained of the sudden dissolution of parliament which afterwards took place. Under the impression that they were likely to sit much longer, they came to a resolution not to deliver in their report, as to the facts on which their discovery rested, until they should have hit upon the means that would be most likely to prevent a recurrence of similar abuses in future. Upon that point they had not come to any determination; but for his own part, he believed that the only radical cure for such an evil was the speedy passing of Accounts. But, as the committee had not come to any determination on that head, that was one reason why he wished that the same persons should be again appointed to an office which they had already most honourably filled. But, exclusive of this consideration, there was another, namely, that the zeal, ability, industry and integrity which he had already witnessed in the former members, had such weight upon his mind, that he in fact regretted that any one of their names should be omitted on the present occasion; but he was most peculiarly sorry, he must say, at seeing the name of an hon. friend of his (Mr. Sharpe) omitted, as he had been one of the most active, the most eminently useful servant to the public in the former committee—a gentleman to whose acuteness and industry, the house and the public were principally indebted for the discoveries which were made in the first report. But as a plain matter of fact, he was confident it must be obvious to every fair, candid and impartial man, that those who had already given up a good deal of their time and bent their mind to inquiries of the nature which was spoken of, must be infinitely better qualified to enter on such inquiries in the present parliament, than any other gentleman whatever who had not heretofore turned his attention that way.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that from an expectation that the committee would have much longer time to continue their investigations than he found was afterwards permitted them, and knowing as he did, that owing to his mind being otherwise engaged at the commencement of their sitting he was unable to attend at the first of their investigations; he therefore did not think fit to attend the committee during the latter part of their sitting, but waited until they should have made a report, intending then to join them on their entering upon a fresh subject of inquiry. For this reason he agreed with the hon. member who spoke last, and on the ground which had been by him stated, he could not complain that his name was omitted in the list of members to form the present committee.

Mr. *Addington* thought that it was necessary his vote on a former evening should not lead to any misconstruction. He did not vote for the address, and oppose the amendment, because he considered the dissolution of parliament a laudable measure, but because this recurrence to the sense of the people was to be justified on constitutional grounds. He was fully aware that it must be attended with great and serious inconveniences, and therefore he was most anxious that matters should be restored as nearly as possible to the state in which they were prior to that appeal, or to the condition in which they would have been, had there been no dissolution of parliament. Such were the views with which he conceived the chancellor of the exchequer brought in the bill last night, and he hoped his expectations would not be disappointed. With regard to the names, he had only one objection to make, and it respected a person, of whose abilities or deficiencies he was the most competent to judge. He hoped the house would exclude himself, as he felt that he was not adequate to discharge the important duty. He entertained always a high opinion of his right hon. friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, and he earnestly hoped caution would be observed, in the present arrangement, in order to avoid those suspicions that any partiality must unavoidably produce.

Lord *Cochrane* declared, that he did expect that the same regulation would have been adopted on this occasion, as that which had been agreed to with respect to Private Bills. Besides this, from their actions he judged that the last committee was better than any new one that was likely to be appointed.

Colonel *Shipley* declared that the former committee had the entire confidence of the country, when what he felt himself entitled to call the unjustifiable conduct of ministers, the dissolution, deprived the country of the further benefit of their labours. For this reason he thought that ministers owed it to the individuals who composed that committee, to the house, and to the country, to re-animate, now they had an opportunity of doing so, that virtuous body whose vital powers the pestilential breath of ministers had for a time suspended.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* asked an hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Bankes), whether the report was regularly drawn up before him, or with his approbation as chairman of the committee, and ready to be delivered at the bar of the house when the dissolution took place?

Mr. *Bankes* answered, that that was the only day on which he was absent from the committee. He understood, however, that the report was drawn up, approved of by the committee, and ready to be presented at the bar of the house. As he had already stated, the committee had come to the resolution of relating the facts, and pointing out the remedy at the same time, but such a resolution was very fairly alterable according as circumstances might suggest to the committee; of such circumstances the dissolution was certainly one.

Mr. *Huskisson* observed, that the committee had adjourned to two o'clock on Monday; consequently they had not time to have prepared such a report as that which was spoken of, before the dissolution took place.

Mr. *H. Thornton* declared that he was of opinion that the statement of facts and the remedy proposed for those evils ought to be given together; the committee was of the same opinion; but the resolution of the committee, he thought was repealable, as circumstances might appear to them to justify it; and for his own part he was of opinion that it would be much better that a naked report of such facts as had came to their knowledge should be given to parliament, than that the report should be entirely lost, and the committee deprived of the power of stating what they knew, by the dissolution.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* assured the house that in consequence of the absence of their chairman, another gentleman was called to the chair. The report was distinctly read, and he never saw or heard any act of any committee of that house meet with more unanimous approbation, than the report which was now mentioned.

Mr. *Sharpe* acknowledged, that he felt the full force of the two compliments which had been paid him. To his hon. friend (Mr. Bankes) he was extremely thankful for the very handsome manner in which he had mentioned his name. To the gentlemen on the other side, he had also reason to express his acknowledgment of the kindness which they had done him; for he considered it to be as high a compliment as those gentlemen could bestow, when they thought proper to express their objection to him by the mission of his name in the new list. There vas one fact, however, with which he hought it right that he should acquaint the ouse, that was, that if he should not be gain chosen a member of the Finance Committee, and should those that were to be the hosen people of the new ministry, attempt o suppress any statement of evidence that ad been already entered on, it was some onsolation to him to have it to say, that he ad in his own hands a number of extracts nd minutes from the intended report, which e pledged himself to bring forward whenever he should see any necessity for doing so. ut in point of fact, he had much rather that e should not be again appointed to serve in ne Finance Committee, as he would now and in a very different situation from that n which he formerly acted.

Mr. *Lamb* declared that he took on himself his full share of the responsibility which as attached to the framing of the report.

Lord *A. Hamilton* added his testimony to at of his hon. friend as to the necessity hich there was for the formation of the eport, and took also upon himself his full hare of the responsibility which was attached to it.

Lord *Howick* said, there were some points the debate upon which he could not forbear to offer a few observations. Before, owever, he proceeded to these points, he egged leave to say, that there seemed to be ome misunderstanding among the gentlemen on the other side, with regard to the eport, which was ready to be presented on ne day of the prorogation. If gentlemen ere but recovered from their warmth pon this subject, he thought it might be easily proved that the conduct of the committee alluded to was strictly correct and impartial; that they had done no more than their uty, nay more, that they would have violated their duty, if they had not acted as they ad done. The hon. gent. who acted as airman of that committee, had resolved ot to report until a statement of the evils ey discovered should be accompanied by description of the remedy to be recommended. But that resolution was revocable, and the hon. gent. admitted that the ommittee had completed their inquiries. hey had materials to report upon, and in ct, if he was rightly informed, the committee were in daily expectation of the hon. ent. coming down as chairman, with a report prepared for their consideration. But e report of a sudden dissolution being communicated to the hon. gent., that hon. gent., and he did not mention it for any purpose of blame, thought proper to leave town in order to secure another object, where he had reason to expect a contested election. The other members remained in town; and hearing the prospect of a speedy dissolution, he would put it to the house and the country, whether they were not bound to take care that the fruit of their laborious investigations should not be lost? With a view to guard against that, and with the prospect before them, the committee were, he contended, perfectly right in proceeding as they had done, although, owing to a little dexterity, the attainment of their object was prevented for the moment. That, however, this committee had, on the whole, acted a most meritorious part; that they had been active and diligent in their inquiries, and that in the conclusion of their labours they had done what their duty required, he would be ever ready to maintain. But this committee was not to be revived as it stood before, because, as the secretary for foreign affairs had stated, it was necessary to introduce into it a different set of men, of a different party in politics, which change that rt. hon. gent. declared to be necessary with a view to impartiality. For according to that right hon. secretary's declamatory strain of observations there was no chance of obtaining impartiality, but through what he called a collision of opposite opinions, and that too in a committee of inquiry. Now, for himself, he would say, that he was now, and had always been, a party man, and for these reasons; first, because he thought a party connection was the most effectual way to promote any public object; and secondly, because, to say the least of it, he could not think from what he had seen in that house, or heard out of it, that men who disclaimed party, were the most remarkable for independence and purity. But, much as he preferred a party connection, and was convinced of its beneficial operations for the public, still he would deprecate the idea of it if he thought the attachments it engendered were likely to stifle inquiry, or to conceal the public malversation of a party man. Sure he was that among that party with which he had the honour to act, there existed no such disposition; and yet, unless the gentlemen on the other side entertained such a suspicion, he could not conceive a reason for the manner in which they prepared to new model this committee. Among the names of those members of the former committee whom the chancellor of the exchequer thought proper to exclude, he desired to have one pointed out to whom any suspicion could reasonably attach, of being influenced by party attachments in the examination of public delinquency. He would take, for instance, without any disposition to particular preference, his hon. friend near him (Mr. Whitbread). Would the gentlemen on the other side object to his independence, after the swelling compliments which the house had heard some time since applied to his hon. friend's manly independence by the secretary for foreign affairs? He meant upon the discussion of the conduct of the negociation. He would ask of these gentlemen, whether they could suspect that his hon. friend would, if appointed to this committee, attempt to screen even him, were he guilty, from the consequences of any malversation? Upon what ground, then, was the name of his hon. friend excluded? And he might put the same question as to any of the other gentlemen on his side of the house, whose names were omitted; but it was the resolution of the gentlemen on the treasury bench, for the purpose of a fair collision of parties even in this committee, to construct it of an even balance of opposite parties. The house, however, would judge of this proposed fairness when it was understood, that out of the 25 members no less than 14 were selected from among the connections of the minister.—With regard to the charges and insinuations thrown out against the conduct of the last administration, he should, in the first place, answer their accusers by saying, that he only desired inquiry. All he should ask of the house and the country would be, not to adopt any opinion; not to come to any conclusion; not to pronounce any judgment upon the accusations loosely thrown out by the gentlemen on the other side, particularly without any notice to himself or his friends, without affording them any fair opportunity of answering them. Upon every such charge he desired only inquiry, and that such inquiry might be made in the most hostile form. If the gentlemen on the treasury bench thought they could substantiate any charges against the last administration, let them do it. But let the old administration go on with its investigation, and his wish was, that a new committee should be formed to inquire into the conduct of the last administration, composed altogether of members from the ministerial side of the house (a loud cry of hear! hear!), excepting only such as held offices.—The noble lord next proceeded to animadvert upon the particular charges brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer. First, as to the appointment of a collector to Buenos Ayres, with which was connected some question as to the sincerity of the late ministers. Upon the subject of reversions, he would appeal to the hon. gent. (Mr Bankes), whether he did not express to that gent. his anxious wish in favour of an act to prevent the further grant of reversions, and that long before the last committee was appointed? Indeed, the sincerity of the late ministers was proved by their conduct, for they did not grant a single reversion, and it was notorious, that, among others, a very valuable reversion fell in during their administration. But to return to Buenos Ayres; the appointment could only be objected to on one of three grounds; either that the office was quite unnecessary, that the person appointed was exceptionable, or that the late ministers by such an appointment, improperly interfered with the patronage of their successors. As to the first, no one could deny that a collector would be necessary at such a place as Buenos Ayres, if we had it in our possession, and if we had it not no expence would arise out of the appointment; as to the second, sure he was, that no objection was likely to be made to the person who was appointed upon his recommendation, namely, Mr. Wilberforce Bird; and as to the third, no interference with the patronage of the present ministers could be alleged, because the appointment was revocable at pleasure.—After commenting on this and the other accusations advanced by the chancellor of the exchequer, the noble lord begged to observe, that for the most part he never heard of the cases to which they referred, until they were mentioned by the right hon. gent. in that house. This was particularly the case with regard to the 300 surveyors, for he had no connection with that department; but how, he would ask, did that case stand upon the right hon. gent.'s own shewing? Why, the appointment of these officers was recommended by the tax office, some short time after the late ministers came into office. Proper persons were immediately appointed to ascertain the number of officers that would be necessary to carry into effect the object proposed by the tax-office. It got abroad, that such appointments were intended, and applications were made to the treasury, and some of these applications succeeded. Promises were made, and such promises formed what the chancellor of the exchequer called the nomination, which he objected to. But these nominations required an act of parliament to render them of any avail, and, strange to tell, unfortunately for the right hon. gent.'s argument, no such act was ever proposed. Thus, an administration so very greedy of patronage, so very anxious to provide for its friends, was so negligent as to go out of power without taking care to dispose of those good things!—The third point to which the chancellor of the exchequer directed his accusations, referred to the appointment of what he called a new office in Scotland. But what was the fact? Why, that his majesty having determined to settle a pension of £300 a year upon Mr. Dugald Stuart, as a reward for his services, the late ministers rendered an office, already existing in Scotland, available, as far as it would go, to discharge a part of that pension, and thus produced a saving to the public. Such was the plain state of the case. Now, as to another charge, of which he declared, on his honour, he never heard a word until stated by the right hon. gent. this night, namely, as to the intention to grant a pension, during pleasure, to one of the Scotch Judges—[" Intention," observed a voice across the table, " the warrant was actually made out."] The noble lord repeated, that he was quite ignorant of the transaction; but it appeared that the thing was not completed. However, he was ready to say, that jealous as he was, and ever would be, of the independence of the judges, he could not approve of such a grant as that described. But he confessed that he had doubts of the fact; and he begged the house to suspend its judgment till inquiry should be made respecting it. This suspension of judgment, which justice warranted him in demanding, was all that he requested of the house and the country.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied to the observations of the speakers on the other side. The accusations of partiality in the nomination of the proposed committee he retorted upon the gentlemen on the other side, by stating, that in the names he proposed there were a considerable proportion of their friends, while it was to be recollected that in the former committee there were only two gentlemen who were understood to have any attachment to the party with which he had the honour to act. The right hon. gent. ridiculed the rumour so industriously circulated, that the dissolution was occasioned by a desire of ministers to prevent a certain transaction from being reported by the former committee; which transaction was in fact notorious, and all the evidence with regard to which was to be referred to the new committee (we understood the right hon. gent. to allude to the affair respecting Mr. Steele, see Appendix to the present volume.) Adverting again to the appointment to Buenos Ayres, the right hon. gent. mentioned, that which he wished to contrast with the conduct of the noble lord and his colleagues, and as a proof that the present ministers were not so anxious about influence; namely, that Mr. Wilberforce Bird having applied to them for the office of collector of Monte Video, conceiving it to be included in his appointment to Buenos Ayres, they denying expressly the validity of his appointment, but still unwilling to disappoint the expectations of any man, did appoint Mr. Bird to the collectorship of Monte Video.——The first motion, that a committee should be appointed, &c. was then unanimously agreed to. Upon that for confining the number of the committee to twenty-five,

Lord *Howick* rose, and adverting to the suggestion made by an hon. gent. (Mr. Biddulph), relative to the propriety of the appointment of sir Francis Burdett as one of the members of this committee; took occasion to observe that, although he could assure the house there was no gentleman on the other side more adverse to the general conduct of that person than he was, although no man was more the subject of that person's attack, and that of the party, if such they could be called, who acted with him, still he would advise the adoption of the hon. gent.'s suggestion. It would be recollected by any person acquainted with the history of the times, that notwithstanding the attempts always made, said the noble lord, to connect us with this person's party, there was no party in the country more obnoxious to them than that with which I have the honour to act. This gentleman, it will be observed, stands forward as the enemy of public abuses, and I would recommend ministers to keep a vacancy open for him in this committee. There he will have an opportunity of inquiring into the abuses of which he complains, and proposing the remedy in a much more proper way than he has heretofore done, or attempted to do. I should therefore wish to have him afforded the opportunity, although I happen to be so obnoxious to his attacks, probably not so much from the impulse of his own mind, as in consequence of the incitement of others.

Mr. *Biddulph* observed, that he was actuated wholly by public motives in proposing the hon. baronet's name, and that he acted without any connection whatever with the hon. baronet. But having perceived that the hon. baronet had a quick sense of public wrongs, and was anxious to remove them, he thought him a very fit person to be appointed a member, and to promote the objects of this committee.—A member under the gallery, whose name we could not learn, announced his intention of opposing the appointment of sir F. Burdett, as an ineligible person, upon the ground that he had not yet taken his seat, and also upon other grounds.

Lord *Howick* proposed the division to take place upon the proposition of a name from himself.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should put to the house the names he had already mentioned, and it would be competent to the noble lord, or any member, to propose such other name as they might think proper, in lieu of any that he proposed.—The names of Mr. Bankes and Mr. Biddulph were unanimously agreed to. Upon the name of Mr. Leycester being proposed,

Lord *Howick* rose to propose the name of Mr. Sharpe in lieu of it, observing, that he should not wish it to be understood generally, that the division was to take place upon the propriety of nominating Mr. Sharpe. At the same time he had objections to Mr. Leycester, which the noble lord was proceeding to state, when

Mr. *Home Sumner*, who said, that he thought it improper that strangers should be present at a discussion of the merits of individual members, moved that the gallery should be cleared. Strangers were accordingly excluded during the remainder of the debate. On the division for the nomination of Mr. Leycester, the numbers were, for the proposition 244; against it 149; majority 95.—After this division, we understood that the name of sir Francis Burdett was proposed by Mr. Biddulph. Upon this proposition a debate arose, which continued above an hour, and terminated in the rejection of the hon. baronet's name without a division.—The Committee was then appointed, consisting of the members proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Adjourned at three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 1.

[PAPERS RELATING TO THE POLYGARS.] —Sir *T. Turton* rose to give notice, that he would on Friday se'nnight move for the production of certain papers, relative to the Polygars. Being on his legs, he took occasion to advert to another subject, which was intimately connected with that to which his notice referred, namely, the subject of the Carnatic. Upon that subject he had, in the last session, of the last parliament, moved for the printing of certain papers which were not ready before the dissolution, but which had since been distributed among most of the members, and of course they had full opportunity of becoming acquainted with it. For himself he could say, that he was quite prepared to enter into the discussion, but as a matter of courtesy he thought a noble lord (Folkestone) claimed the precedency, and as that noble lord's motion required some preparation, he could not look for a full attendance upon the question with which he meant to follow. He, therefore, could not feel himself able to promise the introduction of the Carnatic Question, in the course of the present session. However, if those who were immediately concerned for the noble marquis to whom these investigations referred, wished to have this question brought before the house, he could tell them that he was fully prepared to bring it forward.

Sir *A. Wellesley* professed his anxiety to have this matter at once brought forward and decided. He begged the house to consider the time in which the friends of the noble lord alluded to had been kept in suspense. For no less than six years this question had been under the consideration of the house, and according to the manner in which those who undertook to manage it proceeded, it might be still six years more before they arrived at a final issue, during which the noble marquis and his friends were to be agitated by perpetual discussions, or rather by perpetual abuse. With such a consideration in their minds, it was of course the wish of all connected with the noble marquis, that the business might be determined as soon as possible. If, therefore, the hon. baronet was willing to prosecute the business, it was the wish of the noble marquis's friends that he should bring it forward at once.

Sir *T. Turton* had no reason for hesitating with regard to himself, for he was as much prepared at present as he required to be. But there was a precedency due to the noble lord already alluded to, which he could not disregard. He begged, however, to have it understood, that he had no wish for procrastination. The word *if*, used by the right hon. baronet, was by no means attributable to any part of his conduct in this transaction, for he had always shewn himself willing to proceed in the business, and no part of the delay that had occurred was attributable to him.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 2.

[Cloathing of Veteran Battalions.]—Mr. *Rose*, agreeably to notice, made his promised motion for the production of certain letters which had passed on the subject of the Cloathing for the Veteran Battalions, and which had not been produced in compliance with a former order of the house. He thought it necessary to explain what the nature of the letters and minutes, which in his opinion were material to the subject in question, and which he presumed to think had been improperly withheld, actually was. When he was appointed one of the joint paymasters of the forces, it occurred to him, that if any savings were likely to be made in the military department, the cloathing was a branch in which it might as probably be effected as in any other. He inquired accordingly, how other parts of the service were provided in this respect, and found that a person who contracted for cloathing the marines, did so at a rate greatly lower than that charged for cloathing the invalids. He sent for this person and found that his charge was only 1 l. 1s. 6d. per suit, whereas the charge then made for cloathing the invalids, was 1 l. 7s. 9d. It turned out, however, that there was more lace on the cloaths of the Veteran Battalions than the contractor had been aware, he therefore increased his estimate to 1 l. 3s. Having ascertained this, the right hon. gent. next sent for the person accustomed to cloath the Veteran Battalions, telling him that his wish was not to change any tradesmen, if they could continue to serve the public on nearly the same terms with others. He shewed to this gentleman (Mr. Dickie) the suit of cloaths, furnished by the person to whom he (Mr. R.) had applied, whose name was Courtnay, and asked if he (Mr. D.) was willing to serve government agreeably to that pattern, for 1 l. 3s.? Mr. Dickie replied he could not, and that if he (Mr. R.) could get any person to contract with him on such terms, it would be wrong in him not to close with the offer. After the pattern suits had been approved of, Mr. Rose did give Mr. Courtnay the orders, and some of the battalions were served by him. When he wished, however, to deliver to the noble lord (Temple) 2000 suits which had been prepared, they were refused to be accepted of, on the ground that they were of bad quality, of bad workmanship, and too scanty. In the mean time the noble lord again applied to a Mr. Box, who was a partner of Mr. Dickie, and received an estimate from him, not indeed as he had formerly charged, amounting to 1 l. 7s. 9d. but to 1 l. 4s. 9d, being, however, 1s. 9d. per suit more than those furnished by Mr. Courtnay. It appeared from the minutes in the office, that this change had been made in consequence of complaints that the cloathing was of bad quality, bad workmanship, &c. and that letters had accordingly been written to the commanding officers of the different battalions who had been served by Mr. Courtnay, inquiring if the fact was so? The answers to this inquiry had not been produced; and it was of the suppression of them that Mr. Rose complained. He proceeded to read these letters, as they were to be found in the office, and stated, that so far from supporting the truth of the complaints made against the quality of the cloth and workmanship furnished by Mr. Courtnay, they uniformly proved his articles to be better, in these respects, than they had been for several years. The only fault they had, was that they were small, and under the general size; a fault which was immediately remedied. So, therefore, the minute in consequence of which the contract with Mr. Courtnay was set aside, and that with Mr. Box entered into, was unsupported by evidence, and proceeded on a false allegation. This might, in his opinion, become no improper subject of inquiry for the Committee of Finance, or the Commissioners of Military Inquiry. All, however, that he now wished to move for was that the letters from the commanders of the battalions as to the quality of the cloaths furnished should be laid before the house. He concluded by moving for Copies of all Minutes, Letters, &c relative to the Cloathing of the Veteran Battalions between the years 1804 and 1807.

Lord *Temple* said, he should not inquire into the reasons which had induced the right hon gent. to take on himself the present statement, when, if there was any thing in it, the Committee of Finance or Commissioners of Military Inquiry, were, as he himself stated, the proper persons to inquire into the circumstances of it. At the time the right hon. gent. originally made his motion, he (lord T.) explained to him, that there were a great many of the letters referred to contained in the minutes, it would therefore be unnecessary to produce them, and in this the right hon. gent. seemed at the time to acquiesce. There was at that time other information and other letters on the subject, which, being of a private nature, and not addressed to him in his public capacity, he did not feel himself authorised to produce. He now, however, had certificates of the facts, contained in those letters, and which he thought material. Mr. Box had cloathed the battalions in question for 15 years previous to the time of Mr. Courtnay's having been employed. Shortly after he (lord T.) came into office, complaints were made to him of the badness and smallness of the cloathing. In consequence of these complaints, inquiry was made, and a comparison was also taken of a suit of them with a suit belonging to another corps. They were found to be badly made up, and from this circumstance, joined to their being of an under size, the contract was given back to the man who had executed it for 15 years. Two things were to be considered in a contract. It might be too dear, or it might be too cheap. The inadequacy of quality and size was in this instance, found to be by no means counterbalanced by the lowness of the price. There was a difference between the two estimates of 1900l. which surely the public could not reckon any object when put in competition with the health, warmth, and comfort of those brave men who had been wounded in their service. His lordship proceeded to read a letter and a certificate from the major of the second battalion, and from the quarter master of the battalion at the Tower, stating that the cloaths furnished by Mr. Courtnay were by no means fit for men wounded in the service, who required large and comfortable cloaths, but might be fit enough for stripplings. They were in general too small, some of them had to be cut down to join out others; 600 could not be fitted out of 1000 suits: some of those furnished by the former clothiers, were required to be issued to supply the deficiency; 200 were obliged to be returned; and when remonstrated with as to the unfitness of the cloathing, the answer by Mr. Courtnay was, that he would be a great loser by the contract. The noble lord referred to his successor, if applications had not been made to him, from more than one battalion, not to change the old clothier.

Mr. *Long* admitted that applications had been made to him, but the mode was now changed, being by advertisement for estimates. If the noble lord had been at all hurt by the agitating of the present question, he could not help thinking he had himself alone to blame, in carrying away in his pocket such evidence as seemed to support the step which he had taken, and leaving behind him in the office only such evidence as went to condemn him.

Lord *Howick* complained, that these charges were preferred without giving his noble friend the opportunity of a fair trial. From the information his noble friend had received, he was not only justified in transferring the contract as he had done; but he would have been highly culpable if he had not transferred it. He knew not whether the clothing of the marines was furnished by Mr. Courtnay; but he had heard while at the admiralty very general complaints of the marine clothing.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought the statement of this night entirely owing to the noble lord's own conduct. If he was inconvenienced he had himself alone to blame.

Mr. *Windham* thought that though the right hon. gent. might be justified in bringing forward the measure, he could not be justified in not now proceeding in it.

Mr. *Johnstone* approved of the mode in which the business had been brought forward.

Mr. *Wilberforce* wished to know if the noble lord meant to say that the substance of the letters were contained in the Minutes, or only that they were referred to in them?

Lord *H. Petty* answered the question by reading a part of the minutes.

General *Tarleton* begged the house to consider its own dignity. If this practice of recrimination was to be perpetually resorted to; if when a charge was to be made against one party, it was answered by a counter complaint, there never would be an end to any debate in that house. He thought the subject ought to go before a committee of inquiry, without further ceremony.

Mr. *Huskisson* read extracts of letters from various commanding officers, expressing their satisfaction with the manner in which Mr. Courtnay had executed his contract. The late ministry had written a circular letter, inviting complaints against the clothing, and the uniform answer was in its favour, instead of complaining of it. But they did not wait until these answers were received; the fact being, that the new contract was hastily closed before they had received a single answer to the pompous inquiry they had affected to set on foot, previous to the dismissal of the former contractor.

Mr. *Cochrane Johnstone* said, this was one of the neatest jobs he ever heard of in his life. He was glad the house had taken up the subject of the army clothing, as it would lead to the discovery of a great many abuses in that department, and tend to better the condition of our brave defenders.—The motion was then agreed to.

[Sheriffs Depute of Sutherland, &c. and Lord Cullen's Pension.]—Mr. *W. Adam* rose to make his promised motion on the above subjects. He entered into a description of the office of Sheriff Depute in Scotland. It was a selection of local jurisdiction of the highest importance, and one in which it was extremely necessary that the duty should be performed with as much dispatch as possible. The Shrievalties of Sutherland and Caithness were formerly united, but, in consequence of the inaccessibility of the former county, it had been deemed necessary to separate them and to appoint a sheriff for each. This occasioned an expence of only 350l. a year. Sutherland was a county containing 26,000 inhabitants, and he appealed to all who knew Scotland, whether the appointment of a separate Sheriff Depute did not stand recommended on public grounds of advantage. He then explained the situation of the counties of Kinross and Clackmannan, neither of which had a Sheriff Depute. The Sheriff Depute of Stirling had jurisdiction in Clackmannan, and the Sheriff Depute of Fife in Kinross. In the latter county, as long as he remembered, the Sheriff Depute never did himself discharge the duty of his office, but appointed a substitute for that purpose, who, though a very respectable man, possessed no legal information. It became necessary to remedy these evils, and on public principles of utility, Sheriffs Depute were appointed for those two counties of Clackmannan and Kinross. To effect this, it became necessary to obtain the formal resignations of the Sheriffs of Fife and Stirling, who were afterwards re-appointed with their salaries.—He next proceeded to the subject of the warrant for granting a pension to lord Cullen, and expressed his regret that the subject should come forward in the present shape, more especially, as on that day, or on the next, the barons of the Courts of Exchequer in Scotland would come to a determination upon it. He passed the highest eulogium on his noble friend, and declared, that a more enlightened scholar, a more profound lawyer, a more agreeable companion, and a more perfect gentleman, never existed. He would shortly state the circumstances under which the warrant was granted, and he was sure, he should satisfy the house that what was proposed to be done, was not more than what ought to be done. In Oct. 1805, he received an intimation from lord Cullen, that having spent a day with the Duke of Portland, at Bulstrode, his grace expressed a wish to communicate with him (Mr. Adam) on the subject of a pension for lord Cullen for life, with a reversion to his wife. The change of administration, which soon after took place, prevented the completion of this business. In 1806, it was natural for lord Cullen, who had been connected with the late administration, to bring his case again under consideration. He did not contend that in any case it was fit to grant a pension to a Judge for life, but he contended that the crown should have the power of doing so, and he contended, that in cases in which a Judge was involuntarily involved in embarrassments, it was incumbent on the crown to endeavour to relieve him. Lord Cullen was the eldest son of D. Cullen, one of the greatest men that Scotland ever produced, and who had raised thereputation of the Medical School of Edinburgh, to the height which it then stood. Dr. Cullen, however, died poor, and left a large family; the younger branches of that family were in a great measure provided for by the public; but lord Cullen, the eldest son, could not guard himself from the effect of the embarrassments which descended to him from his father, and was in consequence obliged to give up two-thirds of the revenue of his situation, to relieve himself in some degree from those embarrassments. Those circumstances were taken into consideration by the late ministers, and there was every reason to suppose that in August last the affair was completed. However owing to the official delays, the warrant for granting a pension of 400l. a year to lord Cullen for life, with a provision of 200l. a year to Mrs. Cullen, was one of the last acts of the late administration. From that period until Monday last he had heard nothing more about it. He had no idea that the warrant was for any thing else but a provision for life; he was sure lord Grenville meant it to be for life. If when the grant was produced it should appear on the face of it, that it was during pleasure, he would contend that it was an error; the very circumstance of the reversion must shew it was an error. As he had before mentioned, the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, were at this time employed in considering the subject, and he deeply regretted that it had been mentioned in the house of commons, until their report had been made. As it was, however, he thought it his duty to move that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before the house copies of the appointments of the sheriff depute of the county of Sutherland, and of the sheriff depute of the counties of Clackmannan and Kinross; and also of the warrant granting a pension to lord Cullen, one of the senators of the college of justice; together with copies of all representations and official correspondence relating thereto.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* was desirous, that the letters and applications of the Sheriffs Depute for these counties should be laid before the house. Without meaning to throw any imputation on the respectable individuals who had occupied the new offices, he termed their appointment an unnecessary or wanton expence. To prove this, he entered into a history of the sheriffs depute of Scotland; they were divided into 5 classes; each class receiving a salary proportionate to its labour; by the new arrangements, the sheriff of Sutherland, who was placed in the last class but one, because no peculiar difficulty attended his situation, was to receive a higher salary than some of those in the first class. The sheriffs of Stirling and Fife had, it seems, resigned, to gave an opportunity for the new arrangements. He would like to know if they were not solicited to do so. With respect to the pension granted to lord Cullen, he would not follow the learned gent. in his detail on that subject, but he was surprised that if it was thought advisable to take such a step, it was not done in such a manner as to preclude the necessity of bringing it under the consideration of the house of commons. He concluded by some severe remarks on the creation by his majesty's late ministers of two new professorships in the University of Edinburgh—that of Medical Jurisprudence, and that of Military Surgery.

Mr. *C. Wynne* defended the institution of the two new professorships. There was scarcely a college on the continent, which had not long had a professor of medical jurisprudence, and the advantages of having a distinct professor of military surgery were obvious.

Mr. *Cochrane Johnstone* declared, that a more honest, upright, and able judge than Mr. Williamson, the Sheriff Depute of Stirling, could not exist. He happened to be with him when he received a letter from lord Spencer, requiring him to resign, pro tempore, in order that a distinct sheriff might be appointed for Clackmannan. Mr. Williamson declared to him, that such an appointment was wholly unnecessary, and exclaimed, in his Northern dialect, "Gude God, Maister Johnstone, did you ever see sic a job!" (A laugh.) With respect to the pension granted to lord Cullen, the reversion to Mrs. Cullen was a gross insult to the morals and feelings of the people of Scotland.

Mr. *R. Dundas* never heard of the least necessity for the appointment of the new sheriffs. As to lord Cullen's pension, the character of that learned lord certainly stood very high; but when he was thus selected from a body of men, and shewn peculiar indulgencies, he thought it indispensible that more specific grounds should be stated for such a measure than what had hitherto been advanced.

Mr. *Laing* defended the appointment of the sheriffs. The question was not, whether the sheriffs of Stirling and Fife declared that there was nothing to do in Clackmannan and Kinross, but whether the people of Clackmannan and Kinross were satisfied with the sheriffs not coming there to do any thing for them. He had never understood that lord Cullen was a very particular friend to the last administration, and he could not therefore see the justice of imputing the grant which he had received to party motives. Adverting to the arguments urged by a learned lord against the appointment of the two new professorships at Edinburgh, he observed, that similar arguments might have been applied with equal force against the appointment of Dr. Blair, as Regius Professor of the Belles Lettres; or of Dr. Walker, as Regius Professor of Natural History. Those appointments might as well be called jobs as the present; but he confessed he was not surprised, that men who had belonged to an administration the most unfriendly to literature that ever existed, and by whom genius of every description had been left to ine in want—he was not surprised that uch men should condemn conduct so oppo- te to their own.

The Marquis of *Titchfield* expressed his elief that the duke of Portland was not cquainted with the particulars of the trans- ction which was then the subject of de- ate.

Mr. *W. Dundas* defended the appointment f the sheriffs. In Sutherland, in conse- ience of the distance of the residence of the eriffs, justice was not delayed but not done. 'he country was 80 miles from sea to sea, 0 miles in the other direction; had a popu- tion of 26,000 inhabitants, and ought to ave a particular sheriff. Lord Reay, who ad a large property in it, had intreated him or the last five years to procure that altera- on, and he lamented that whilst he had the pportunity from his connexion with minis- rs, he had not endeavoured to accomplish desirable an object. He had said thus uch just to give a warning to the right on. gentlemen opposite, that if they meant is women's war of recrimination, for the rpose of gaining popularity, they would ot find it succeed.

The *Solicitor General* for Scotland contend- that the duties of the shrievalty were now before done by deputy, and that eminent erson who had been appointed sheriff of itherland resided in Edinburgh, and could ot have given his presence in the county r the time required by act of parliament. s the matter had been brought before e house he thought it right to be lly, fairly, and thoroughly sifted, and erefore he moved as an amendment, That ere be also laid before the house copies of l official correspondence upon the subject.

Mr. *Croker* thought that literary merit ght to be rewarded in the usual way. He as not a friend to giving indirect rewards for rect services.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did not ink the public would derive much advan- ge from these discussions, but the right on. gent. who represented them as women's ar of recrimination, should not lose sight the side from which the attack was made. e should look to those who sent forth charges attempts to raise false cries, and wished peculation to go to the country as their y, as if they were all purity, and their ponents the advocates of peculation. He d observed, in the late administration, that ey made great professions, without any rresponding performances, and attempted gain popularity with the public upon false pretences. Under these circumstances, the public would derive as much advantage from the recrimination, as from the attack. The appointment of the sheriffs for Sutherland had been proposed to Mr. Pitt, but he refused to accede to the alteration. The grant of a pension during pleasure to a judge was not only dangerous to the independence of the judicature but contrary to law. He had introduced these facts to the house on a former night only to shew, that the house ought to pause before they would appoint a committee, in which those gentlemen would have a preponderating influence who thought with the late ministers.

Mr. *H. Martin* was extremely happy to find that he had the approbation of a right hon. gent. on the other side (Mr. Rose) whose name was so proverbial as an enemy to all jobs! That right hon. gent. could, he was well convinced, be very serviceable to the country, if he was to devote his time to an endeavour to make out discoveries of this nature, and if he had the support of parliament, the country would not say that this was a woman's war. He was not himself, he confessed, so capable of defending against an accusation of this sort as those who had spent 14 years in extending the power of France. But on Tuesday next all these independent gentlemen would have an opportunity of testifying their zeal for the detection of abuses, by supporting the motion of a noble lord (Cochrane) for a list of those members who held pensions, places, &c. either in person or by other branches of their family.

Mr. *Canning*, in a strain of irony, lamented his ability to rise, after the very able, precise, and formal speech of the learned gent. However, the necessity of the new appointments of sheriffs, he confessed he did not see to be very clearly made out, neither was the term of medical jurisprudence, very accurately defined. And the matter of the pension to lord Cullen was still less satisfactorily explained. As the learned gent. had not given him the most ample satisfaction upon the whole, he should vote in support of the motion for the production of the papers.

Mr. *Rose* got up in great warmth and alluded to what had been said by the learned gent. (Mr. Martin.) If the hon. and learned gent., said he, thinks he can put me down by any such insinuations as he has just made, he will find himself mistaken. He says that my name is connected with jobs, I dare that hon. and learned gent. to shew the instance in any part of my life in which I was connected with any jobs. All the rewards I have received from the public are known to the public. I never put the public to the expence of a single shilling that is not publicly known. Whether I am under or over rewarded is another question. Over rewarded I have been, I am willing to admit; but still I say, that the public have not been put to a single shilling of expence on my account, that is not publicly known. If I had concealed any reward that I had from the public, I should think myself the most scandalous person in this country.

Mr. *Martin* said, he hoped he had spoken under and within the rules and orders of the house, since he was not checked by the chair; and while he was in that order, he should convey his ideas to the house in the manner which appeared to him the most fit.

Mr. *Windham* thought the house had heard pleasantry too long pursued, and fury too much indulged in the course of this debate. Of accusations generally and loosely made, no one disapproved more than himself; but they were not to be got rid of by abandoning the subject in discussion. The questions here were not to be gotten rid of by the species of declamation in which the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer had indulged. When he talked, in lofty terms, of having his eye on the late administration, that he would strip off their mask, and made use of such expressions, the right hon. gent. reminded him of a considerable person of the last age, and to whom during his life considerable attention was paid by the public; he meant Mr. Pope. He had as pompously written concerning his power of exposing others as the right hon. gent. had spoken:

> Yes; while I live, no rich ignoble knave
> Shall walk the world in credit to his grave.

These words made some noise, and they were alarming to some persons at the time when they were written, but they were now considered as perfectly ridiculous. He cautioned the right hon. gent. against the same sort of ridicule, which would overtake him sooner than it did Pope. If the late administration had acted in any manner by which public interest had been sacrificed to private favour—if they had, for the sake of serving their own friends, done that which was injurious to the public—if they had given away that which nothing but merit could deserve, and bestowed it on their favourites without merit—let the facts be exposed, and the party brought to shame; but let not the minds of the members of the house be led away by vague and general declamation. As to the appointments of sheriffs to the counties of Sutherland and Caithness, the measure on the face of it carried so clearly its own propriety with it, that it rather was the business of those who opposed it to shew why it should not take place, than that those who favoured it should shew why it should; and the only question which he thought could be put on this part of the case, as it regarded the late administration, was, whether the appointments were made fairly and *bonâ fide*. As to the pension to lord Cullen, it was clearly intended to have been a grant for life. As to the science of Medical Jurisprudence, he had only to observe, that it was known to every university in Europe, and it would be a reproach to us to be ignorant of it; for these reasons he was favourable to the motion now before the house.

Mr. *Huskisson* wished to know, whether it was by intention or mistake that the precedents in the case of the grant of pensions to lords Loughborough, Eldon, and Redesdale, were departed from in the grant to Mr. Ponsonby, late Chancellor for Ireland. In the former cases, the pension was to cease in case the noble lords should again be placed in the same office, or in any other of equal profit; but this limitation was left out of the grant to Mr. Ponsonby; so that if the gentlemen opposite should succeed in their project, that gentleman would again probably have the seals without his pension being discontinued.

Lord *H. Petty* had signed the warrant by virtue of which Mr. Ponsonby was to enjoy his pension. He had signed it under the impression that it was similar to the warrants for granting pensions to the other chancellors, and would not have signed it under any other impression.

Mr. *Adam* vindicated all the circumstances that attended the pension of lord Cullen: he was intimately acquainted with them all, and was the person with whom the duke of Portland and lord Cullen had communicated upon that subject. As to the pension operating as a corrupt motive on the mind of lord Cullen, no man of any administration would venture to assert it. The same propriety he might assert, presided in the choice of the professorships, in the Universities of Scotland, and he would defy the gentlemen opposite to say, that under any former administration, such impartiality had been observed.—The motion was then agreed to.

[Pensions to Chancellors.]—Mr. *Huskisson* begged leave to differ with the learned gentlemen who spoke last, as to this very disinterested spirit which it was pretended pervaded and characterised all the appointments of the late administration. Was the pension granted to Mr. Ponsonby on his retiring from the chancellorship of Ireland of that description? was it even accompanied and checked by the usual clause that the pension of 4000l. per annum should not be enjoyed by that learned gent. in case he accepted of any other office to the same amount, or upwards? In order to place this matter in a clear point of view, he thought it his duty to move, That there be laid before the house, a copy of all the warrants, granting pensions to Chancellors in England and Ireland since the 1st of Jan. 1800.

Lord *Howick* declared, he had no objection whatever to the motion of the hon. gent.; at the same time he could not help thinking, that the hon. gent was not the most qualified person in the world to resist improper grants, when a certain marriage settlement was recollected, and many other grants to the hon. gent. his family, and connections, got by what means, the Lord only knew, and for what the Devil only knew. It was not a happy measure to come from that side of the house, when he looked round, and observed that every member then sitting on the Treasury Bench, all of them, to a man, enjoyed some place, pension, or grant, either contingent to themselves, or in reversion to expectancy, as provision for their families and relatives; he could not think this motion came with much grace from that side of the house. If he was to single out one man more than another, as the most unqualified man, taking all the circumstances into consideration, he would say the hon. gent. was the most improper and the least qualified to bring forward such a motion in that house. The noble lord believed it was not the intention of the late government, to give Mr. Ponsonby more than other chancellors had received before him. Those who knew the character of Mr. Ponsonby, those who were acquainted with his independence and liberality of sentiment, well knew, that he himself would be the first to cancel any improper grant made to him, he would be the last man in existence to take advantage of such an act. He should say no more upon this subject, except to declare, that it was not the intention of his majesty's late ministers to make this grant different from all others of the same kind; and if it became necessary to bring a bill into parliament to rectify such an error, should the hon. gent. move it, he would be the first to second his motion. But what, he asked, was all this objection for? to what end did it lead? to what good could it tend? He thought all this was calculated for the sole purpose of diverting the public attention from those inquiries which the house wished to set on foot. The cry of "No peculation," to be sure, was most properly applied by gentlemen at the other side of the house; and he hoped that the charges that had been made, would not be found to prevail with the public to give up inquiry; but that if any improper offices had been appointed, the house should examine and condemn or censure as they found expedient. But this was not the object of the gentlemen opposite; no—their object was but too apparent—their wish was to lead the attention of the house and of the public to these topics of improper appointments and grants in order to cover with some pretence or other, the late alterations in his majesty's ministry, and the new appointments on the committee of finance. Upon the latter subject, then, what had been done? The right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer had appointed 8 new members, all of whom were selected by himself, in order to give him a decided majority. This, he trusted, would not be forgotten. It would also be recollected, that 3 members of the former committee, among whom he must first name Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Lamb, who were objected to by that right hon. gent. as unfit members of that committee, because they were the most attentive of all those who attended, and the most indefatigable in seeking out abuses and detecting peculation in every shape. The third gentleman, who had been rejected by this right hon. and learned gent. was his hon. friend (Mr. Whitbread), for no other reason whatever, but because he was the active prosecutor of lord Melville. Sorry was he to witness the general spirit of attack and recrimination witnessed within that house; it was not a season for it; but when one party was continually throwing out dark and ambiguous hints, threatening to expose a something here, and to detect a something there; perhaps the best, the most manly way to resist such vague attacks was by bold, express, and direct opposition—to answer hints by facts, and senseless cries by a demand for immediate inquiry. He begged pardon of the house for trespassing so long at so late an hour; he had been hurried to a greater length than he had intended to have gone, but it was not easy for a man to keep his temper, when he heard of charges and accusations, and saw what kind of men they were that preferred them.

Mr. *Hnskisson* denied that he had said any thing in the slightest degree derogatory to the late chancellor Ponsonby, for whom he professed the most unfeigned respect.—The motion was then agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 3.

[PENSIONS TO CHANCELLORS.] Mr. *Huskisson* regretted that the noble lord (Howick) was not present, to whom he had last night addressed a question respecting the omission in the grant of a pension to the late Irish Chancellor (Mr. Ponsonby) on his retiring from office, of the usual clause respecting the pension, should he again accept a situation of trust or emolument. He had since received information that this was owing to a mistake in the grant on this side of the water, and that in the warrant issued from the Treasury in Ireland, the proper clause was inserted. He trusted that no one was less disposed than himself to throw out an unfounded insinuation on any man, or any set of men. But he had been deceived by the mistake in the grant, which certainly did exist. He therefore moved, that the order which had last night been made for the production of the grant be discharged. Ordered. Soon after,

Lord *Howick* entered the house, and observed, that his anxiety on this subject had been so great, that on the adjournment of the house last night, he had lost no time, but had called on Mr. Ponsonby, to ascertain the truth of the hon. gent's. assertion. Mr. Ponsonby could not inform him whether or not the grant contained the clause alluded to; but he assured him that he had never the slightest idea whatever of accepting the pension, without the usual conditions; and he had since then written to lord Hawkesbury, stating, that should the clause actually have been omitted in the grant, he was ready to surrender it for the purpose of its insertion. He (lord Howick) confidently appealed to the gentlemen of Ireland, whether there had ever been a chancellor, who had discharged the important duties of his high office with greater ability, diligence, and advantage to the public? When he first succeeded to the office, the Chancery Court of Dublin was in arrears for six years of Notices, for 600 Motions, and for 427 Causes; when he quitted office, he had got under all, the notices and motions, aud had brought down the causes to 200, besides going through with the current business. Had he remained in office a few months longer, not a single cause would have been left undetermined. He wished that the hon. gent. would, in future, be more cautious in preferring his accusations; it would have been more candid, had he carefully inquired into this subject, before he brought it forward for the consideration of the house of commons.

Mr. *Huskisson* repeated his former statement. The clause had certainly been omitted in the grant on this side of the water, and he was therefore justified in imagining that it might have been omitted in Ireland, and that it was intended to be so.

[NAVY, ARMY, AND ORDNANCE ESTIMATES.] The house resolved itself into a Committee of Supply. The Speaker having left the chair,

Mr. *R. Ward* stated that the Navy Estimates were, with little variation, the same as the last Estimates. He had nothing more to do, therefore, than to move the following resolutions: That 130,000 Seamen be allowed for the year 1807, including 31,400 Royal Marines. That 3,126,500l. be granted for wages for these seamen for 13 months, at 1l. 8s. per man, per month. That 3,211,000l. be granted for victualling the men for 13 months, at the rate of 1l. 18s. per man per month. That 5,070,000l. be granted for the wear and tear of the ships, at the rate of 3l. per man per month. That 422,500l. be granted for the sea service in advance. That 1,135,474l. be granted for the half-pay of the navy. That 2,134,903l. be granted for naval buildings and extra works. That 1,500,000l. be granted for the hire of transports for the year 1807. That 300,000l. be granted for the sick and wounded seamen. That 500,000l. be granted for the prisoners of war at home and abroad.—These resolutions were put and agreed to.

The *Secretary at War* then rose and said; that he need not trouble the house any farther than by moving the following resolutions;—that 113,795 effective men be allowed for the land forces. That 4,051,623l. be allowed for the pay of these troops. That 2,609,143l. be allowed for the troops in the plantations. That 125,214l. be allowed for the dragoons. That 277,249l. be allowed for the charge of recruiting and contingencies. That 190,529l. 17s. 6d. be granted for the staff officers. 2,493,664l. for the embodied militia. 622,153l. for the militia contingencies. 157,227l. 16s. for the charges of clothing the militia. 34,483l. for the full ay of the supernumerary officers. 467,273l. or the increased rate of subsistance. 86,082l. for the half-pay of the land forces. 55,330l. for allowances to reduced military officers. 44,000l. for the half-pay of our American forces. 406,380l. for the Chelsea out-pensioners. 43,258l. for Kilmainham hospital. 832,540l. for defraying he charges of foreign corps. 22,175l. for he Royal Military College. 21,247l. for he Royal Military Asylum. 18,462l. for Chelsea Hospital. 469,450l. for the barrack department.—These resolutions were put and carried.

Mr. *Ashton* moved the ordnance estimates, which were, 2,278,197l. for the ordnance of he land service. 301,406l. for the service of the year 1805. 262,365l. for the service of the year 1806. 471,246l. for the ordnance of Ireland.—The resolutions were put and carried.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 6.

[PETITION AGAINST MR. GALWAY MILLS.] Mr. *Cochrane Johnstone* presented a petition from Mr. Elliott of New Bond-street, against Mr. Galway Mills, who was then in custody of the Marshal of the King's Bench, for a debt due to the petitioner, when he was returned to the present parliament. The petition stated, that in the course of business two bills of exchange had come from Mr. Mills into the hands of the petitioner, which had been respectively dishonoured; that Mr. Mills was also indebted in considerable sums to the petitioner for work done, goods sold, and money advanced; that in last Michaelmas Term the said Mr. Mills had, upon process out of the Court of King's Bench, been taken into the custody of the marshal of the said court, but had entered a sham demurrer, which he had afterwards abandoned; that in last Trinity Term the petitioner had obtained judgment for 1013l. but that execution had been stayed by a writ of error brought by the said Mr. Mills, to evade justice, and in order to escape the payment of his legal debts; that as no bail can be taken to an action pending a writ of error, the said Mr. Mills was in custody of the marshal of the King's Bench, when he was returned to the present parliament as a representative for the borough of St. Michael's; that the petitioner was informed that Mr. Mills had it in contemplation to apply for his liberation to that house, he having a considerable colonial property in the West Indies, with a view to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the courts, and for the purpose of evading justice; that under these circumstances the lord chancellor would not grant the writ "Ne exeat Regno;" that if the said Mr. Mills should be discharged out of custody by that house, the petitioner would be greatly injured; and that the petitioner therefore prayed that honourable house that it would be pleased to take such measures on the premises as to its wisdom should seem meet, and that petitioner might be heard by himself or his council, to prove the facts and allegations in his petition.—This petition was ordered to lie on the table, as were also similar petitions presented against the same gentleman, by Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, from Mr. Allen, of Bond-street; and by Mr. P. Moore, from a creditor, to the amount of 19,200l.—The petitions were ordered to lie on the table.

[STATE OF THE NATION.] Mr. *Whitbread* rose and addressed the house as follows:—I am not, Sir, altogether unaccustomed to address this assembly. During the number of years I have had the honour of a seat among you, it has been my lot to bring forward several important propositions, some of which have experienced a favourable reception, but the greater part a determined opposition. Yet never have I been in the habit of making any apology for the insufficiency of the proposer, however strongly I felt it, thinking it better to rely on the solidity of the grounds upon which my propositions rested, than to attempt conciliating attention by apologies. But I must confess on this occasion, whether from the growing diffidence of the public in public men; whether from the manner in which I have been recently spoken of in this assembly; whether from the nature of the debates which have lately taken place amongst us, in which a spirit of attack and recrimination has been manifested, by no means calculated to raise the character of this house [a loud cry of hear! hear!] whether from the disastrous state of the times, or whether from all these feelings combined, I never rose with so great a degree of diffidence and solicitude. If in my endeavours to bring back the gravity of debate—to get rid of the spirit of recrimination which has too long prevailed amongst us, and to retrieve the falling fortunes of this mighty empire—Here

Mr. *Dennis Browne*, of Mayo, moved the standing order for the exclusion of strangers; in consequence of which the gallery was immediately cleared, and strangers were not re-admitted during the remainder of the evening. — Notwithstanding the above circumstance, we are, however, enabled, from an authentic source of information, to communicate to our readers the following outline of this important debate.

Mr. *Whitbread* proceeded to lay grounds for the motion he intended to offer, and stated as the reasons and objects of inquiry, the state of our Sugar-colonies, and the danger to which our East-India empire was exposed; he alluded to the mutiny at Vellore, and seemed to think it arose from a deeper and more general feeling, than the impolitic and ill-judged military regulations which had been assigned as its cause. The state of the sister kingdom, he also thought, should be inquired into in a committee of the whole house; he feared Ireland was not so cordial as she should be in our common cause, and he desired to place her in the same situation of loyalty and good affection and security as Devonshire or Yorkshire. He was aware that Catholic emancipation could not and ought not now to be farther attempted, but there were other means of allaying animosity, and conciliating affection; among many such means he should allude to that of a system of tythes which an hon. gent. on the other side (Mr. Croker) who did not usually agree with his hon. friends, had allowed to be a subject of much consequence, and if carefully managed, pregnant with good effects. He should not dwell at greater length on this subject, because he felt it might be more effectually discussed hereafter, but beyond doubt that discussion in a committee on the state of the nation was absolutely necessary. He would also assert that the extraordinary dissolution of the late parliament demanded an enlarged inquiry, and he insisted that the doctrines on which that and the preceding measures were sought to be justified, viz. that the king could at any moment act without an adviser, tended to despotism, and the subversion of the constitution. He disapproved of his majesty's late choice of ministers: he thought one of them (the chancellor of the exchequer) a person not likely to gain the confidence of Ireland; and he considered the right hon. secretary (Mr. Canning) as little calculated, from his temper, his feelings, and the whole course of his political life, to conciliate that country with which he (Mr. W.) should never cease to hope that negociations for peace might speedily be renewed. He observed also that the recal of lord Melville to his majesty's councils deserved serious inquiry and deep reprehension, though he would not say that it was illegal, or contrary to the resolutions of that house. He concluded by recapitulating his statements, and moving that a committee be appointed to inquire into the State of the Nation.

Mr. *Milnes* replied to the arguments of the hon. gent. He stated that the proposed inquiry would be vague and delusive; that it was an attempt to censure the late change of administration, and to embarrass the measures of government; that many of the grounds which had been urged by the hon. gent. for going into the committee, had equally existed during the continuance of the late administration, when no such notice had been made by the hon. gent. or his friends; he represented the state of the country to be such as required the exertions of the united energies of all descriptions of its subjects, which it was the object of this motion to distract. Looking to our resources, to the patriotism and valour of the country, he saw nothing to fear, but much to expect. Were we to countenance the exertions of our allies by examples of British valour; were we to evince by our conduct a conviction of the fact, that the path of peace was only to be found under the arch of victory, he had no doubt but the ultimate issue of the contest would be honourable to the country. With a conviction of these truths on his mind, and for a variety of other reasons, he was so far from giving his support to the motion, that he should move that this house do now adjourn.

Lord *Milton* said a few words nearly similar to those he had used on a former occasion.

Sir *A. Pigott* went into a legal statement to shew the illegality of the doctrine of the king's acting without advisers, and drew a distinction between the sovereign in his executive and in his legislative capacities, and asserted strongly that it was in his executive capacity alone that the coronation oath was binding upon him.

Mr. *Henry Smith* considered the proposed mode of inquiry to be of all others the least eligible, and indeed to be only brought forward for party purposes; he therefore thought it beneath the dignity and justice of the house to bend itself to such a proceeding: the present ministers had done nothing to forfeit the confidence of the country, and till they shewed themselves unworthy, he, and he trusted the house, would support them.

Mr. *Dennis Browne* apologized to the house for the haste and perhaps indiscretion with which he had obliged strangers to withdraw, but he trusted the house would pardon what had been occasioned by an impulse of surprise and sorrow at hearing the hon. mover talk of "the fallen fortunes of this country;" nor did the continuation of the hon. member's speech shew that his measure was so unnecessary or indiscreet as it might have been thought; for surely the manner in which he had treated the affairs of Ireland was not calculated to do good by being promulgated. He assured the house he had acted from the impulse of duty in this matter, with great personal pain and reluctance; a pain that would be greatly increased if he thought the house disapproved of his proceeding.

Mr. *M. Montague* opposed the motion as tending to no good practical end.

Mr. *H. A. Herbert* said a few words in favour of the motion.

General *Tarleton* went at some length into the details of the campaign in Poland, and expressed his confident opinion, that, in a military point of view, the position of Buonaparte was extremely critical.

Mr. *William Adam* spoke in favour of the motion. He argued some of the legal points already touched upon by sir A. Pigott. He observed freely on the state of Ireland, and concluded by shewing, by many examples, how constitutional the proposed measure was at all times, and how peculiarly useful it would be at this.

Mr. *Wilberforce* opposed the motion, as nugatory and even dangerous. It stood on no good theory, and it tended to no good practice; the variety of topics which would divide the attention of a committee of the whole house, would render it impossible to maintain any regular discussion, or to arrive at any useful conclusion; every gentleman would introduce his own favourite subject, and the committee would lose its patience and its time in endless debate. But, really, from those party subjects, he wished gentlemen would turn their attention to the awful situation of public affairs. He had heard an honourable friend of his (Mr. Milnes) with great pleasure and admiration, but he would not be so sanguine in his hopes of the country, as the more ardent mind and the better spirits of his youthful friend caused him to be. He did fear much, and with that solemn impression on him, he could not avoid lamenting that gentlemen in that house and the people at large, seemed not aware of the extent of the danger, and suffered their thoughts to be distracted to petty objects, from the great and paramount duty of preparing for the most momentous of contests. He had, indeed, hopes, which arose, however, from causes different from those that some hon. gentlemen seemed to build upon; he had hopes from moral causes, surer than mere human agency in their effect, and more complete and decisive in their results. He trusted that those causes would act as they had hitherto in all ages and times invariably done, and in that trust it was that he had hopes for this country. The hon. gent. then alluded to the state of Ireland, and quoted Dr. M'Nevin's opinion before the Secret Committee, to shew that the denial or delay of Catholic Emancipation was not the real cause of the disturbances of that country. He recommended to the gentry of that part of the empire, an indulgent and conciliating conduct with regard to the people; and above all, he recommended to the consideration of the well-wishers of Ireland, the introduction of some general system of education and morality, which, he ventured to assert, would do more towards composing that country, than any political measures that could be devised.

Dr. *Laurence* went over, at considerable length, the arguments already urged in favour of the original motion, and followed sir A. Pigott and Mr. Adam in the line of their arguments on the legal points which had incidentally arisen.

Mr. *Bathurst* would oppose the motion as unnecessary, and in some degree impossible to be carried into effect. If inquiry was necessary, why not institute it on specific grounds? would it not tend to a more clear and satisfactory exposition, to consider each article that called for consideration, on its own single merits, than in the general and sweeping stile proposed by this motion. The right hon. member adverted to the opinion pronounced by him on a former occasion, viz. that there are particular conjunctures in which the king must act for himself: he had reconsidered, he said, this opinion, and he found himself strengthened in it by that reconsideration.

Sir *J. Newport* made some observations on Mr. Wilberforce's speech, in which he attempted to correct some errors and mistatements of the hon. gent. He then proceeded to say a few words on the original question, and finally expressed his resolution to support the motion.

Mr. *Croker* rose to defend the hon. gent. (Mr. Wilberforce) from the erroneous and uncandid reply of the right hon. baronet. He contended that Mr. Wilberforce's quotation of doctor M'Nevin was correct, and whatever might be his own opinion on the great question, he must say that the hon. member's statements were fully warranted and supported by the passages referred to. Mr. Croker replied to the several articles of Mr Whitbread's speech, and said that his surprise at this vague motion was the greater, from his knowing that there stood in the order-book of that house, notices for specific inquiry into almost every one of the topics which the hon. gentleman proposed to treat of in the indefinite and desultory stile inseparable from a committee on the state of the nation. He proceeded to refute the assertions and arguments of the hon mover, which, whatever he thought of them, had so pleased the gentlemen on the opposite side, that they had used no other, but had contented themselves with repeating the speech of the hon. mover. One learned doctor (Laurence) in particular, fearing, he supposed, that its strong sense and reasoning were too hot, pungent, and essential for common palates, had kindly diluted the hon. gentleman's arguments in a quantity of his own cool, weak, and innoxious eloquence —The hon. member, after observing in a strain of irony on the merits of the last administration, concluded by referring to Mr. Wilberforce's awful description of our political situation, by expressing a wish that we should excite no divisions at home to encourage enemies abroad, and that, while the farmer, the artizan, and the tradesman cheerfully contribute their little profits and comforts to the exigencies of the state, those whose superior fortunes rendered the payment of taxes no sacrifice to them, should contribute what their country did claim from their patriotism—the sacrifice of their passions, their prejudices and their parties, to the common interests of England and of Europe.

Mr. *W. Smith* blamed the style of confident accusation which the last member had indulged in. That hon. gent.'s parliamentary experience was not long, and he thought it would not be too much to ask, that the hon. gent. should be more known to the hon. members, before he arraigned them so freely. After alluding to what had fallen from the hon. member for Yorkshire, the hon. gent. was returning to some observations on the gentleman who had spoken last, when the cry for the question became so loud and strong, that after a few words, the hon. member was pleased to sit down.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* refuted the legal doctrines of the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the house. He insisted that occasions must and ought to occur in which the king could have no adviser, and must act from his own feeling and sense of duty; he would state a case to the house, which, he relied upon it, would, in their opinion, warrant his assertion; he would suppose that, on the very first occasion on which the noble lord opposite (Howick) had proposed a late celebrated measure to the consideration of the king, his majesty should have thought fit to tell the noble lord that he conceived the measure to be so mischievous, that he could no longer confide in the proposer of it. Suppose he had, at that very audience, and without quitting the noble lord, demanded from him the seals of office, and so dismissed him from his service, would it be asserted that, in this case, the king would not have acted for himself? would gentlemen say, that, in such a case, he must have had an adviser, where advice was impossible; and would it be asserted, that such a case as he now put was an improbable one? He relied not on this case alone, though that were enough, but any true constitutional principle, and all true constitutional practice, was also with him. He never denied, or would deny, the general principle that ministers were responsible for all acts done in their ministry; but he would deny that they were responsible for acts done before their ministry. What if the king of England should choose (he would for argument's sake suppose the case) capriciously or improperly to dismiss a minister, must the successor to that minister bear the responsibility of the dismissal he disapproved? if he were doomed to that responsibility, no man could accept the office, and the consequences would be, that no man in England could fill the employment, except the very man who had been dismissed, and who, from the difference between him and his sovereign, was the last man in England who should be called to it. But, though he thus chose to argue the matter upon principle, he would say that, in point of fact, he should have no hesitation or fear in taking upon himself the full responsibility of his majesty's late measures. Were the king now placed in a situation similar to that in which he stood on a late occasion, and were to ask for his advice, he would, under the weight of his official responsibility, fearlessly advise his majesty to the very measures which the gentlemen on the other side had arraigned. The right hon. gent. said, that the other parts of the question had been so ably and decisively settled by his hon. friends who had spoken in this debate, that he felt it unnecessary to consider them; and he concluded by saying, that the hon. gent. (Mr. Milnes) who had moved the question of adjournment, could not have been aware, that some other orders of the day remained undischarged, and he would therefore suggest the withdrawing that motion, and putting a direct negative on the original question.

Lord *Howick* rose at that late hour, not to trouble the house very long; he would willingly have declined speaking altogether, but what fell from the hon. gentlemen on the other side imperiously demanded some notice. He asserted that the able speech of his hon. friend had not been answered; the observations of an hon. gent. on the other side (Mr. Croker), professing to be in reply to his hon. friend, he thought contained more of fresh accusations against his majesty's late ministers, than of reply. The hon. gent. with some force, undoubtedly, had pressed some points upon the house; but he must call upon that hon. gent. if he saw real grounds of charge against his majesty's late ministers, to bring it forward specifically and boldly, and *he* pledged himself to meet it as specifically and freely. The hon. gent. had deprecated his (lord Howick's) advocation for Ireland, he must say, that not only as a member of the united parliament, but as one privately connected with Ireland by the dearest ties, he was as interested in the welfare of Ireland as the hon. gent.; and he hoped the hon. gent. would give him credit for saying, that he never had, nor never would speak a syllable, or do an act injurious to Ireland. He considered that part of the empire as the most imperative in its calls for attention and care, and though he could not say that any measure of catholic indulgence should now be brought forward, he would say that good policy called for a general system of conciliation and kindness; a system which he found the Irish did not very confidently expect from the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer. The noble lord answered, in much detail, the legal arguments of the right. hon. gent. which he contended were founded on suppositions which the house would not presume. He also adverted very warmly to the accusations made against him, and those who acted with him, by two hon. gentlemen on the other side. To one in particular (Mr. Milnes), he begged to say, that his and his friends conduct, for twelve years preceding his coming into office, which had been so seriously reproached to him by the hon. member from the Sister Kingdom, had had, during all that period, the support and assistance of the father of that hon. gent. (Mr. Milnes); he would also say, that the young and hon. gent. the son of a man he entirely esteemed, had dealt in assertions more easy to make than to prove. He was anxious to have his conduct examined, but he thought he might at least claim, till it was examined, a suspension of the heavy judgments which the hon. member had passed upon him. The noble lord entered into some details relative to our foreign relations, and concluded with saying, that he should vote for the committee, as timely, useful, and necessary.——Mr. Croker, general Stewart, and Mr. Whitbread, each said a few words; and, Mr. Milnes withdrawing his motion for adjournment, the house divided, when there appeared,

For Mr. Whitbread's motion 136
Against it, - - 322
——
Majority against it, - 186

Adjourned at four o'clock on Tuesday morning.

List of the Minority.

Anstruther, sir J.
Adam, Wm.
Althorpe, Lord
Abercrombie, hon. J.
Aubrey, sir John
Antonie, Wm. Lee
Bewicke, Calverley
Baring, Thos.
Bagenell, Walter
Butler, hon. J.
Butler, hon. C H.
Bernard, Scrope
Byng, George
Barham, J. Foster
Baring, Alex.
Biddulph, R. M.
Bradshaw, hon. C.
Brand, hon. Thos.
Combe, H. C.
Calcraft, J.
Creevey, Thos.
Cuthbert, R. J.
Cavendish, G. H. C.
Cavendish, lord G. H.
Cavendish, Wm.
Calvert, N.
Calcraft, sir Granby
Campbell, lord J.
Campbell, Col.
Craig, J.
Dundas, hon. Maj.
Dundas, hon. C. L.
Dundas, rt. hon. W.
Daly, D. B.
Dillon, hon. H. A.
Elliott, rt. hon. W.
Euston, Earl
Eden, hon. Wm.
Folkestone, lord
Frankland, Wm.
Fitzpatrick, right. hon. R.
Foley, hon. A.
Foley, Col.
Ferguson, General
Fitzgerald, lord R. H.
Flemming, hon. C. J.
Forbes, lord
Grenfell, P.
Greenhill, R.
Grattan, right hon. H.
Howard, hon. W.
Halsey, W.

Howick, lord
Howard, Henry
Hughes, W. L.
Hamilton, lord A.
Jekyll, J.
Jervoise, C. J.
Jones, Love P.
Knapp, ——
Knox, hon. Thos.
Laurence, Dr.
Leach, John
Lemon, sir W.
Lemon, capt.
Lambton, R. J.
Lemon, John
Littleton, hon. W.
Lushington, S.
Laing, Malcolm
Latouche, R.
Latouche, J.
Lambe, hon. W.
Mahon, lord
Mackdonald, James
Markham, J.
Miller, sir Thos.
Madocks, W. A.
Moore, P.
Mills, Wm.
Morpeth, lord
Milbanke, sir R.
Mostyn, sir Thos.
Milner, sir Wm.
Milton, lord
Maule, hon. W.
Maxwell, W.
Meade, hon. J.
Martin, H.
Nugent, sir G.
North, Dudley
Newport, r. hon. sir John
Neville, hon. R.
Ossulston, lord
O'Callaghen, Col.
O'Hara, C.
Pierse, Henry
Pollington, lord
Phillips, R. M.
Pigott, sir A.
Pym, Francis
Petty lord H.
Pelham, hon. C.
Ponsonby, hon. G.
Parnell, Henry
Prittie, hon. Wm.
Power, R.
Quin, hon. W.
Ridley, sir M. W.
Romilly, sir Sam.
Russell, lord W.
Sheridan, rt. hon. R. B.
Shelly, Henry
Smith, John
Smith, W.
Smith, G.
Stanley, lord
Sharpe, R.
Shipley, Col.
Scudamore, R. P.
Savage, F.
Somerville, sir M.
Taylor, M. A.
Temple, earl
Templetown, lord
Townshend, lord J.
Talbot, col.
Tracey, Hanbury
Williams, O.
Wynne, sir W. W.
Wynne, C. W. W.
Whitbread, Samuel
Wharton, J.
Williams, sir R.
Ward, hon. J. W.
Wardell, col.
Warrender, sir G.
Walpole, hon. G.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 7.

[Minutes.] The Speaker called the attention of the house to a letter which he had received from Mr. Galway Mills, a member of the house; which he read from the chair, as follows:—"Temple Place, Blackfriars Road, July 6. Sir, I have to inform you, and through you to submit to the house, that I was in arrest with the Marshal of the King's Bench, upon mesne process, previous to my being returned to the present parliament for the borough of Midshal, and that I still continue under the same restraint. Under these circumstances, I beg to submit my case to the house, that it may afford me that redress, and adopt the proceedings, which the occasion will seem to it to require. I have the honour to be, &c." On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the proceedings upon Mr. Speed's case (Dec. 1795) were read. He supposed the house would of course follow this precedent now. He thought it right at the same time to move, that the petitions presented yesterday, by persons stating Mr. Mills to be indebted to them, should be referred to the said committee.—An order was accordingly made to that effect.

[Standing order for the Exclusion of Strangers.] Mr. *Sheridan* said, no person was more disposed to respect the general standing orders of the house than he was, and he was sure that when any member moved that any of these orders should be enforced, it was from the impulse of the best motives. The proceedings, however, which were sometimes adopted with respect to the order for the exclusion of strangers, seemed to him to require to be explained, and to be placed on more satisfactory grounds. When it was considered that strangers were, by the standing order, never to be admitted, no construction of that standing order could be interpreted into a right of commanding those to withdraw, who were to be presumed not to be present. The words of the standing order were not to admit strangers, and if any stranger intruded, the order provided that he should be taken into custody by the serjeant at arms. He did not think it right that a matter of such moment should be left in so undefined a state, and after what had happened yesterday, it became more necessary than ever to come to a fixed understanding upon it. If the public was not to be allowed to know what the state of the nation was, it was hard to say what it should be allowed to know. He therefore gave notice, that he meant on Friday to draw the attention of the house to this subject.

Mr. *Dennis Browne* was extremely sorry if any thing had fallen from him contrary to the general sense of the house. The fact was, that he had not moved that the gallery should be cleared, but on hearing things fall from the hon. gent. which he thought might be injurious, if suffered to go abroad, he thought it his duty to notice that there were strangers in the house; and it appeared, that when once such a deviation from the standing order was noticed, there was no discretion for him, or for the Speaker, or for the house; it must necessarily and immediately be enforced.

The *Speaker* said, that as this matter was mentioned, he thought it his duty to state what was the present practice and usage of the house, and what, as being the usage, he thought it his duty to adopt and enforce, l it should be altered. Whether the house ould lightly alter a usage so established, ould be for its consideration. From the anding order, forbidding the admission of rangers, it was clear they could be in the ouse only by sufferance. For enforcing e exclusion, if necessary, the standing der directed that those who intruded emselves should be taken into the custody the serjeant at arms. But this he looked pon only as a mode of getting rid of their resence if it should be an inconvenience, if they should improperly come in, or ersist in remaining. With respect to the bligation of enforcing the order, it was ndispensable: if any member noticed the resence of strangers, he (the Speaker) had o choice, the house had no choice, they ust be put forth. This was the ancient nd established usage. If the house should ow be disposed to alter it, it would do well consider whether any new practice that ight be substituted would accord equally ell with its dignity or its convenience.

Mr. *Whitbread* wished the ancient and stablished usage on this head to remain naltered, for, although he deprecated, as uch as his hon. friend, the exclusion of rangers, he was satisfied no new arrangement with respect to them would be equally onducive to the dignity and the convenience f the house. The right of exclusion had een seldom exercised, and in the course of is experience, he had never known it to e exercised with advantage. The exclusion f last night was particularly unwise. It eemed the hon. gent. thought something at he had said would have an injurious ffect on the public mind, if suffered to go broad. But the expression, whatever it as, that struck the hon. gent. as improper, id go abroad. If what he had said was apable of refutation, it ought to go abroad, ccompanied by the refutation. If it could ot be refuted, it ought to go abroad with e authority of incontrovertible truth. The ember who enforced the right of exclusion ught to be sure that he exercised it with a ound discretion.

[PLACES, PENSIONS, SINECURES, &c. ELD BY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.] Lord *ochrane* rose in pursuance of the notice he ad given; in doing which, he was influnced by no other motive than that of an nxious wish to discharge a great public uty. If his motion was acceded to, the esult would prove, whether there was any ossibility of making those who had lived and grown rich upon the public money, feel for the extraordinary burdens under which the people laboured. The late plan of finance had proved that as much as could have been exacted had been drawn from the people, and that it was not possible to draw more: ingenuity had exhausted itself in devising new sources of taxation. The people knew all this. If he was asked, how he could so judge of the public sentiment, he in answer should appeal to the universal sentiment without doors; the variety of publications; the language held upon the hustings throughout the empire during the late election; the language made use of in the different advertisements from the successful candidates to their constituents, and if all these together did not enable a man to form a just estimate of public opinion, he did not know what could do so; nor was it to be forgotten, the different shameless notices that appeared in the different papers, concerning the sale of seats in a certain assembly. At the same time he wished it to be understood, that nothing was farther from his intention, than to complain of the allowances made to the efficient public officers; so far from thinking those allowances as extravagant, he thought them rather under than over what they should be. Revolutionary views might be imputed to him, as they were to others who wished for such investigations; but he was actuated by the purest motives, and he hoped for the unanimous concurrence of the house. It was proper to shew the people, that there was nothing in the character and habits of those who composed the house, that ought to be concealed. He therefore moved, "That a Committee be appointed to inquire into, and report to this house, an account of all Offices, Posts, Places, Sinecures, Pensions, Situations, Fees, Perquisites, and Emoluments of every description, paid out of, or arising from, the public revenues, or the fees of any Courts of Law, Equity, Admiralty, Ecclesiastical, or other Courts, held or enjoyed by, or in trust for, any Member of this House, his wife, or any of his descendants, for him, or either of them, in reversion of any present interest; with an account of the annual amount of such Office, Post, Place, Sinecure, Pension, Situation, Fees, Perquisites, and Emoluments, distinguishing whether the same arises from a certain salary, or from any average amount; that this inquiry do extend to the whole of his majesty's dominions, and that said committee be empowered to send for persons, papers, and records."—Mr. Cochrane Johnstone seconded the motion.

Mr. *Bankes* thought the information desired by the noble lord desirable in many respects; but it would be neither practicable nor proper to pass the order in its present shape. There was no precedent of such an order on the Journals, though the house had frequently thought it right to interpose and check the excessive or improper distribution of salaries, pensions, and emoluments, derived from the public. So extensive a field of inquiry could hardly be reduced to any of the known rules adopted by committees of the house. The places held by members of parliament were besides known, and the pension list was either regularly laid on the table every session, or might be on the motion of any member. The committee in which he had the honour to preside (the Committee of Finance) had ordered the pension list to be laid before it, and would proceed to examine the circumstances connected with it in the next session. It was invidious and improper to convey to the public an insinuation, that members of parliament were influenced by considerations of private advantage for themselves or their dependents. He knew no ground, for casting at the present time an imputation never cast at any former time. For it was most essential, that at this critical period, the character of the house should not be degraded or depreciated. It was also unfair, as well as impolitic and unpatriotic, to depreciate the resources of the country, as the noble lord had done, by stating that we were on the verge of bankruptcy. Though sensible of the difficulties of the times, and of the relief arising from the judicious suspension of taxation, every man of judgment, who considered the situation of the country, would allow there were ample resources to meet the difficulties that we had to encounter. He did not see how the advertisements for the purchase and sale of seats, in a certain assembly, should be construed into an argument of the general corruption of members of parliament. He agreed with the noble lord, that the public servants, and particularly those of the higher classes, were rather under than overpaid. There was only one species of pensions, which it was necessary to inquire particularly into. Within the 3 last years the several public departments had got into the practice of granting pensions within themselves, without complying with the provisions of Mr. Burke's act, that all pensions should be from the Exchequer only. Some of the public departments had withdrawn themselves even from the controul of the treasury in this respect. On the whole, however, anxious for enquiry and desirous to afford the public information, he could not consent to pass the noble lord's motion in its present shape.

Mr. *Curwen* had hoped the noble lord's motion would have passed without a dissenting voice. He had hoped some measures would be taken to put an end to the disgraceful scenes that had formed the subject of such discreditable crimination and recrimination a few nights since. It was no objection that there was no precedent; the unprecedented state of the thing was a stronger ground for the investigation. When the exigency of the times was such as to require the exertion of every arm, the want of precedent was not to be pleaded in bar to the satisfaction due to the public mind. The Finance Committee had an extensive range of enquiry before it, and ought not to suffer a day to elapse without reporting something. That committee was not constituted exactly as he thought it should be; as the change was made, he had no objection to the gentlemen introduced. The practice of granting pensions without the controul of the treasury or the exchequer, was a stronger ground of inquiry. When it was recorded on the journals, that seats in the house were bought and sold like bullocks in Smithfield market (Mr. Horne Tooke's petition), it was too much to find fault with the noble lord for adverting to newspaper advertisements. He complained that the power of the crown had greatly increased since it had been declared to be already excessive; and as a friend to the democratic part of the constitution, he wished to see that excessive power reduced within proper bounds. The excess of power rendered it insecure; and when the influence of corruption and weakness was combined with the operation of that excessive power, the danger was enhanced, and the mischief aggravated. While he said this, however, he did not go the length of the individual (sir F. Burdett) who had so rashly expressed himself in wishing to see the accursed leaves of the Red Book destroyed. He conceived that that person must not have been well acquainted with the nature of that book. It was one which differed materially from the Livre-Rouge in France;

r it contained many offices of great utility the country; also, he did not deny that contained many abuses; and he wished to od that they were effectually removed. o refuse such an inquiry as this, would be o do the house more mischief than all the buse of all the Corresponding Societies ould do. Without shewing a disposition satisfy the public in a case of this kind, ne right hon. gent. (Mr. Perceval) would ount in vain upon his majorities.

Mr. *Whitbread* hoped, that as there was o doubt that an opinion prevailed as to the xistence of much corruption in the house, ne motion would be so framed, as to refute hat opinion, or at least to shew in what egree and in what instance it was warranted. he object of the noble lord seemed to be, o place under one collected view, a mass of nformation now detached, and in many inances inaccessible. If the motion was eferred to the committee of finance, with n instruction to inquire into and report upon he matter contained in it, the report would robably be of a most useful description.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, hat no opposition would be made to the notion, if the noble mover would assent to modification, such as was suggested from he other side. It was his wish to give all ossible information. To call for a return of ll those connected with members of parliament would be to lead to an endless list of ersons, from which no practical result could e derived. Officers in the army and navy, or instance, and on the half pay would be included. If the matter was referred to the committee, it might inquire not only into pensions eld by members of parliament, which would e distinguished by the names, but into all ensions, by whomsoever held. The lists of ensions and places might be had from the ifferent departments; but, if the inquiry f the committee was deemed satisfactory, e saw no objection to it. He thought the notion ought to be extended in some repects, and narrowed in others, in order to ive it a useful and not unnecessary range. he crown being allowed the power of ranting pensions to a certain amount, it vould be competent to inquire before the eport of the committee, as well as after, vhether the pension list ought to be reuced. The house having fixed the amount o be granted, he questioned whether it would e right to canvass the propriety of every ndividual grant. He did not know whether he course he proposed fell in with the views f the hon. gentlemen opposite. He looked for no support, but from a strict performance of his duty. He should never seek popularity by false representations injurious to members of parliament, and tending to excite a distrust of the means of the country. He was unwilling that any information practically beneficial should be withheld. The committee would inquire into the nature and extent of the pensions and emoluments, and by whom they were held.

Lord *Ossulston* was of opinion that it was most desirable the house and the country should be acquainted with the facts, whatever they might be. He thought that the noble lord's motion did not go far enough, and was afraid that the return to it would not be completely satisfactory to the public.

Mr. *J. Smith* had extensive communications with his numerous constituents; and he was sorry to say, that their sentiments, and especially the sentiments of the middling class, were not favourable to the independence of parliament. An opinion certainly prevailed that the house of commons was not so independent as it ought to be. For his part, he had a high opinion of the character of parliament; and he was anxious that the motion might be agreed to, in order to prove how small was the number of the corrupt. He differed completely from an hon. gent. who had spoken against the increasing power of the crown. At the present awful moment, it would be most injudicious to diminish it. He was as adverse to the diminution of the power of the crown at that moment, as he was to the disunion of the people by a religious cry.

Mr. *Lethbridge* complimented the fairness with which the chancellor of the exchequer had met this question. He was glad that such a motion had been brought forward, because he knew many populous districts in his county who were open-mouthed about pensions and places; this motion, if adopted, would tend to undeceive them, by shewing, that they did not extend to that degree as to endanger the safety of the country.

Mr. *Littleton* defended the noble lord's motion, against the objections of the hon. gent., who had said that there was no precedent for such a step. Were not the times unprecedented? It was worth while at a period like the present, when the minds of the people were so full of suspicions, at least to endeavour to shew that they were without foundation.

Sir *J. Sebright* would support the noble lord's motion, or something resembling it, because the public entertained doubts on this subject, which an investigation of this sort was best calculated to remove. He disclaimed all connection with party, although he entertained a high respect for his majesty's present ministers.

Mr. *W. Smith* thought that the adoption of this motion would tend to strengthen the constitutional power of the crown, and he agreed that this was not the time to weaken that constitutional power. At the same time, he did not so well approve of the mode proposed by the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, nor did he approve of referring this motion to the Committee of Finance, who had already enough upon their hands; considerable time must therefore elapse before any return could be made by them, or else other things which they had in hand must be neglected. He wished a committee to be appointed for the express purpose of carrying into execution the object of this motion. He was not sanguine enough to suppose that any curtailing of pensions would cause any diminution of the public burdens, as they are felt by individuals; for when 50 millions a-year were required to be raised, even supposing £50,000 a year could possibly be diminished from the pension list, no remedy could thereby be afforded to the burdens of the individual; but the public, if encouraged to hope for this, would reap the advantage of those schemes for the national advantage, so necessary in the present posture of affairs. He had the authority of Judge Blackstone to say, that it was the duty of the house to inquire into the amount and circumstances of the pensions granted by the crown; and he considered that it was also competent to the house to inquire into the specific grants, as well as the number of sinecure places and reversions. He denied the position, that the man who had a reversionary interest in a place, had a sort of freehold in which the public had no interest. If there existed certain patent places which originally were for small sums, but had now grown into enormous ones, and these held by persons who could have no claim to such places, in his opinion the continuance of them formed a proper subject of inquiry by parliament. If the salary of a person who held an official situation under government was not sufficient, he would willingly increase it, for he thought there should be no monopoly of important offices to a wealthy aristocracy, otherwise no man could accept an office, who had not a handsome fortune of his own. He thought it was a mischievous practice to grant pensions to persons after holding offices for a short time. It was no good plea for the person retiring on such pension to say, that he had been induced to take the office against his will, and had abandoned more lucrative situations.

Mr. *Wilberforce*, after adverting to the integrity and independence of his hon. friend (Mr. Bankes), expressed his regret, that he should have said any thing on the present occasion, which might have the appearance of a desire to prevent inquiry. It was highly gratifying to him, and must be so to the noble lord (Cochrane), to see that his motion was received with general approbation, and that there appeared to be scarcely any difference, except as to the form. He thought the mode proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer the most proper, but differed from him as to the grants by the crown, which might be examined, though not malignantly nor invidiously. With regard to the salaries of public men, he thought that here, too, a prudent parsimony ought to prevail, for it ought to be considered that they were paid not only by their salaries, but by the distinction they enjoyed, and the opportunity of transmitting their names to posterity as faithful and able servants of the public. Yet he thought that they ought to have pensions upon retirement, upon the same principle, that officers in the army and navy had half-pay. He was convinced that nothing was better calculated than openness and fair dealing, to make public men and parliament stand well in public opinion, and he was glad that this motion had been made, as it would tend to secure that object. But there was a danger of hunting too eagerly after popularity. The circumstance that rendered popular governments more capable of great exertions than others, was the affection of the people to their institutions, and their consequent willingness to bear the public burthens. It was, therefore, of the last importance that the house of commons should stand well with the considerate part of the community, particularly with the middle classes, which formed the most valuable part of it. If an idea had gone forth that there was a great deal of corruption in that house, it was desirable that the public should be satisfied that there was a great deal more independence in it than was imagined. This motion came rather suddenly, and he was desirous to adjourn the debate for two or three days, to consider about the most proper mode of attaining the object in view (a cry of no, no!). He doubted whether it ought to be referred to the Committee of Finance or to a separate Committee. The Committee of Finance had certainly a great deal of business already, and would probably bring sums into the public service that were at present lost to the state. But the point deserved consideration.

Mr. *Sheridan* observed, that the noble lord very wisely had not prefaced his motion with much argument, because, if he comprehended him rightly, his object was not so much to diminish the public expenditure, as to ascertain the degree of influence which the crown possessed in that house. As to the mode proposed by the right hon gent., it appeared to him to be a most round-about way to go into the general investigation of the subject, to obtain a list of all the places, pensions, &c. enjoyed by different individuals, and from that list to select the names of the members of that house who participated in them. Why not the individual list called for by the noble lord? Every gentleman seemed to be tender upon this subject; but the only way to convince the public that its suspicions were unfounded, was not to mask the matter, but to shew at once what part of the house received these emoluments, and what part did not. In his opinion it was much better that government should expend fifty, aye, a hundred and fifty millions of money annually in the general service of the country, than that they should expend 50,000l. in the house of commons. He objected to any alteration in the noble lord's motion. If the result of the production of the list, for which the noble lord had moved, should be to astonish those who were not disposed to think very favourably of the house of commons, it would be most fortunate; but if, on the contrary, it should be found that there was an incredible number of members who either directly or indirectly derived advantages from sources not the most pure, that was a fact which ought to be known to the people. At any rate let not the question be blinked.

Mr. *Huskisson*, adverting to some observations made in an early stage of the debate, wished to set himself right with the house. While now in place, he did not enjoy the pension which had been granted to him on his formerly quitting office.

Mr. *Calcraft* said he would not trouble the house long. The noble lord's proposition was, that a list of the members who were directly or indirectly under the influence of ministers, should be laid on the table. If there were persons who had their patrimony out of the public money, it was proper that they should be known. There were some who could not have their marriage settlements without pensions, reversions, &c. &c. The hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Huskisson), had a grant, which, from its nature, ceased when he came into office. This was only 1000l. and his office brought him 4000l. he could not therefore hesitate in his choice between them. But, if he was not mistaken, the hon. gent. had a sinecure place too, which he enjoyed along with the office, and indeed, in casting his eye along the Treasury Bench, it was difficult to find one who had not some great emolument of this nature. It ought to be seen on which side of the house the greatest portion of independence existed, and the list ought to be laid on the table unmixed with baser matter.

Mr. *George Rose*, with great warmth, said, that the extent of his rewards for his public services were well known to the public. He challenged inquiry, and wished that the terms of the present motion might be rendered as satisfactory as possible.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then proposed as an amendment; that a committee should be appointed to investigate the subject, and that it should be an instruction to the committee to examine into all places, pensions, &c. in the words of the original motion, except into commissions and appointments in the army and navy, and into places in the revenue, not exceeding £200 a year in value.

Lord *Cochrane* replied shortly to the arguments that had been urged. His motive was not the expectation of great national saving, but because a general feeling existed in the country of the corruption of the house of commons. As to commissions in the army and navy, he knew that the latter had been given for votes in that house; and it had been found by some, that the best way to obtain preferment was, to buy a house or two in a contested borough: for his part, he was actuated only by a desire to serve his country. The assent to his motion would tend to establish ministers in their situations; for, though they should secure all the votes in the house, they could not keep their places long against the current of public opinion, which would set against them if they negatived it. The Committee of Finance, had sufficient business already. If, after the committee for which he moved should have made their report as to the members, it should be thought desireable to have an alphabetical list of all places, pensions, &c. he should have no objection. It would be an object of great curiosity. He thought that the subject should be gravely considered in parliament. He was of opinion, that many would be ashamed of these practices if they were exposed to public view, and therefore he was anxious to give them publicity.

Mr. *Whitbread* declared, that as the noble lord did not wish to depart from his original motion, he would certainly support him.

Lord *Henry Petty* expressed great satisfaction to find, that whatever difference of opinion existed in that house with regard to the form of the motion, there was but one opinion as to the propriety of giving information to the public upon a subject of such vital importance. This general concurrence of sentiment would make a most favourable impression upon the public mind. He objected to referring the matter to the committee of finance, and would vote for the original motion.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* observed, that the house by referring this matter to the committee, would not interfere with its functions, because the committee would only have to issue their precept for the returns to the public offices, and to lay these returns before the house. He objected to that part of the noble lord's statement which asserted, that officers in the army and navy acquired promotion by their seats in that house. This charge appeared to have been made lightly, and the best refutation of it would be to refer the noble lord to a comparison between the naval officers who had seats in that house, and those who had gloriously earned their seats in the other house, and he was sure the noble lord would then be convinced, that there was no reason to complain upon this head.—The question being loudly called for, the house divided; For the Original Motion, 61. Against it, 90. Majority 29.

List of the Minority.

Abercrombie, hon. J.
Adam, Wm.
Agar, capt.
Aubrey, sir John
Biddulph, R. M.
Bradshaw, A. C.
Brand, Thos.
Bernard, Scrope
Creevey, Thos.
Calvert, Nicholson
Calcraft, John
Cochrane, Lord
Howard, Henry
Jekyll, Jos.
Johnstone, C.
Johnstone, G. A.
Leach, John
Cuthbert, R. J.
Cavendish, lord G. H.
Cavendish, Wm.
Cavendish, G. H. C.
Dundas, hon. Maj.
Dickenson, W.
Eyre, major
Foley, colonel
Folkestone, visc.
Greenhill, Rob.
Halsey, Henry
Hughes, W. L.
Lemon, colonel
Lushington, Step.
Lloyd, colonel
Lethbridge, T. B.
Miller, sir Thos.
Mahon, lord
Maxwell, Wm.
Morpeth, viscount
Moore, P.
Milbanke, sir R.
Madocks, W. A.
North, Dudley
Ossulston, visc.
O'Hara, Chas.
Pigott, sir A.
Parnell, H.
Pierse, H.
Petty, lord H.
Quin, hon. W.
Russel lord Wm.
Stanley, lord
Sabright, sir John
Smith, Wm.
Smith, John
Saville, Albany
Sheridan, R. B.
Somerville, sir M.
Ward, hon. J. W.
Wardell, colonel
Western, C. C.
Warrender, sir G.
Whitbread, S.

When strangers were re-admitted to the gallery, we found the chancellor of the exchequer upon his legs; who, after some prefatory observations, concluded by moving, "That it be an instruction to the committee of finance, to inquire into the nature of all pensions, places, sinecures, and salaries, arising from the public revenues, and to ascertain the names of the persons so receiving, with the exception of officers holding commissions in the army and navy, and of all the collectors of taxes and revenue, whose salaries do not exceed £200 a year."

Mr. *N. Calvert* disapproved of these instructions, as calculated to restrict the exertions of the committee of finance. Circumstances might occur in the course of their investigations, which might render the instructions proposed an impediment to those pursuits for which that committee was appointed.

Lord *Cochrane* proposed as an amendment, that the inquiry of the committee of finance should be forthwith, and that it should be limited to the places and sinecures at present held by members of that house and their immediate friends.

Mr. *W. Smith* thought an order of the house to every public office to produce the lists in question, would do better than adopting the motion as it now stood. He hoped the motion would be so worded as to instruct the committee immediately to proceed in the inquiry in question, or that it would be withdrawn, and the papers be called for by an order of the house.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said he had already stated, that he at first thought of this mode of proceeding; but it afterwards occurred to him that the committee might be able to direct the attention of the house to something in the accounts which might escape his observation. He could not forbear observing how unfortunate he had been, after having adopted the suggestion of the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) that that gent. should have abandoned his own opinion the moment he (Mr. P.) thought of acting on

Mr. *Whitbread* said, in answer to the allusion to his conduct, that concurring as he did in principle with the noble lord who had brought forward the motion, and differing from him only as to the mode of proceeding, he submitted the suggestion which he had thrown out to the noble lord, and not to the right hon. gent. The right hon gent. had indeed fallen in with his (Mr. W's) suggestion as to form; but it did not from thence follow, that he must agree in the motion of the right hon. gent. to the principle of which he objected. He thought the right hon. gent. would better consult the feelings of the public by agreeing to the original motion. He hoped at least the right hon. gent. would allow his motion to be so altered, as that the committee should be instructed to proceed forthwith, aud that they should also in their report distinguish those sinecures, &c. which were held by members of that house, so that the noble lord's motion might not be entirely evaded. The noble lord unquestionably meant that there should be exhibited during the present session of parliament a list of all the members of that house holding sinecure offices, places, &c. under government, and in that way liable to have their conduct influenced. If such a return was not made the house would disgrace itself. Those who respected the house at present would suspect that all was not right, and those who already suspected them would have their suspicions confirmed.

Mr. *Bankes* wished that the accounts might be ordered to be laid before the house, that the committee might not fall into disgrace. It was impossible they could report this session, and it was equally impossible to say how early they might be able to do so in the next. If the returns were to be made to the house, no time would be lost in completing them, and then if it was thought the committee could be of service, it would be time enough to refer the papers to them. It would be but doing them slender justice, to allow the delay which might take place in making the returns to seem to attach to the committee.

Mr. *Sheridan* thought it impossible, after what had fallen from the chairman of the committee of finance (Mr. Bankes), that the chancellor of the exchequer could persevere in his motion, or if he did so, that the house would support him in it. It was nothing but an evasion of the noble lord's motion. Its object was to see how many members of this house were possessed of sinecure places, pensions, &c. and of course might be supposed to be under the influence of the crown. The motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, however, went to exhibit a list of all persons whatever having any place, pension, &c. This was to overwhelm the inquiry, and to strangle and suffocate the object which the noble lord had in view.

Mr. *Wilberforce* was surprised at the great change which had so lately taken place in the language of gentlemen on the other side. Lately they confessed that there was little or no difference in the object which seemed to be in view by all parties, and that the form was the only obstruction to unanimity. Now they had all at once discovered, that the motion of his right hon. friend the chancellor of the exchequer, was calculated only to evade and defeat the object which the noble lord had in view. He contended that the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer was completely adapted not only to the object sought to be gained, but that the evidence to be obtained by it might also be of importance in other respects.

Dr. *Laurence* lamented to see gentlemen who talked so much of their independence, and prided themselves on that circumstance, so entirely forget in what it consisted as to lend their countenance to a deception on the public.

Mr. *Rose* supported the motion, maintaining that all the places, pensions, &c. were already well known, and that sinecures were not now so numerous as they had been.

Mr. *Calcraft* observed, that such a list as that now spoken of, might, if any person were to give himself the trouble to do so, be collected from papers that were already on the table of that house. The object of the motion he conceived to be simply this, to bring fairly before the house in one point of view the names of all the members of that house, who either held places or enjoyed pensions, or else whose wives or children derived a similar emolument from the crown. He could not avoid remarking, by the way, the great activity of the member for Yorkshire (Mr. Wilberforce) in interposing with his shield in behalf of those who were in that situation. With regard to the right hon. gentlemen on the Treasury bench, he might certainly find some room to compliment them on their ingenuity upon this occasion; but he was certain that they had not left him the smallest opportunity to compliment them on a much more solid qualification—their sincerity.—The house then divided, when there appeared, For the chancellor of the exchequer's motion 101, For lord Cochrane's amendment 60, Majority 41.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 8.

[East India Company's Bonds.] Mr. Grant presented a petition from the Directors of the East India Company, praying for leave to bring in a bill to raise an additional sum on bonds, until the increase of their capital authorised by parliament took place. On his moving that the petition be referred to a committee of the whole house,

Mr. *Creevey* rose and declared, that this was the first instance in which any public body had made such a request to parliament, without the production of the necessary documents on which it was founded. In 1772, an attempt was made by the ministry of the day to bring in a similar bill, but this attempt was defeated by general Burgoyne, who contended that an explicit account of the reasons which called for such a measure, ought first to be laid before the house. He trusted that the house would pursue a similar mode of conduct in the present instance, and that a complete disclosure of the state of the company's affairs would now take place; especially when it was recollected, that there were two India budgets in arrear.

Mr. *R. Dundas* observed, that the hon. gent. was under a mistake in this business, and that the precedent of 1772, adduced by him, was not in point. The East India Company only wanted to raise by bond what they had been already authorised to raise in capital. With respect to the state of their affairs, that might be discussed in the committee of the whole house, to which his hon. friend had moved that the petition should be referred. As to the budget, it was his intention to-morrow to move for the papers which ought long ago to have been on the table of the house, and which it was not his fault were not so.

Mr. *Peter Moore* observed, that the company were precluded, under two acts of parliament, from extending their debt beyond a certain sum. An act, of 1793, bound them to extend it no farther than 1,500,000l: but an act of the very next year allowed them to increase it to 3,000,000l. That debt remained to this hour undiminished; and the act of parliament was as imperative against their extending their debt now, by the issue of bonds, as by any other mode. It was for the house to consider how far it was wise to extend the existing limitation; but certainly it ought not to be done without a full investigation of the company's affairs.—The petition was then referred to a committee of the whole house.

[Committee of Privileges — Mr. Galway Mills.] Mr. *Rose* brought up the report of the Committee of Privileges, to whom the letter addressed by George Galway Mills, esq. to the Speaker of the house of commons, and the petitions presented against the said G. G. Mills, esq. had been referred. The report stated, that the committee had examined and found that the said G. G. Mills, esq. was a member of the house of commons, and that he was then in the custody of the marshal of the King's Bench. The committee had consulted precedents, and had abstained from examining the allegations contained in the petitions which had been referred to them, conceiving that even had these allegations been proved, that would not have influenced their judgment, or prevented them from coming to the resolution which they had adopted, namely, that the said G. G. Mills, esq. was entitled to the privileges of parliament. He then moved that the house do agree with the committee in that resolution.

Mr. *P. Moore*, as a member of the committee, and as having himself presented a petition to the house against Mr. Mills, stated a few points, which in his opinion, the house, duly regarding its own honour and dignity, circumstances much more important than the privileges of an individual, ought deliberately to consider. The petition to which he alluded had been presented by him with the concurrence of the person against whom it was directed, and for whose interests he and others had exerted their utmost efforts; those efforts had been fruitless; because that hon. gent. did not chuse to abide by his own propositions. Mr. Mills's debts, of various descriptions, exceeded £30,000. Not one of his creditors wished to interfere with the privileges of parliament; but they thought, and certainly they were justified in thinking, that while the house of commons attended to the preservation of their privileges, they should also attend to the demands of justice, and to the preservation of their credit with the public. As far as time would allow, the committee had examined all the precedents which appeared to bear upon the present subject, but in his opinion, not one was found that met the case stated in the petitions. The petitions contained this allegaon, that the petitioner had obtained his eat in parliament as a temporary protection, n order to evade the demands of his credi-ors, and ultimately, he was compelled to ay so, to defraud them. He was sorry to e obliged to use such language when speak-ng of one with whom he had been in the abits of intimacy; but in a case so glaring, which so strongly excited the public atten-ion, in times like these, it would be well or the house to pause before they granted o any man under such circumstances, the enefit of the privilege by which the ends of public justice would be defeated.

Mr. *C. Wynne* agreed most cordially to the report of the committee. The house was bound to support their privileges, which were given to them, not for their advantage, but for that of the country at large. The privileges which members of parliament enjoyed of freedom from arrest, was as good for the electors as for the elected; were it not so, many of the former might be unrepresented. There was not a single instance on the Journals of the house, refusing the privilege when clearly defined.

Mr. *Cochrane Johnstone* thought that a special report ought to have been made by the committee on an inspection of the petitions which contained so strong a charge on the character of one of the members of that house: they stated that he had procured a seat in that house for the express purpose of enabling him to evade the payment of his debts and to escape to the West Indies. He understood that four or five persons now in the King's Bench were anxiously waiting the decision of the house, in order that if that decision were favourable to Mr. Mills, they might avail themselves of his example, and take similar steps in order to relieve themselves from similar embarrassments. He entreated the house, for their credit's sake, before they ordered liberation of this gentleman, either to refer the petitions back to the committee, or to take the subject into their grave and serious consideration.

Mr. *Ellison* declared, that the committee had entered upon this subject with feelings as allied to the foulness of the case, as could possibly be entertained. If the allegations of the petitions were proved against Mr. Mills, he thought that no hon. member ought to sit in the house with him; but he also thought, that, circumstanced as they were, the committee could do no more than they had done. Although he was of opinion that it would be better to consider this subject generally, yet if it was deemed adviseable to take it up particularly, he would go as far as any man to rescue the house from the imputations that might otherwise be cast upon it.

Mr. *Barham* deprecated any interference with the privileges of the house on this single case. If it could be proved that Mr. Mills had procured his election for fraudulent purposes, that would be a fit subject for the consideration of an election committee. He thought that Mr. Mills had been rather hardly treated, in having such grave accusations urged against him in his absence, when he was unable to reply to them.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declared, that it was impossible not to approve the conduct of the committee, in refraining from entering into the allegations of the petitions. Mr. Mills's letter had been referred to them to ascertain the facts which it contained, and not to consider the law dependant on those facts which had never been questioned. Even had such a special report been made, as was wished for by an hon. gent., and had the allegations been found proved, still the house must have granted the privilege. What the law was, and what it ought to be on revision, were too very different considerations. On this subject he would at present say, that it would require some very strong arguments to induce him to believe that the public convenience and advantage would be promoted by the abandonment of this privilege of parliament, although he was aware that in some cases it was productive of private injury. Neither could he agree with the hon. gent. (Mr. Barham) that, if it could be proved that an election was procured for fraudulent purposes, such election must become void. If the charge against Mr. Mills, with the aggravating circumstances attending, could be substantiated (which, in justice to that gentleman, he must remark had not hitherto been done), it might amount to a question of expulsion; but even in that case, it would be proper that the accused should be within the walls to defend himself and his seat.

Mr. *Herbert* spoke on the same side. He said the privileges of the house were the privileges of the people. Some of the most illustrious members of that house had been known to be in very poor circumstances; and if it were not for this privilege of freedom from arrest in civil suits, it would be in the power of any administration, by buying up the debts of a person who was so unfortunate as to be in that predicament, to immure any man of the first rate talents, and deprive the country of his abilities in that house.

Mr. *W. Smith* observed that this was not a law, but a privilege of parliament, which it might dispense with or not, as it thought proper. Therefore, though the house should give it up in this case, it by no means followed that it must do so in other cases. If fraud was proved, the guilty person ought not to be allowed to take advantage of his own wrong. The committee were perfectly right in their report, but it was for the house to consider allegations. These, indeed, were not proved, but there was a prayer in the petitions for permission to prove them. The privileges of the house existed only for the benefit of the public, and rested on no other foundation. The only question, therefore, was, whether a greater general mischief would result from giving up this privilege in particular instances, than from maintaining it in its full extent.—The motion for agreeing with the committee in their resolution was then carried, as was also a motion by Mr. Rose, that the said G. G. Mills, esq. be discharged out of the custody of the Marshal of the King's Bench.

[Sir H. Mildmay's Memorial.]—Sir *H. Mildmay* rose pursuant to notice, to move that there be laid before the house a Supplement to his Memorial which was already upon the table. He took that occasion to state that he owed considerable acknowledgments to lord Sidmouth's government, for the fairness and liberality which he had experienced from it. His first offer had been made to the Barrack Office during that administration, but the whole of the business respecting the letting of his house, had taken place after that administration had gone out of office. His principal object in rising had been to move that there be laid before the house, certain letters which he had received from some individual of the Jury, that had awarded him the compensation for the injury his property had sustained. Of the whole of those who composed the Jury, he was not acquainted with the addresses of more than four, one of whom was the foreman. They were amongst the most respectable persons in the county. The hon. baronet then read extracts from these letters, which explicitly stated, that the 16 acres, with the house, were not included in the estimate of compensation; that the award did not preclude the hon. baronet from residing in, or disposing of the house; that of the 1300l. awarded by the Jury, 700l. was for the injury done to the ground by the works, and to defray the expence of restoring it to the state in which it was before the construction of the works; and that the Jury were aware at the time of making their award, of his being in treaty with government for the house. And here he begged to call the attention of the house to the situation in which he stood, with respect to this transaction. In June next he should be obliged to return to that house, with a barrack within half-a-mile of it on one side and on the other. The sums he had received as compensation for a house that had cost 70,000l. to build, were very inconsiderable, though that house had been destroyed, at least as a residence for his family. If he had been upon the Jury, he had no difficulty in saying, that he should have awarded considerably more than had been awarded to him. However, whether the Jury had awarded him 50l. or 500l. he thought himself equally bound to abide by their judgment. He only wished that the house should be able fully to judge of his conduct in the whole of this transaction, and with that view he moved, that the letters he alluded to, should be laid before the house.

Lord *Howick* had no objection to the production of this paper, and he hoped it would prove as satisfactory as the statement just made by the hon. baronet, though he lamented that it did not appear to him yet as satisfactory as could be desired. There seemed to be some strange mistake in the case, because the hon. baronet had stated in his examination before the committee, that the 400l. a year was to procure him another residence; and now it was said to have been granted, on the general ground of enabling him to restore the land from the injury done by the works. If the sum had been awarded for the rent, it would have been an exorbitant allowance to make an award at the rate of 20l. per acre; and if for the land, the whole of the compensation ought to go to the tenants. But the hon. baronet in his examination had stated, that the 400l. per annum was to provide another residence for him; in this view, therefore, the statement did not appear to him to be satisfactory.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* was surprised at so complete a misunderstanding in so plain a point. The fault he found with his hon. friend, was, that he had carried his delicacy too far in the steps he had taken to justify himself; unless it could be made out that he had had a corrupt understanding with the Jury, he was not more responsible for their award than any member of that house. The answer of the hon. baronet to the commissioners was one which he was not bound to give, nor the commissioners authorised to ask, because it was not for him to account for the award of the Jury. The 700l. were awarded to his hon. friend to replace the land in the state in which it was, previous to the construction of the works. But the noble lord forgot that his hon. friend could not get back into possession of his premises, till government should give up the lease.—The question was then put and agreed to.

[Sale of Commissions in the Army.]

Mr. *Cochrane Johnstone*, in pursuance of his notice, rose to move, "that there be laid before the house, an account of all sums of money that had been received for the Sale of Commissions, which at any time became vacant by death, dismission, or in consequence of the promotion of officers, who were not allowed to sell out, from the year 1795 to the present time, specifying the names of the persons by whom paid and received, and the uses to which those sums were from time to time applied, together with receipts which had been given for the same."

The *Secretary at War* said, that although he had no objection to the substance of the motion, it must universally be allowed, that the sole disposal of commissions in the army was vested in his majesty, and he doubted whether it were quite proper for the house to inquire into the exercise of this prerogative; however, as he knew that the illustrious Commander in Chief was exceedingly desirous to give every information on this business, he should not object to the substance of the motion now made. The mode was for military commissions to be presented to his majesty, upon which his majesty's pleasure was taken, as to filling them up. The purposes for which any commissions were sold, were two-fold, and which shewed that the illustrious commander in chief both studied public economy and the private advantage of individuals, and that at the expence of his own private patronage. The first object in the sale of commissions was for the half-pay fund; and, secondly, for the relief of families of meritorious officers, who might fall in the service of their country. He particularly instanced the case of colonel Vassal's widow. The bulk of commissions was generally by purchase, particularly in time of peace; in time of war there generally remained a number of vacant appointments, for which no purchasers were to be found. At the conclusion of the late war there were a number of vacancies for which no ensigns were to be found. It had been proposed to lieutenants upon half pay to serve on the pay of effective ensigns, and that ensigns' places should be sold. The price of 300l. was fixed for the sale of such commissions; but if every commission had been sold as it became vacant, it would have proved injurious to many officers. The commander in chief, therefore, suffered promotion in many instances to go on in a regular course; but still, from time to time, commissions were sold, and the money was vested in the half-pay fund. Another source from which this fund received support, was, when an officer wished to quit the army, he was allowed to sell what he had purchased, although not to sell the rank which he already possessed; thus, the difference between the price of an ensigncy and of a majority went to the same fund. The illustrious person at the head of the army had done much for its benefit; for formerly great abuses had crept into the purchase and sale of commissions. In the year 1793, officers had been advanced from the lowest ranks of the army up as high as that of lieutenant-colonel. This system had been put a stop to, and a salutary regulation had been established, that an officer, under two years standing, could not be made a captain; nor a field officer under six years standing. The practice of giving exorbitant prices for commissions, the effect of which tended to the deterioration of the army, had also been checked by the commander in chief. From what he had stated, he thought an address the most proper mode of proceeding, and therefore concluded by moving an amendment to that effect.

Mr. *Cochrane Johnstone* had no objection whatever to shape his motion in that form. He could assure the house, that in bringing it forward he had no other than a public object. He had never entertained the smallest suspicion, nor given the least credit to the malicious and unfounded reports which had been in circulation, against the illustrious personage at the head of the army. But he thought it his duty, as a representative of the people, to watch over the expenditure of the public money, and he looked upon these sums to be public money. The account he was persuaded ought to be laid annually before the house, especially if, as he understood, the sums received amounted to one million.—The motion was then agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 9.

[IRISH INSURRECTION BILL.]—Sir *A. Wellesley* rose to move for leave to bring in a bill, for the suppression of Insurrection in Ireland, and to prevent the disturbance of the peace in that country. The house would remember, that the circumstances which preceded and attended the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, had rendered stronger measures than the established laws afforded necessary in that country. An act was therefore passed by the Irish parliament, in 1796, to prevent unlawful assemblies, and to authorise the lord lieutenant on a report of the magistrates to proclaim any county where disturbances existed. That law required all persons in such counties to keep within their dwellings between the hours of sun set and sun rise, and gave to the magistrates the power of sending persons who should be found to offend against it on board his majesty's navy. The act had proved effectual for the suppression of the insurrection, as appeared from the acknowledgement of the leaders of that insurrection before a committee of the Irish parliament. But, though such a law might be necessary, it was the duty of that house to guard against the abuse of the powers which it gave. The bill he proposed to bring in contained the same provisions as the Insurrection act, with respect to the power of the lord lieutenant to proclaim disturbed counties, and the authority of the magistrates to arrest persons who should be found out of their dwellings between sun setting and sun rising; but, in order to prevent hardships to the subjects, the bill required that persons so arrested should be tried at the quarter sessions, by the magistrates and assistant barrister, assisted by a king's counsel, a serjeant specially sent down for that purpose. Besides this bill, he meant to move for leave to bring in another to prevent improper persons from keeping arms, by obliging all persons to register their arms, and authorising the magistrates to search for arms. These bills had been prepared by his predecessor, and the only difference was, that the bill of his predecessor gave a negative to the king's counsel or serjeant, which he proposed to take from him, as it appeared to him that such a negative would render the measure nugatory. He meant, however, to substitute a clause, which should, in case of any difference between the serjeant and the bench, suspend the execution of the decision of the magistrates, till the serjeant should have reported the matter to the lord lieutenant.

Sir *J. Newport* wished to know what was to be the duration of the bill?

Sir *A. Wellesley* proposed 7 years, but his mind was not yet made up on that head.

Sir *J. Newport* had asked the question, because he thought that the shortest possible duration should be given to bills which created such extraordinary powers.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* agreed with the hon. bart. that 7 years would be too long a period, for which to enact the bill.

Mr. *Grattan* was concerned that a bill of that nature should be necessary. But this and every other such bill was a violent measure, and against the principles of the constitution. The period of such measures ought to be short, in order to shew to the people that they had at least a reversionary interest in the constitution. These measures could only be justified by an imperious necessity.

Mr. *Sheridan* viewed this question in a very different light from his friends on the bench near him. His right hon. friend had said, that the measure could only be justified by an imperious necessity; now, it was that necessity which he wished to have clearly made out to exist before the measure was resorted to. It was no answer to him that the measure had been prepared by his friends. If it had, the Threshers were then engaged in their disturbances and administering unlawful oaths. Ireland was now on the contrary as loyally tranquil as any part of the empire.

Mr. *Whitbread* thought that the measure had never been, and ought not to be, enacted for so long a period as 7 years. He found himself in different circumstances from his right hon. friend as to the measure; for he must look upon it as necessary, inasmuch as the committee of both lords and commons on both sides had agreed upon that point.—Leave was then given to bring in the bill, as also a bill to prevent improper persons from having arms in Ireland.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 10.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—Lord *Sidmouth* rose and observed, that he had attended the house for two days past, in the expectation of seeing in his place a noble lord, whose official situation enabled him to answer a question he wished to put. He was desirous of knowing, whether it was the intention of his majesty's government to pro-rose, during this session of parliament, any measure connected with the Defence of the Country. He had it in view to call their ordships' attention to this subject, independent of any reference to recent events; but he information which had just been received, rendered its consideration more ispensible. It was his wish to be informd, whether his majesty's ministers intended o carry into full execution the acts already assed for arming the people, or whether hey had some more extensive measure in ontemplation? He understood there would e a full attendance of their lordships on Monday next, and he should take that opportunity of asking the question he had just mentioned.

Earl *Bathurst* said, that the noble lord aluded to had not attended for these two days ast, because he knew there was no business before the house which required his presence. He would, however, be in his place on Monday, and then the question of he noble viscount would doubtless receive a atisfactory answer.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 10.

[Minutes.]—Petitions were presented complaining of undue returns for Chippenham, Kincardineshire, Malden, Penryn, Beverley, Mulmsbury, East Grinstead, Bridgewater, Christchurch, Newcastle-under-Lyne, and Westminster. The Petition respecting the latter was from the right hon. R. B. Sheridan, complaining of bribery, treating, &c. on the part of lord Cochrane. The whole of these petitions were appointed to be taken into consideration, on the 25th instant.—Mr. Sheridan, though he thought it a matter worthy of the consideration of the house, to put the Standing Order relative to the exclusion of Strangers on some established footing, yet, in deference to the sentiments of many persons, for whose opinions he had a high respect, would not press the motion he ntended to have offered to the house this night, but would leave the matter as it stood, hoping that a wise discretion would produce all the effect of the proposition he intended to bring forward.—Mr. Grant moved, that the house should go into a committee on the Petition of the East India Company praying for leave to raise money on Bonds, instead of increasing their capital. Mr. Creevey repeated his former assertion, that a previous statement of the company's affairs ought to have been made; but as some information would probably soon be acquired on the subject, he would not object to the motion. The Speaker then left the chair. After a few words from Mr. R. Dundas, Mr. W. Smith, sir T. Turton, Mr Wallace, and sir A. Wellesley, Mr. Grant moved that leave be given to bring in a bill to enable the company to raise 2 millions by Bonds, instead of encreasing their stock. This resolution was agreed to.—Mr. Sharpe adverting to the circumstance of the chancellor of the exchequer having put off his motion respecting the Lottery, stated that it was not his intention to oppose that measure, as a part of the ways and means of the present year, but gave notice, that he should take an early opportunity of taking the sense of the house on the general question respecting Lotteries.

[Naval Abuses.]——Lord *Cochrane* rose and spoke as follows:—Sir; A wish to avert a part of the impending and hitherto accumulating dangers of my country, has induced me to resolve to move for certain papers relative to the naval service, not with a retrospective view to blame individuals, but that unnecessary hardships may cease to exist.—I am willing, sir, to believe that members of this house who are capable of doing justice to any cause, have remained ignorant of circumstances which for some years have embittered the lives of a portion of the community, I mean those employed in the naval service of their country; and as to the gentlemen of the naval profession who have seats here, I suppose they either left the service before the establishment of the system of which all employed grievously complain; or, that a degree of diffidence occasioned by the awe which this house at first inspires, has prevented any other from performing this important duty. I wish, sir, it had fallen into other hands. I lament that the means by which I have acquired a knowledge of the subject, has in a great measure, unfitted me for the task I have now undertaken but no personal considerations shall prevent my doing that which I consider for the benefit of my country. I shall be as brief as possible, but as the nature of some of the papers for which I am about to move is unknown to many members of this house, it will be necessary that I should give some explanation.—The first motion is, "That there be laid before this house, copies of all letters or representations made by the commanders of his majesty's sloop Atalante, and schooner Felix, received by capt. Keats, commanding officer off Rochfort, respecting the state and condition of those vessels and the sick therein." The object of this motion is to prove that vessels are kept at sea under the present system in an unfit and dangerous state, and that the lives of many officers and men are in constant peril.—Lieut. Cameron who commanded the Felix, and since lost in that vessel, was one of the best and ablest officers I ever knew—correct in all respects. He, sir, though just appointed to command the Felix, and anxious to distinguish himself, found it incumbent upon him to represent to the commanding officer the necessity of the Felix being sent into port for repair. I shall read part of two letters from the surgeon of the Felix to his private friend. One of them dated three months before they all perished, and previous to lieut. Cameron's commanding that vessel. The other about eight days before that melancholy event.—Although, Mr. Speaker, these letters may not amount to legal proof, yet the official letters and other documents will. But, sir, it cannot appear that this unfortunate officer could have any interest in mistating matters to a private acquaintance. On the 14th Nov. he says, "our noble commander has been "very active in his endeavours to get con-"firmed to this vessel, much more so than "I should be—she sails worse and worse, "and I think the chances are against us "ever bringing her into an English port." In the other, dated 14th January, 1807, the passage to which I refer is as follows: "Our "stock is all out, and we are praying for "some God-sends. Clean linen are very "scarce. Every endeavour has been put "in force by Cameron and myself to get her "in without success. He attacked the "commodore with most miserable epistles "of distress throughout, and I attacked him "with a very formidable sick list; but all, "my friend, would not do."—I may be told, that there is a danger in agitating such subjects, but there can be none at any time in bringing to the knowledge of the legislature, for redress, that which is notorious to those who have a right to claim it. Though we shut our eyes, the mischief will not be averted! Shall evils be suffered to continue, merely because timid people fear to acknowledge their existence? No, sir; let grievances be redressed in time, and complaints will cease.—I shall be very short as to the circumstances relating to the other vessel, the Atalante. When the Imperieuse, the ship I commanded, was about to leave the Rochfort station, I was ordered to provision the Atalante for six weeks, though she had been out 8 months and upwards, a time sufficient to break the energy, to weary the spirit, and ruin the health of men employed in such a vessel. The Atalante came alongside, and the commander and several officers were on board necessarily to settle their accounts; they then informed me of the bad condition of their sloop. They said she was wholly unfit to keep the sea. Several material spars were sprung, which in a gale of wind on shore would cause their inevitable loss. I think they said the foremast and bowsprit or fore yard were sprung. Besides, in blowing weather the Atalante made upwards of 20 inches of water an hour.—Although a survey had been held by some carpenters previous to this, I thought it proper to mention circumstances as they had been reported, and as they appeared to me, to the commanding officer off Rochfort; for I well knew, that the minds of persons of their description under the system of terror, were impressed with fear lest a vessel surveyed having gone into port, might possibly be found not quite so bad as represented. Their usual plan, therefore, is, to say that she can keep the sea a while longer; knowing that if lost it will only be reckoned an excess of zeal on their part for the good of his majesty's service. So much impressed was I with the bad state of this vessel, that I said to the builder of Plymouth-yard, in the presence of Admiral Sutton, on my arrival there, that the first news we should have from off Rochfort, if they had a gale of wind there, would be the loss of the Atalante. Under the harrassing system of 8 and 9 months cruises men get tired of their lives, and even indifferent as to choice between a French prison and their present misery. I shall make no further observations on this subject until the papers are produced.—Another paper that appears necessary, is an Abstract of the weekly accounts of his majesty's ships and frigates employed off Brest, and of all his majesty's ships and vessels employed off Rochfort, from the 1st March, 1805, until the 1st March, 1807.—From this, sir, we shall be able to ascertain the number of men in each vessel, the number of sick, the time ships have been kept at sea, and the time they have been allowed in harbour to refit the vessels, and to recruit the crews. First, it will appear that the ships have been greatly short of effective men. Next, the extreme length of cruises and hardships that our seamen have suffered, which the low state of the enemy's navy did not require, and which in its most flourishing times had never been put in practice, because well nown to be highly injurious. The Plantaenet, for instance, was 8 months within 4 ours sail of England; she was forced into almouth, and remained 12 days wind ound at one time; but an order existed, hich I shall presently make the subject of motion, by which neither an officer nor a an dared to stretch his legs even upon the ravel beach within 20 yards of the ship.—s a subject connected with the foregoing, nd to shew how little benefit has been deved from supplies at sea, as a substitute for he refreshments the crews were formerly uffered to enjoy in port, I shall next move,—" That there be laid before this house an ccount of the quantity of fresh provisions *xpressed in days* allowance, received at sea y each of his majesty's ships and vessels employed off Brest and Rochfort, from the 1st March, 1805, to the 1st March, 1807."—Formerly, Mr. Speaker, when a ship had een out till the provisions with which she ad been supplied were consumed, the return of that vessel to port was the natural consequence. For Channel service the time was 4 months, and the officers and men with satisfied minds looked forward contemplating with pleasure the little relaxations and indulgences they might then enjoy. But now, sir, being victualled and re-victualled at sea, there is no probable end of their misery. An East India voyage is performed n less time and with more refreshments than a channel cruise. Capt. Cook, whose authority will not be treated lightly, says, that " notwithstanding the Discovery had " been out 117 days, the scurvy had made " no great progress, which he ascribes to " the essence of malt and fermented li-" quors." Lime juice is now the substitute, and a cure it is—but a debilitating cure —not fit to re-establish the strength of body impaired by living without vegetables for a long period on salted provisions. How matters of such material consequence have escaped the notice of the latest admiralties, I am at a loss to know; unless an excess of confidence reposed in the late commander in chief of the channel fleet has been the cause; and that this security existed on the part of the admiralty, I think will be proved by the paper to which the motion I hold in my hand refers: " That there be laid before this " house such orders as have been issued or " acted upon between the 1st March, 1805, " and the 1st March, 1807, by the autho-" rity of the commanders in chief of his " majesty's ships and vessels employed in " the channel soundings, respecting leave " to be granted or withheld from officers or " men; distinguishing who was command-" er in chief at the time of issuing or acting " upon such orders."—In harbour, too, that neither officer nor man shall be permitted to go on shore is a hard case, and an order which I do not hesitate to condemn. And, sir, it appears not less striking, when I recollect, that during the greatest part of the time the commander in chief resided in London, enjoying not only the salary of his office, but claiming the *emolument of prize money*, gained by the toil and danger to which those engaged in the active service and defence of their country are exposed.—Such, indeed, sir, is the example shewn in this case, that I shall not be surprised to see some future minister confer the office on a fool or on a child, and make the situation of commander in chief of the channel fleet a sinecure as complete, and a means of corruption equal to any that has lately been the subject of debate in this house.—With respect to the sick, I consider it necessary to say a few words; but I shall first read my motion on that subject: " That there be " laid before this house such orders as have " been issued or acted upon between the " 1st March, 1805, and the 1st March, " 1807, by or by the authority of the com-" mander in chief of his majesty's ships, " &c. employed in the channel sound-" ings, allowing or restraining command-" ing officers or surgeons of his ma-" jesty's ships, &c. from sending men " to the naval hospitals, or restricting " their admission into such hospitals."—In consequence of the regulations established in those institutions, men were frequently refused admittance. A grievance connected with this point has made a strong impression upon my mind; that is, an order, rigidly inforced, that no man, whatever his state of health, be permitted to be sent to the hospital from any of the ships in the Channel Fleet, unless previously examined and allowed by the surgeon of the Commander in-Chief. The mischiefs resulting from this arrangement were notorious in the navy. In consequence of the inconvenience and difficulty, if not impossibility, of this surgeon's going from ship to ship at such times as vessels might be going into port, various diseases, deaths and amputations, too frequently ensued before such surgeon's examination could take place. There is another subject of complaint which appeared to me peculiarly ruinous. When the cry of œconomy was the order of the day in the naval department, the house and the country must be surprized to hear of so singular an application of it as in limiting surgeons necessaries allowed to the navy. Some of the indispensible medicines, too, were cut off. The œconomists of that day seemed to consider the health of men as a thing of trifling account, compared to their favourite principle. So pertinaciously were regulations observed, that although I once sent a lieutenant sick and a seaman ruptured to the Hospital, I could not obtain their admission. The disease of the one was pronounced quite inadmissible, and though sent through sleet and rain, the only day for nearly three weeks in which they could go ashore, they were returned refused, and the country would be astonished, if not indignant, to hear the reason why the man was not admitted, because every thing possible had not been done to reduce the rupture on board, and he had not been hung up by the heels in a rolling sea, in order to reduce the rupture.—Why the evils connected with this system have not been before submitted to parliament and the public, I cannot pretend to say. Perhaps gentlemen may have been prevented from exposing it from motives of delicacy or personal interest; but no such considerations shall restrain me from the performance of a great public duty, to which, from its nature, I feel it peculiarly incumbent upon me to attend. The system of Naval Hospitals presents a variety of grounds to justify censure. In military hospitals, some little luxuries are allowed: to suit delicate stomachs, and to promote the revival of depressed spirits; and where can such luxuries be more necessary than to seamen, with diseased constitutions, after being eight or nine months living upon salt provisions, at sea. But in naval hospitals, no such luxuries are to be had; no eggs, no oranges are allowed. I know an instance, in which a lieutenant, who was dangerously ill, was refused a cup of egg wine. The answer was, that no eggs were allowed: the lieutenant died of his disease.—But this regulation is maintained on the ground of economy: indeed, this economy has gone to such a length as to reduce the quantity of lint before allowed to the surgeons. In consequence of which, in many cases, there is not for the purpose of the wounded, one fourth part enough of this article, so material for use, although so trifling in value. This limitation took place under one of those who were appointed by the commander in chief of the channel fleet, whom perhaps it was not necessary for him otherwise to name [a cry of name, name], by earl St. Vincent, observed the noble lord, these appointments were made—and under his regulations the navy has endured the sufferings I have faintly described. Unworthy savings have been unworthily made. Though sheltered by the plea of economy, a greater loss has, I contend, resulted to this country, than can ever be compensated by any savings economy is capable to produce.—I mean in the lives of men destroyed by long cruises and otherwise. Were it possible to consider the value of these lives in a pecuniary view, which I never can, it would require more money to supply the losses sustained by the application of economy in the manner I have described, than can be well imagined. Indeed, the grievances of the navy have been so severe, through rigour and misapplied economy, that I can see nothing in the character of that body more meritorious than the patience with which they have suffered those grievances.—The noble lord concluded with making his first motion; which being seconded by the hon. Mr. Dillon.

Sir *Samuel Hood* rose, and expressed his astonishment at the statements and observations which he had just heard; which really were such that he had hardly thought it possible that they could have come from so gallant an officer. If any thing of blame, said the hon. officer, attaches to the loss of the Atalante and the Felix, that blame is attributable to me and to commodore Keats. But the fact is, that the loss of the Atalante was not at all owing to her having been in a bad state. She drove ashore in a swell upon a fine day, and if she had not been sound, her crew could not have been saved. But the noble lord could not ascribe blame in consequence of this vessel's going ashore. For such an accident was no proof of neglect on the part of the officers. No censure could apply to them, any more than it could to the conduct of the noble lord himself, when he lost his ship some time since. A clear understanding of the case, therefore, was only necessary to refute this part of the noble lord's charges, and to shew that neither the officers nor any other person could be fairly blamed for the fate of the Atalante, for that fate was owing to an accident against which any commander, however vigilant, might be utterly unable to guard. Now, as to the Felix; that vessel perished in a gale of wind in St. Andero Bay, where she was sent with a flag of truce. She remained four days in the bay; and, had the soundest vessel in the navy been in the same situation in a gale of wind, she would have very little chance, if any, of escaping a similar fate. Indeed, there was ample proof that the Felix was not in a bad state; but when she was in port, the lieutenant wanted to go ashore, to settle his accounts, and was refused. There is the secret, and hence probably this charge. I do not mean to impute to the noble lord any disposition to state any thing which he does not himself strictly believe. But the noble lord may be, I know he has been, misinformed, and when he comes forward with such misinformation to breed discontent in the navy, I feel it my duty, as it is the duty of every man who respects the best interests of that body, to resist him.—With regard to what the noble lord has said about provisions, and sickness, and medicines, I challenge him to prove any of his allegations. I sailed from Plymouth, and when I recollect it, I cannot help laughing at the noble lord's statement. I had several men sick on board, but they recovered at sea. I had in one engagement 30 men killed and 100 wounded, and there was no such thing as a want of medicines or lint; nothing of the kind was to be heard of. I am fully of opinion, that none of the noble lord's assertions on this subject can be maintained. I have, I think, sufficiently replied to his statement relative to the Atalante and Felix; and I see no good to which any part of his statements can tend, though I can perceive in them very strong grounds to apprehend serious mischief.

Admiral *Harvey* followed on the same side. He deprecated the attempts made perpetually to harass a gallant meritorious old officer [a cry of hear! hear!]. He had no hesitation in saying, that the grounds of attack appeared quite fallacious. For himself, he could confidently say, that he never saw any scarcity whatever of medicines, surgeons stores, or provisions, on board any ship that came under his observation.

Admiral *Markham* never rose with more regret, because he did feel the utmost apprehension, that the effect of such a discussion as that provoked by the noble lord, would do material injury to the discipline of the navy. No redress had ever been applied for to the Admiralty upon any of the grounds stated by the noble lord; and in what condition, he would ask, was the navy to be placed, if an inferior officer could bring his commander in chief to the bar of that house. With respect to the time a ship ought to be at sea, that depended on the necessity of the case, and not on the will of a commander in chief. But a good officer would not be forward to complain of such a thing. His hon. friend who spoke last was 13 months off Cape Finisterre, and his hon. friend who preceded him, was 5 months off Rochefort; yet neither were ever heard to complain. No; they knew their duty too well, and, like good officers, were reconciled to it. As to the injury to the health of the men, by keeping ships at sea, he would maintain that nothing was more erroneous than the notion of the noble lord; for the fact was, that it always so happened, that seamen came ashore to get sick, and went to sea to get healthy. [A laugh, and cry of hear! hear!] As to the charge about fresh provisions, the hon. officer maintained, that nothing could be more untenable; for fresh provisions were sent to the fleet as often as they could be necessary, and in the best state that was practicable to convey them. With regard to surgeons stores, they were supplied under the administration of lord St. Vincent, precisely according to the plan originated either by lord Melville or lord Barham, he could not recollect which; and this was the first day he had ever heard it stated, that there was any scarcity whatever of those stores. If, however, such stores were wanted, why not apply to the executive government, and not bring it forward in that house? Unless such an application was found ineffectual, he contended that such a business ought not to be brought before that house.—As to the order for having persons reviewed, by the surgeon of the commander in chief, before they were sent to the hospital, he explained that to be with a view to prevent men to be disposed of who were fit to serve. For while officers could send men to the hospital on the mere certificate of their own surgeon, they, naturally anxious for a good crew, were too apt to make use of their influence with the surgeon, to send any man to the hospital whom they did not happen to like.—The allusion to the residence of the commander in chief in London, could derive no influence but from delusion. He did so on account of his health. Besides the Channel Fleet was in different divisions, and the fact was, that for the purpose of communicating with each, the noble lord had better be ashore than at sea. Indeed, unless he took the station of junior admiral, he could not consistently join any of the divisions. For that noble earl he could only say, that he had no objection whatever to the production of any paper or document that related to his conduct; but for himself, he must observe, that disliking the whole discussion, or the introduction of such a subject at all in that house, he could not assent to the noble lord's motion. If the noble lord had any good grounds of complaint, they should be referred to the admiralty, who would, no doubt, give them all the attention they deserved.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declared, that no grounds whatever had been made out for the motion, which it was so seriously to be lamented that the noble lord had thought it his duty to bring forward. The house of commons would ever be anxiously alive to the welfare and interests of the brave men of whom our navy was composed; but he was convinced, that it would at the same time be very backward in adopting such motions as the present, unless the person who proposed them could distinctly state that he had taken all other means of redressing the grievances complained of unsuccessfully.

Mr. *Windham* coincided completely in opinion with the right hon. gent. who had just sat down, and contended, that besides the just reasons for opposing the motion, which that right hon. gent. had stated, the noble lord had in no way whatever proved his assertions, but had been completely contradicted by the gallant admirals. He made an eloquent panegyric on earl St. Vincent, the history of whose whole life was a most brilliant answer to the accusations of his enemies.

Mr. *Robert Ward* observed that the highest encomiums were due to that illustrious character earl St. Vincent. Illustrious character he must call him, because whatever opinion might be entertained of his civil services, there could be no difference of sentiment as to the glory of his professional career. He admitted also the high professional character of the noble lord who made the motion; but he was sorry that such a motion had been brought forward in this house, before complaint had been made through the proper channel. No man could cherish more than he would the power and the right of this house to examine into abuses; but when there was a channel by which application ought to be made in the first instance, he thought it unnecessary and improper to bring complaints before this house, before any effort was made to have them corrected in the most natural and ready way.

Sir *Charles Pole* in reply to the implied censures of the noble lord upon the late administration of the navy, observed, that since the reign of king William no one had done so much for the navy as the late administration. The first act of the noble lord below (lord Howick), when he came into that department, was to examine into the state of the seamen; and he came down to the house for an increase of the number and the pay of the petty officers, thinking this one of the best methods of rewarding distinguished service among the men. All this he did gratuitously, without waiting for an application—a measure which had not a little increased the confidence of the seamen in the government, an object in the highest degree desirable and advantageous. The noble lord had not stopped here. He also extended this beneficial measure to the Warrant Officers, without any application, a thing which had never been done since the days of king William. Neither did the noble lord stop here; he had followed the aged, the decrepid, wounded, and worn out seamen, to the obscurity of their cottages; chaced poverty and wretchedness from them, and diffused health, cheerfulness, and comfort. He had raised their allowance from 7 to 18l. a-year, and made seamen look with confidence towards the government which thus paid attention to their situation unasked. He had also followed up the measure, by an increase to the masters, lieutenants, and commanders. In short, every attention was paid by the noble lord to the interests of the service, a conduct which deserved the acknowledgements of all who wished well to it.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that he heard with regret and surprize, those assertions stated here, which he had heard on a former occasion; and he had thought from the manner in which the noble lord had at last dropped the accusations, that he had even convinced himself from the most authentic documents that he was wrong. He had read a letter from commodore Keats, taking the whole blame to himself, respecting some of the transactions, but where there was certainly no blame. And notwithstanding the boisterous manner in which the audience at the hustings at Covent Garden generally expressed their opinions, yet even they had rejected these clamours as dangerous, when they sufficiently understood their nature. They set their faces against them as out of time and place; as brought forward for manifest purposes, and not for the good of the public, and as attended with incalculable mischief, without being productive of any good. Suppose he had not had the good fortune to be acquainted with the noble earl accused, whom he regarded with the highest respect and veneration; suppose he had not had the opportunity of making the inquiries he had made—he had refuted the charges at the time; but suppose he had not had that opportunity, was it nothing to consider the injury that might be done by these accusations going on board the ships months before they could be answered? He regretted that they were now again brought forward, but he certainly felt less alarm than before. Even as it was, they had before done some injury, as he had learnt from officers, who said that they were every day in dread, when the papers with the reports came on board. What was their effect on commodore Keats! They were such that he thought it necessary to demand a court-martial on his conduct. That had been refused, because there was no grounds for it. But was it nothing to have moved the feelings of a meritorious officer thus far? He approved of what had been said, as to the conduct of his noble friend near him (lord Howick), but in fact no board of admiralty would refuse to listen to the complaints of experienced officers. This house would be always ready to attend to the complaints of our gallant sailors, and redress their grievances, but it was necessary to ascertain whether complaints had been made to the proper department, and redress refused. The only motion he therefore thought which could be agreed to on this subject in the present instance was this, "that there be laid before the house copies to the representations of the right hon captain lord Cochrane to the Board of Admiralty, with the answers thereto, if any."

Lord *Cochrane* rose to reply and said:—I disclaim, sir, any motive whatever except a regard for the real interests of my country, though I am free to confess that I cannot help feeling in common with others the treatment received.—Improper motives have been imputed to me, and I might reply to one of those gentlemen who has denied facts which I can prove, that he was one of those who established this abominable system. What his abilities may be in matters not connected with the naval service, I know not; but in the navy it is understood to be a fact, that his noble patron, the earl St. Vincent, sent the master of the Ville de Paris to put his ship in some tolerable order [here there was a cry of order! order! from Admirals Pole, Harvey, and others. The Speaker observed, that when the noble lord said that improper motives were ascribed to him, it was a reproach to him (the Speaker), but he was in the judgment of the house whether he deserved it.] With respect, sir, to the assertion made by the same gentleman, that the health of the men is increased by long cruises at sea, and that that of the commander in chief is improved by being on shore, he may reconcile it if he can.—Tho', sir, I shall not follow the example of imputing improper motives, another complaint and a just one too (looking at Capt. Sir Samuel Hood) in the naval service is, that under this obnoxious system, captains have been appointed to large commands of 6 or 7 sail of the line, as many frigates, and as many sloops of war, the right of admirals who have served and can serve their country and who have bled in its cause. But perhaps, sir, for such times, their rank did not afford a prospect of their being sufficiently subservient. I believe this house need not be told that there are admirals of ability who from these causes, have lingered in neglect. [a cry of order! order! from admiral Harvey and others]. Sir, two parts of the statement of the hon. knight are worthy of remark in so far as they were meant in reply to my statement. He has said he had a hundred men killed and wounded in his ship, and no complaint, no inconvenience, was found from want of lint or any thing else. First, this was at a time when surgeons received an allowance to buy extra medicines for the sick, and, in the second place, the wounded of whom he speaks were sent on the day following to Gibraltar hospital.—Now, sir, with respect to the blame said to be directly attributed by me to lord St. Vincent for the loss of the Felix and Atalante I have to remark, that it is of the general system and its consequences of which I complain, of endless cruizes, thereby rendering surveys at sea on the state of vessels a substitute for a proper examination of their condition in port, or in dock. The hon. knight has been a little unfortunate in the comparison he made that lord St. Vincent was no more to blame, than for *my* getting the Impérieuse on shore on the coast of France. Now, since this subject has been touched upon, I must state that I made application for a Court Martial on my conduct, but it was not granted, because it was known that the blame would fall, where it ought to fall, on the person whose repeated positive command sent the ship forth to sea in an unfit condition. The artifices of the yard had not finished the ship; all was in confusion. The quarter-deck guns lay unfitted. Forty tons of iron ballast, beside provisions and stores of all kinds, remained on deck. The powder, allowed to be taken on board only when the ship is out of harbour, was received then, and the Imperieuse was hurried to sea without a cartridge filled or one gun loaded. The order issued was to quit the port the *instant that she would steer*, regardless of every other material circumstance. [Another cry of order! order! from the same gentlemen. The Speaker said, the noble lord must confine himself to the matter before the house.] I consider what I have now said as an answer to a statement made without a knowledge of facts.—Another hon. gent. who has attempted to contradict my statements (Admiral Pole) has in his great zeal mentioned an increase of pay which took place some time ago as relative to the present subjects of complaint, and perhaps he has done so with as much sincerity and as laudable an intention as the person who asserted that a profusion of oranges were given to the fleet *at Lisbon*, in refutation of my statement that none are allowed to the hospitals *at home*.—I have remarked, sir, that I have not heard from any of those who have so zealously spoken on the other side a defence of the obnoxious order to keep all officers and men on board, altho' I think it as tenable as the position that men are to be kept healthy by being kept continually at sea.—All these things may appear matters of indifference or of small moment to some who are here at their ease, but I view it in a different light, and if no one better qualified will represent a subject of great complaint, I shall do so, independent of every personal consideration.—In the course of the debate, it has been stated, that I asserted lime-juice to be a bad cure for the scurvy; no, it is a cure, and almost a certain cure, but debilitating; it destroys the disease, but ruins the constitution.—An hon. gent. (Mr. Sheridan) has said, all this should have been represented to the Admiralty; that this house is an improper place for such discussions, and he has threatened to call for all letters from me to the board of Admiralty. To the first, I answer, that boards pay no attention to the representations of individuals whom they consider under their command and control; next, that if the hon. gent. calls for my letters, he will find some that will not answer his purpose.—Sir, beside the public abuses, the oppression and scandalous persecution of individuals, often upon anonymous and encouraged information, has been matter of great complaint. As a single proof of injustice, I have only to mention that one of the most flagrant of those personal injuries done by the Admiralty of which the hon. admiral (Markham) above me was a member, was lately on the simple merits of the case redressed by the noble lord below me (lord Howick), who sympathized and felt as he ought to feel for a gallant wounded and persecuted officer, (lieutenant R. W. Parker). —Sir, the present admiralty, by encreasing the time allowed for the refreshment of the crews, instead of corrupting their bodies and then drenching them with lime juice, will deserve the gratitude and thanks of all employed. In the navy, we have had to lament the system that makes the admiralty an appendage of the minister of the day, and just as the members of that board began to see and probably to plan the reform of abuses, they have been removed. I trust, sir, that I shall not be denied the papers, and that these motions will not like those on a former occasion be got rid of by a blind vote of thanks, or by any subterfuge of a previous question.—The motion was then put and negatived without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 11.

[ELECTION PETITIONS.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose in pursuance of his notice. He observed, that as the session would not be long, it would be inconvenient to take into consideration such Election Petitions as were likely to occupy any considerable length of time. He had thought it his duty to inquire into this subject, and he found that there was not one petition, on which the house could rely in this respect. He proposed, therefore, to discharge all the orders, for the purpose of nominally appointing subsequent days, at such a distance of time, as should shew the parties that the house did not intend to take petitions into consideration during the present session. If the parties to any of the Irish petitions could agree on the subject, it might be well to enter into the consideration of such of them as would require commissioners to be sent to Ireland, in order that the commissions might act during the vacation.—The several orders were then discharged, and, beginning with the petitions complaining of double returns, the various petitions were fixed for consideration, on the 9th, 10th, 11th, &c. of September.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 13.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.] Lord *idmouth* rose, and expressed himself happy to see a noble lord (Hawkesbury) in his place, from whom he felt desirous to obtain an answer to a question, respecting which his uneasiness every day increased. The object of that question was to learn from the noble lord, if it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to propose any new measure for the Defence of the Country, or o follow up, on a more extended scale, the ystem that had already been adopted, so as o make it bear some proportion to the increasing dangers of the empire. He felt it his duty to take this step, in order to relieve not only his own anxiety, but the anxiety that very one must feel at a moment so alarming as the present: should he have the satisfaction to receive such an answer as he expected, then he should have to request the noble lord to state the time when it was likely such a proposition could be brought forward, adding his wish that it might be on an early day; for as the danger increased every hour, he thought it a matter of the most urgent importance, that it should be provided against without delay.

Lord *Hawkesbury* was happy to be able to assure the noble viscount and the house, that the subject of the military state of the country had occupied the attention of ministers from their very entrance into office. It might not be proper at the present moment to enter into any explanation of the principle, or of the details of the measure they should have to propose, but the day was not distant when such an explanation should be amply given, and when reasons should be adduced for having deferred it till now. Indeed, on this very day it was expected that a notice would be given in another house, of the introduction of the measure to which the noble viscount had alluded.

The Earl of *Suffolk* intimated the necessity of doing now much more than had as yet been attempted, towards the defence and security of the country. He had observed, with the greatest satisfaction, that on the part of the coast which he had lately visited, the system of the Martello towers had been considerably increased.

[AMERICAN INDEMNITY BILL.] Earl *Bathurst* moved the order of the day, for the second reading of the bill to indemnify ministers for continuing in force the provisions of the American trade bill, which had expired during the recess. The noble earl defended the measure, on the ground of policy and precedent. He allowed that the law had been violated by ministers, but that violation was justified by the reasons of public advantage and benefit which resulted from it, and which parliament had almost uniformly received as a satisfactory justification of such a conduct. Indeed, were it not a violation of the law, why should the crown surrender its prerogative, and come to parliament for a bill of indemnity, when it was obvious no law had been infringed? He could safely deny that the rate of duties had been raised or diminished in any material degree, or where it would have been safe to have acted otherwise. As to the allowing American ships to carry certain articles contrary to the navigation act, that permission was justified by the same policy and necessity; for it would have been much to the detriment of our trade if American ships were on a sudden prohibited to carry such articles, while there were no British ships ready to convey them. In every point of view he could not help thinking that government had acted wisely in continuing the provisions of the bill; and he should therefore move, that the bill to indemnify them for so doing be now read a second time.

Lord *Grenville* said, that after the sentiments he had already expressed respecting the subject of the breach of the law by issuing the order of council, he could not, without incurring the imputation of inconsistency, agree to the passing of this bill of indemnity. He fully concurred in that part of his noble friend's speech, in which he stated that no money could be levied in this country, without the consent and approbation of parliament. His noble friend, however, went a little farther, and contended that though the law was broken by the crown, no higher duties were levied than it was authorized to collect. Now, it did appear, from a paper which had been laid on their lordships' table, not above three minutes ago, that a system more favourable to the commerce of America, had been adopted, than would have been, if the laws had been observed. His lordship here referred to the document, to shew that in various instances, higher and lower duties had been levied, than the act for continuing the provisions of the former treaty authorized. The order of council remitted the duties upon some articles, while it increased them upon others. It was not to be denied, that both of these were contrary to law, and that they could be only justified by the extreme necessity of the case. But what proof had ministers, either by documents or by their speeches, afforded the house that any such necessity existed? Were they not, he would ask, aware that it would soon be necessary to renew the act for continuing the former treaty with America? Why, then, convinced as they must have been of that necessity, did they dissolve the last parliament? Parliament, which had not the grounds of the dissolution before it, was not bound to take into consideration the necessity which might have existed for that measure. The dissolution of 1784 was justified by the dispute which then arose between the two houses of parliament. That was an unhappy incident in the legislative proceedings of this country, which would always bear out the sovereign in the exercise of his prerogative, and in appealing to the people. But did any such necessity exist for the dissolution of the last parliament? The convenience of ministers was not in itself sufficient grounds; and he had never heard any other, for that most rash, dangerous, and imprudent measure, than which, in all these respects, a greater had never been committed. It was not his custom to dwell upon the dangers and difficulties of the country. It had never been his practice to aggravate calamity, or to utter in his place in parliament, any sentiments which might lead to despondency or despair. On the contrary, he always wished to keep alive, not merely the principle of hope, but the principles of resolution and steadiness, because it was these principles, and these alone, which could enable us to bear up against the dangers with which we might at any time be threatened. He wished, therefore, before he sat down, to draw the attention of their lordships to what had fallen from a noble viscount. He trusted, that in the most critical period at which this country ever arrived, its security would not rest upon partial and temporary measures. It was desirable that all the resources, strength, energy, and spirit of the country should be called forth. The crisis was at length arrived, when it would be necessary to call around us all the military energies of the empire. The first step upon so awful an emergency, which a prudent government would take, would be to see whether any thing could be done to unite the people. If we were to meet dangers greater than any which had ever threatened us, a divided people, what arms could we employ, what bulwarks raise, or what armies create, adequate to repel them? Much had been said upon this subject, but not, according to his way of considering it, sufficient for its importance. The situation of Ireland could not be too often submitted to the deliberation of parliament, provided it were handled with judgment and moderation. He was sorry to find that an idea had gone abroad, that both the parliament and people of England were pledged, that no farther concessions should be made to the Catholics of Ireland. He was sorry for it; for a more unwise, indiscreet, and mischievous declaration could not have been uttered. Such a melancholy condition was not that of any country, most certainly not of any free government. The noble lord opposite to him well knew, that the judgment of one parliament often differed from that of another; nay, even in the same parliament, there had been more than one instance of such change of opinion. The appeal from the hasty decision of one meeting, to the prudence of another, had not been unfrequently successful. Was it, he would ask, right to say to four millions of people, You must despair? And despair of what? why that they, subjects of the British empire, were not to be entitled to the privileges of its constitution. Was it possible that, under any circumstances, there could have been a more improvident declaration? This was his reason for wishing to impress once more upon their lordships these considerations, because he was informed such language had been held. It was not under the impression that the Irish Catholics were to be excluded from the pale of the constitution, that the great question of the Union was carried. No pledge respecting their admission to the same benefits with their fellow subjects, had been either given or required. There were some persons, indeed, who wished to make their participation in the common benefits of the constitution, one of the conditions of the Union. These intentions, however, were overruled, and it was decided that every thing respecting them, should be left to the discretion and liberality of the united parliament. He would ask, why those who now appeared to be of a contrary opinion, did not then speak out? Why they did not maintain the exclusion of the Catholics, as fundamental principle of the constitution? Why they did not protest against destroying the bulwarks of our religion in church and state, and letting the Pope into the country? That great minister, who framed the project of the Union, told his sovereign that the union could not be carried into effect, if that boon was not granted to the people of Ireland; and finding, that they were not likely to obtain it, he acted upon it in the same manly manner that he did upon all occasions. Where was this sentiment of exclusion to be found? Was it any where but in those libellous addresses upon the Catholics of Ireland? which he could not but consider ministers as deeply responsible for having advised his majesty to receive. If, in addition to dangers from abroad, we were to encounter divisions at home, the stoutest of us could scarcely hope that such an accumulation of peril could be successfully resisted. If we resolved to encounter the question, we should do all that was to be done. As this was, perhaps, the last time that he might have occasion to address the house, during the present session, he felt it his duty to intreat their lordships to consider as nothing what had taken place; to meet the question with new feelings and ideas; to reflect that we were in the very crisis of our fate, upon the point, perhaps, of being assailed by the most formidable enemy that had ever menaced the existence of the government of any country. It was his misfortune to have been a most unsuccessful advocate in favour of the Catholics; but, if his recommendation could have any weight, he would say, that though this was the moment for parliament to grant all those immunities which they claimed, it was not the moment for them to ask for them. Under any of those acts which had been made for restraining that description of his majesty's Irish subjects, under the harsh and compulsory statutes which were repealed in 1793, under the sanguinary and dreadful code which preceded it, their condition, he was persuaded, would be far better than any they could hope to enjoy under the friendship or domination of France. The first question which was asked by that power, when it meant to overturn the government of any country, was, What are the principles of disunion which prevail? To the excluded, to the dissatisfied, and to the suffering of every country, France threw out these lines and baits; but her professions and her conduct had never accorded with each other. The infatuated persons who listened to her, soon discovered that the state which they renounced was far preferable to that which they obtained. So it would be found in Ireland, should ever the person who now wielded not only the force of France, but of the greater part of the continent, ever succeed in establishing his power in that part of the British empire. To prevent the possibility of any event of this dangerous and alarming nature, he called upon parliament to step forward with a lenient hand, to make a sacrifice of its prejudices, and to throw open the pale of the constitution to those who were interested in defending and upholding it. The question might be stayed off for a time, but it must be discussed sooner or later. He was aware that it might be objected to him, that those who predict danger, contribute not a little to create it; and that this was not a time to harass and obstruct government. Any one, however, who conceived as he did, who saw not only danger but certain ruin and destruction in maintaining that system of policy he had condemned, would but ill discharge his duty if he hesitated to attack it.

Lord *Hawkesbury* was not anxious to defend the bill of Indemnity on precedents only, but on the grounds of the necessity of the case out of which it grew. Nor would he deny that that necessity arose from the necessity of the dissolution of parliament; for, as often as that topic should again be forced into discussion, so often should he insist on the absolute necessity of that measure. The real authors of that necessity were the very persons who have since so repeatedly and so acrimoniously inveighed against it; for when his majesty, in the legitimate exercise of his prerogative, thought proper to make the late change in his councils, the noble lords opposite him made an appeal to parliament, and brought the question to issue between themselves and their sovereign. What then was left to his majesty, but to appeal to the sense of his people, while the events which made that appeal necessary were still fresh in their recollection? How else was his royal prerogative to be supported? This was the fair, obvious, simple ground upon which the late dissolution rested, and the result had amply proved how well his majesty understood the disposition of his people in making that appeal. For never was their sense more clearly, distinctly, and unequivocally expressed. No means were left untried by the opposers of government, to procure the fullest possible attendance of their adherents in parliament, at the beginning of the present session; yet the sentiment of the nation in favour of the prerogative, was pronounced in the fullest house that ever sat in deliberation, by the largest and most decided majority.—Among their lordships it had met with the same loyal and triumphant support. Here then was the necessity and the propriety of the dissolution proved at once in the most marked and forcible manner. He earnestly wished to let the question rest here, but it was impossible to pass over in silence the latter part of the noble baron's speech to which the former part served only as a stalking-horse. The deep regret he felt at some of the sentiments and expressions that fell from the noble baron, he was at a loss how to express; but he was sure they must have made nearly the same impression upon most of their lordships. He was ready to believe that the same feeling and sentiment pervaded every class and description of the community, and that they all were disposed to act with one heart and hand in support of the constitution against the attacks of the most formidable foe that they ever had to contend with, and now made much more formidable by the influence of recent events. Then, what could be the tendency of the noble baron's observations? what the effect they were calculated to produce? But where was the practical good that could result from them? Was it not well known how different were the opinions entertained respecting the chief topic upon which the noble baron had so widely, and, in his mind, so unnecessarily expatiated. Neither could he be ignorant how very generally the opinion of the country had been expressed upon that subject. Where, then, was the utility of the recommendation which the noble baron had so anxiously urged? Was there in past experience, was there in any prospect before us, the slightest ground for considering us a divided people? Even in defence of the Catholics, and in mere justice to that respectable body of men, he would ask the noble baron, when were their exertions wanted, if the threat of danger required them to put them forth? Whatever the difference of opinion they might have entertained upon the other points, were they ever backward, when the appearance of a foreign enemy called for the zeal and activity of their services? Whatever the deprivations under which they suffer, had they not always considered them as prosperity and luxury when compared with the promises and the boons by which the enemy would endeavour to seduce them? Then the representations made by the noble baron were unfair, of any description of men who had uniformly manifested such a spirit of loyalty and patriotism. It was unfair surely to describe their conduct and principles in a light that would justify him in calling them a divided people. Respecting our internal policy, there might perhaps be difference of opinion; with regard to the threats and attempts of a foreign enemy, we should always prove an united people, those who possessed least, vying with those who possessed most. He must therefore again express his surprise and regret at the observations of the noble baron, the more so, as they now could be attended with no practical effect, and when his own mind did not appear to be made up respecting any practical remedy. The moment called for universal unity of action, and under such circumstances as the present, he hoped to see all party spirit and animosity turn into zeal for the common defence.

Earl *Spencer* conceived the question to be, whether the necessity which it was admitted had occasioned the breach of the law, was forced on his majesty's ministers, or had been forced on by them. The noble lord opposite had said that his majesty having reason to be dissatisfied with his former servants, had exercised his undoubted prerogative in choosing others in their stead, and that the old servants of the crown had thereupon come to parliament with a statement of their case, thereby making an appeal to parliament on the differences which had occurred between them and their sovereign, and that his majesty had, in these circumstances, been advised to recur to the sense of the people. A more unfounded or a more erroneous statement than this, the noble earl contended, had never been made, as must be well known to the noble lord (Hawkesbury) himself. The fact was, that after certain confidential communications had taken place between his majesty and his late servants, in consequence of which a change in his majesty's councils had taken place, the new servants of the crown, betraying the trust reposed in them, had given garbled and unjust representations in the newspapers, and otherwise, of the conduct of their predecessors, and of the circumstances which had preceded their disissal from office. In this state of things, representation of the actual state of mat-ers, and of the whole circumstances at-endant on them, became necessary to lear the characters of the late ministers om the obloquy with which they were thus njustly loaded. In making this statement, ney had been accused of bringing their overeign to the bar of both houses of par-ament. Such a charge, however, they isclaimed. Their only wish was a vindi-ation of their own character, and to bring orward to the bar of both houses of parlia-ment and of the country those persons who ad given evil advice to their sovereign. As to the policy of their conduct towards reland, it was not his intention to enquire, s that had been already so ably discussed y his noble friend (lord Grenville). But f that part of the population of these king-doms really did possess the loyalty admit-ed by the noble lord (Hawkesbury), he could not help thinking that they by no means experienced a corresponding return. He was convinced the time must and would come when the immunities now denied them would be granted. At a season so perilous as the present, we should look to every possible means of strengthening our exertions; but it was impossible that the Catholics in Ireland could feel the same interest in the concerns of the country till they participated in all the privileges of their fellow subjects.

Lord *Erskine* said, that it was a fundamental principle of the constitution of this country, that no act could be done contrary to law, and for which the persons advising it were at the same time intitled to be indemnified, unless such breach of law was occasioned by an act of imperious necessity. If this was a case of the kind, God forbid that it should be resisted for a moment! No man could question the right of the king to dismiss his servants, or to dissolve the parliament. These were undoubted prerogatives, but they were granted for very distinct purposes. If his majesty saw reason to question the conduct of his servants, he might dismiss them; or, if he saw reason to doubt the parliament, he might dissolve it, and take the sense of their constituents as to their conduct. But the law never intended that both of these prerogatives should be exercised at one and the same time, and with reference to each other. It was never in the contemplation of the constitution of this country, that parliament should be dissolved simply to accommodate a change in administration. This would be to consider parliament not as a controul on the conduct of government, but as an appendage to it, to be dissolved and changed to suit the different aspects which it might assume. The unjustifiable measures which might be adopted, would, in such a view of the case, be objects of little consideration to those by whom they were recommended. Having by the influence of the crown got a parliament to their mind, they had only to begin their career by an act of indemnity for any measure which they might have taken against law, and without necessity. The arrival of such a period, he must consider as one pregnant with danger. It might be very well to talk of appealing to the sense of the people: what would the community think, however, when informed that there were a number of Boroughs at the disposal of the very persons who advised this dissolution; and that there were others, the property of, or influenced by, a number of individuals, who, again, were under the influence of the crown? so that success was in such an appeal next to certain. But, still farther, when they saw the seal of indemnity ready prepared for those who advised the measure, must they not be of opinion that the period was most dangerous? If any thing could add to the peril of such a situation, it was the state of things at the present moment, so awful, so unprecedented as it must be admitted to be. The only way at such a moment, to insure confidence and respect from the public, was for the government to shew itself prudent, and for parliament to shew itself independent. That house could do much to effect this object. No person could dissolve them. They had it in their power by a single vote to check such an evil. To protect at once the crown and the people, and to make themselves beloved and esteemed. Their lordships might, by a single vote, shew that they held a balance between the king and the people; and might say to the noble lord, "You advised the king to dissolve the parliament, and if you have since done an illegal act, for which you had no necessity but the dissolution of parliament, we will not grant you an indemnity for an act, the only necessity for which was of your own creation." As to the other part of the question, it had already been so fully and so often argued, that he would not at present detain their lordships any longer.

The *Lord Chancellor* maintained that the proper question now before the house was, whether it was a right thing in ministers to advise his majesty to pass the order in council? Though ministers might be blameable in advising the dissolution of parliament, still the house was bound to give them indemnity for the act now alluded to, if it could be vindicated. It was not fair by a side-wind to come at a question which he, for one, was ready to discuss and to vindicate openly and fairly. Let the noble lord come forward with a special motion and charge on the subject of the dissolution of parliament, and he should be ready to answer it. The noble and learned lord, while he admitted the excellence of the British constitution, did not seem inclined to trust either the electors or the elected. It was to that house, which could not be affected by the dissolution, that he seemed to look. They could not be dissolved, and from them his lordship seemed to expect a redress of all the evils he supposed to exist. He desired of the noble and learned lord to look to the year 1806, when parliament had been formerly dissolved; there had then been no embarrassing circumstances to render the dissolution necessary; there had been no votes of either house, which indicated a wish to impede the measures of government; yet that ministry, of which the noble and learned lord formed a part, had chosen to advise a dissolution of parliament. He wished to know in what respect the present ministers were more to blame for having recourse to such a measure, than the late ministers had been. The enquiry into which the late ministers had forced the two houses of parliament, he considered the most unconstitutional proceeding in which that house had ever been engaged. The permission of his majesty to bring forward this statement, so far from mending the matter, made it infinitely worse. It was using his majesty's own permission to drag him to the bar of parliament. Such permission ought never to have been asked, and never to have been acted on. His majesty's conduct, however, had in consequence been made a subject of enquiry in both houses of parliament, in a manner which had never formerly been witnessed; and nothing, he presumed, could be more natural than, after such a discussion, to submit the subject to the sense of the country, while the circumstances were fresh in the recollection of the people. A firm and vigorous administration, it was admitted, was necessary for the country. He had no hesitation in declaring it as his opinion, that the present was as firm and vigorous as the late administration. It was his wish to render it as firm and vigorous as possible; and with this view, he had no hesitation in acknowledging, that he was probably one of the most strenuous advisers of his majesty to the dissolution of parliament. His lordship contended that so far were the acts of parliament against Roman Catholics, from being calculated to exclude them from the pale of the British Constitution, the only way to secure that constitution both to them and to every other class of subjects in the country was to maintain these acts. Toleration and power were very different. The British constitution gave toleration to every class of its subjects; but the very nature of the thing rendered it necessary that that power should be vested where it was most calculated to produce and to preserve the good of the whole. If persons who by refusing to qualify themselves for offices of power and trust, had still complete toleration allowed them, they had the benefits of the British constitution. With what consistency, however, he would ask, could the noble lord stop with the officers of the army and navy? why should not the immunity extend to the lawyer also, and to every officer in the civil government of the country? Granting all that the most zealous friends to Catholic emancipation could desire, he was convinced would not produce unanimity in the country. At all events, little would be gained if, in conciliating the Catholics, government should lose the veneration of the Protestants.

Lord *Carysfort* contended, that the order of council was a violation of the law and the constitution, springing out of an act as ill judged as it was unnecessary, meaning that exercise of the prerogative in the dissolution of the late parliament, which ministers so unfortunately, in his opinion, advised. It was a dangerous doctrine, his lordship observed, to hold up the plea of necessity for that dissolution: he was exceedingly apprehensive that the precedent might lead hereafter to results destructive of the people's rights; and in such a way too, that even the authors of it might not be able to avert the consequences. It was giving such an enormous addition to the power of the crown, already too much increased, as might eventually bring this country into as complete subjection to the

nister of the day, as any of the Barbary
ates. Taking a view of the causes which
ve rise to the late change, his lordship
served, that lord Bacon had said that to
ad on men from hope to hope, and still
keep them from despair, was the sign of
great statesman. How very different
ere the ideas of the present ministers.
he noble and learned lord would employ
oman Catholics neither in civil nor mili-
ry affairs; he would exclude them from
e service of the state either by council or
ms. The noble and learned lord seemed
so to forget that we passed acts annually
spensing with those very statutes which
e noble and learned lord reckoned so ma-
erial a part of our constitution. Patriotic
al, not bigoted prejudices, had pro-
uced the Revolution, and our ancestors
ent down to their posterity a great exam-
le of giving liberty of conscience upon con-
titutional expediency; and all that had ever
een conceded to the Catholics of Ireland,
ad been well deserved; for, to the present
our, no part nor portion of his majesty's
ubjects so magnanimously opposed the in-
oads of a foreign enemy. The noble lord
indicated the wisdom and policy of the in-
ended measure that was to have permitted
hem to enjoy promotion to the state, and
e deplored its failure. He shewed the
nterest that the Catholics of Ireland had
n a political union with the empire at
arge, and he thought it hard that four mil-
ions of loyal persons should be deprived
of that common interest with the rest of
heir fellow subjects, which in common
with them they were entitled to. When he
eflected on the late dissolution, and on the
principle that actuated it, namely, to add
vigour to the new administration, he depre-
cated it, not merely for making the most
unjust sacrifices, but because it attacked
the very vitals of the constitution.

The Earl of *Limerick* wished to know what was that undescribed something so often alluded to, but not openly spoken out by the noble lord (Grenville)? Did he mean that we should now go to the Catholics *in formâ pauperis?* should confess that what we had refused to them when our enemy was in the east, we were then wrong in withholding, and were ready to grant now he was returning to the west; and that we were now ready to hug the Catholics to our bosoms, and to grant all that we had lately refused? Did the noble lord wish this? Did he really think such a conduct would do good? He was happy, however, to understand from him that the wordy contest was now over, and that the members of that house were at length to think of something besides debating. Noble lords talked of four millions of Catholics, whose claims were to be granted: but did they recollect, that there were other inhabitants of Ireland, to whom the proposed measures might be disagreeable and disgusting? He spoke as an Irishman and as a Protestant. It would be an act of the greatest baseness to desert the Protestants of Ireland. With respect to the late dissolution, what was the cause of the previous one? Was there no trick, no arrangement, no influence in the elections then? He would name Hampshire; but he could speak more particularly to the county of Wexford. At this moment of public danger, public men ought to suspend their bickerings, to unite their efforts to save the country—and not be, like the Greeks, disputing on matters of faith, with the enemy at their gates.

Lord *Holland* considered the present crisis as pregnant with the greatest dangers; but he did not express himself so from fear, but from a conscientiousness of our having great exertions to make. He spoke not as a person having any particular local feeling or interest, but as feeling an equivalent interest for every part of the kingdom. The imputation of personal or factious motives, at such a crisis, was beneath any senator in that house to answer, or to attempt to vindicate himself from. Such grovelling sentiments he disdained to notice. The noble secretary of state had admitted the dissolution as entering into the question of the propriety of the conduct of the ministers. He had stated, that the American vessels could not come but by indulgence. But, was not all the money so raised, raised contrary to law? The raising of this money under such circumstances, foreseen by ministers when they projected the dissolution, was, under all its consequences, a very important consideration; and such practices were among the chief causes of the glorious battles fought for the country, in the reign of Charles I., in parliament. It was not merely to rescue us from enormous taxation, that such practices were opposed, but it was to preserve the constitution of king, lords, and commons; it was, in fact, to insure the sitting of parliament. He then proceeded to combat the arguments of the noble and learned lord, in favour of the necessity of the dissolution, upon which he animadverted warmly.

That noble and learned lord, he believed from all he had heard, was, in the practice of the law, very learned; but as a constitutional lawer, and a statesman, there was no unlearned peer in that house whose opinion he would not as soon take; no unlearned Englishman, or foreigner, whom he would not as soon consult on the subject of our constitution. Such perversion of facts, such misrepresentation of statements, and of the whole constitutional history of the country, he had never heard, as from the noble and learned lord. The inconvenience of outstepping the law of the land, in raising money, was one of the many inconveniences, and one of the charges consequent upon the recent dissolution. Did the noble lords opposite mean to say, that what they called the improper conduct of the minorities in both houses of parliament, was a sufficient reason for that premature dissolution? Was it a sufficient reason that a strong minority disapproved of the manner of their coming into office? But he would tell these noble lords, who were no friends to a reform in the representation of the people, of which reform the noble lord took care to declare himself an enemy, but to which he (Lord Holland) had been and still was, with certain qualifications, a friend that such measures tended greatly to degrade parliament in the eyes of the country. He thought this consequence too plain to be denied. It was impossible to understand the king's speech but as an appeal on the Catholic question, as it was called. The noble and learned lord had gravely told the house that it was necessary to carry the dissolution immediately. Why? Because four or five days more might have spoiled all the hopes of ministers from the "recent events," and have destroyed all the good effects of the garbled extracts from confidential papers. This was, truly, necessity; but it was necessity for the ministers, not for the country. If parliament did not speedily put an extinguisher upon the doctrines contained in the speeches of the noble lord respecting the impracticability of carrying a measure on which parliament had not pronounced, we should shortly come, after repelling the enemy, to the discussion of a danger second only to that. There never was a speech more calculated to heal wounds than that of his noble friend. Far from exciting agitations, he had stated that he should advise the Catholics not to press their claims. But if they did not press, was that a sufficient reason why parliament should not grant? It was asked whether we should beg the Catholics to help us? Certainly we ought not to go *in formâ pauperis* to a foreign state; but there was no loss of our dignity in redressing grievances at home; in making a few sacrifices to millions of Catholic fellow-subjects, by restoring them to their just rights. He reprobated and abhorred the intolerance of saying that the gates of concession were finally shut, or that the sense of parliament was definitively pronounced. He certainly should not select Mr. Pitt's conduct concerning this question as a chief topic on which to enlarge in praise of that person. But it was certain he always seemed to look at the subject as one respecting which a favourable opportunity would arrive. It was not true, that noble lords on his side the house had urged on this question. No: the circumstances of the times had urged it, the improved state of knowledge in Ireland had urged it, the rapid successes of the French had urged it, on the house and on the country. He had less means of knowing the views of Mr. Pitt than many others; but he had that respect for his memory and his understanding, that he thought, were he now alive, he would be found among the supporters of it. He readily agreed, that, in our circumstances, church and state should be united together; but he saw no reason to decline stating his opinion that the constitution of England did not depend upon any form of religion whatever. From what sources did the great defenders of our constitution draw their lights? Was there not a constitution in this country even before the Reformation? Was there none before the test and corporation acts? How, then, could these acts belong essentially to the constitution? No: they were not declaratory, but merely enacting statutes, which the wisdom and justice of parliament might repeal at pleasure. Was the test act any part of the reformation? Did the noble and learned lord know that it was a breach of the declaration of Breda? of that proclamation promising complete liberty of conscience, which that profligate monarch, Charles II. violated? The test was not passed in Ireland till several years after the accession of king William, though repealed there for several years past, and the exclusive clause against the Catholics of Ireland were directly against the treaty of Limerick; but, to be told that these were tied to the act of union! let noble lords look to the facts, and see how grossly they were per-ted. The noble and learned lord had ked of the union with Scotland securing se laws. The Tories at that time did, ined, try to introduce a clause, for mainning the test, into the articles, the earl of ttingham making the motion; but it s rejected by a great majority. These re strange perversions of the doctrine of urch and state, which was so differently resented by different persons, but which e learned lord thought so simple. He d been told, when he first attentively rned his mind to this subject, to look at shop Warburton, who was described as answerable. He had not a very high neration for bishop Warburton; but he und that he laid down his principles in a uch broader and more statesmanlike maner than the noble and learned lord. He ys, it is not the tenets, but the opinion of e great majority of the people that lays e foundation of this alliance: and let the earned lord apply this to Ireland, and to cotland. Would he revive in the last-menioned country the horrors suffered there the attempt to force episcopacy on the eople? He could not think himself an nemy to the church of England in stating he result of his reflections on this subject, which were those of the revolutionists of 1688, and of that excellent prince William III. The learned lord's words were pretty nearly what was said formerly against the Scottish Presbyterians: "But there was no constitution before all this." What! none in Edward the third's time, when the treason laws were passed? To be sure the learned lord had not appeared to like those laws very much. Lord Clarendon, who was a very eminent man, but not always enlightened, nor always just, had said that the church of England could never be safe, if the Presbyterian form was established in Scotland. Accordingly, episcopacy must be established in Scotland, and that was attempted by acts as bad as any of those of the Inquisition. They had recourse for that purpose to torture. But did they succeed? Mark the conclusion. Read the history of Scotland, and then suppose the union passed, establishing episcopacy in that country, and the king overruled by the sophisticated law of my lord Clarendon. What would have been the state of Scotland now? But then, should we establish the Catholics in Ireland? To that he would say, that we might, if the case were similar to that of Scotland. Let the learned lord state what he thinks of the case of Scotland. Why did he propose episcopacy there, and let there be but one religion, as well as but one parliament? He had never heard of the few bishops in Scotland doing any harm to the establishment of the country. It had been asked; were the Protestants of Ireland to be disgusted? It was not a church-of-England, a Protestant, nor a Christian maxim, to be disgusted at the acquisition of rights, by our fellow subjects. If it be safe to do it, it ought to gladden every Protestant heart. There were degrees of persecution, but these were not to be estimated like the obtainable possession of freehold or other franchises, by any act of special pleading. This eminent country, which had produced such great ornaments of the human race, ought not to perpetuate a system that other nations had discarded from its narrowness. Was it no privation, no injury to a man, to shut up to him the path of preferment, in arts, in arms, and in councils? His lordship here quoted the strong language of the house of lords in the conference of the 8th of January 1702, which stated, "that nothing but a crime should incapacitate an Englishman from serving his country."

Lord *Sidmouth* observed, that the statement which had been made on this subject by his majesty's ministers, was so clear, that only one point remained to be explained, and that was, why the duties levied by the order of council were higher than those levied by the expired acts. He allowed that the law had been infringed, and consequently that a material inconvenience had been incurred. Was the order of council a measure of political necessity, which it would have been criminal in ministers not to advise his majesty to adopt? He thought it was. At the same time, it was perfectly fair in those who disapproved of the dissolution, to tell ministers that they had put themselves into a situation, in which they were compelled to break the law, and that therefore they must abide by the consequences of their ill advice to his majesty to dissolve parliament. Every faculty and energy of the country ought to be called forth in this momentous crisis; but nothing could give him greater alarm than to see such concessions granted to the Catholics as seemed to be recommended by his noble friend who had just sat down. He contended that it was untrue to say we were a divided people. He had opposed the catholic measure, because he thought it pregnant with the utmost danger to the constitution; for, differing completely from his noble friend on this subject, he owned that he had always understood that Protestantism and civil liberty were as inseparable as popery and civil liberty were incompatible. This country must have an established church, if it wished to preserve religion and morals; and what church was preferable to the Protestant?

Lord *Redesdale* was adverse to any further concessions to the Irish Catholics, not so much on account of the objection he entertained against the Catholic religion, as because there were certain political opinions which these Catholics held to be religious. These opinions they adopted in consequence of their alliance with a falling political party in Ireland, and to the influence of that party might be attributed all the disturbances which had so long agitated Ireland, and also all the difficulties which stood in the way of a complete conciliation of the Catholics. Between the Catholics of Ireland and those of this country, there did, the noble lord observed, exist a material difference in this respect. But he was sorry to perceive that of late years the English Catholics seemed to have adopted too much of the political character of the Irish Catholics, notwithstanding the prudent and laudable resistance of some of their leaders. As the best means of more closely cementing the connection between Ireland and this country, the noble lord earnestly recommended the speedy adoption of some measures to strengthen the Protestant establishment in Ireland, which he thought in a very precarious state at present. The difference between the Catholic religion in the two countries he conceived to be this, that in England it was felt to be a tolerated religion, while in Ireland it was the rival of the Established church.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire*, in rising at so late an hour, said, that he felt the necessity of apologizing for trespassing upon the patience of the house; but the unexpected turn which the debate had taken, and the observations that had been made upon the sentiments he had delivered on a former occasion, rendered it impossible for him to discharge his duty by a silent vote. The subject to which their lordships' attention had principally been directed, had little connection with the real question, viz. "The Act of Indemnity:" he should, however, so far advert to it as to declare that, in his opinion, the ministers had made out their case, and consequently that the proposed bill should have his support.—In that part of the noble baron's (lord Grenville) speech, in which he had again brought the subject of Catholic Emancipation under the consideration of the house, with that strength of expression so peculiar to his lordship, he had reprobated the idea, in a free country, of shutting the door against the claims of any of his majesty's subjects, and he had charged him, as well as other noble lords, with having held the language of perpetual exclusion. From that charge the noble earl said he felt it necessary to vindicate himself. He had spoken his sentiments under the impressions of his mind, according to his present view of the question; impressions which, he was ready to acknowledge, were sufficiently strong to induce him to apprehend, that he might not see the day when he should be enabled to change them: but the arrogance of assuming a political foresight to the extent of saying "the time never would come," was not justly imputable to him. The noble earl said, he would shortly advert to what had fallen from him upon the motion for amending the Address, as he had been so particularly alluded to by the noble baron. Upon that occasion, in referring to the charge that had been alledged against his majesty's ministers, of having, for electioneering purposes, excited the cry of "no popery," he had neither attempted to exculpate them from the imputation, nor had he concurred with those by whom the charge was brought forward. He had stated it as his opinion, that other circumstances had occurred, so obviously calculated to produce a general discussion of the Catholic question, that it was not necessary to look beyond them for the public feeling that had been manifested.—The attention of parliament, and of the nation at large, had been drawn to that question by the explanation his majesty's late ministers had thought it their duty to give, of the differences that had led to their removal from office. By that explanation it appeared, that there was a party in this country, composed of individuals highly respectable for their property, character, and abilities, who were determined to exert every influence they possessed for the purpose of obtaining the repeal of those laws by which the Catholics were restrained from holding certain offices civil and military, as well as the capacity of sitting in parliament; and that, in conformity to the opinion entertained by these distinguished persons, a large majority of the king's late ministers had represented to his majesty, "That, in the event of their continuance in office, they must not be understood as being restrained from submitting, from time to time, for his majesty's decision, such measures respecting Ireland, as the course of circumstances should appear to require;" in other words, that *their* system for e government of Ireland would be found- d on the principle of further concessions the Catholics. With such a system, thus penly avowed, attended by communica- ons, intimating to the people of this coun- y that it was directly at variance with the entiments of his majesty, was it possible, e noble earl asked, that the public mind hould not be agitated with the Catholic uestion? He should not however regret hat discussion, because the advantage that esulted from it appeared to him of con- iderable importance. The sense of the eople of England being now known upon his question, the conscientious obligations of duty by which his majesty was actuated, would not now be considered as the exclusive obstacle to what is called "Catholic emancipation." The rejection of the Catholic petition by the Irish house of commons in 1792, followed, as it had been, by the act of the succeeding year, was adduced by the noble baron, as an instance of the little reliance that was to be placed upon any determination that might be taken upon such a subject; and he had been pleased to call that measure "a hasty decision." The noble earl said, he could not hear a reflection upon the Irish parliament without rising in its vindication. He had witnessed its proceedings from 1778 to 1794, and he would venture to assert that no public assembly ever pursued the substantial interests of the people with more assiduity, ability, and success, than the Irish parliament had done during that period; nor had any country within the same time, and with the same means, risen to a higher pitch of wealth and prosperity; but whilst, with that energy which real patriotism inspired, the members of the Irish parliament were urging their claims to a free trade, and an independent legislature, the situation of their Catholic fellow subjects was not overlooked,—many, if not all, of the most severe restrictions of the penal code having been repealed.—The noble earl said, this brought him more particularly to the circumstance mentioned by the noble baron. It was true, he observed, that the Irish house of commons, determined to mark, in the strongest manner, *their* opinion on the application of the Catholics for the extension of the elective franchise, had, in the year 1792, rejected their petition by a great majority. It was conceived by the members of the Irish house of commons at that time,—gentlemen fully capable of understanding, and thoroughly disposed to pursue, the interests of their country,—that an acquiescence in the prayer of that petition would be productive of consequences the most fatal to the peace and happiness of Ireland. Unfortunately, however, for those who entertained that opinion, an influence prevailed in the British cabinet, sufficiently powerful to counteract it.—The Catholics, having failed in their appeal to their own parliament, sought relief from the hands of the English government. They elected their representatives, they prepared their petition, and the delegates from their body were dispatched to London, and were received by his majesty's ministers in a manner which, strengthened by the most cordial assurances of support, left no doubt upon their minds, of ultimate success.—Under these circumstances, the alarm and irritation of the Protestant gentlemen of Ireland was indescribable. They were perfectly alive to the danger of acceding to the expectations of the Catholics; but they felt their confidence in the support of the British government, in the event of a struggle for political power, so far weakened as to render the issue too precarious to be hazarded. They were sensible that something more than deference was due to the authority of the ministers of the empire, upon such a subject; they saw the necessity of a compromise; and the act of 1793, in which they sought to conciliate their Catholic countrymen by the most liberal and extensive indulgences, was the consequence.—The satisfaction, however, of the Catholics, for the liberality of that act, in which every thing that had been asked by them had been granted, was not of long duration; the influence which had operated upon the British ministry continued its activity, and a most respectable nobleman (lord Fitzwilliam) was sent over to Ireland under impressions respecting the policy to be adopted in that country, the disclosure of which had created the greatest alarm.—Does the noble baron believe that the Protestant gentlemen then considered the rejection of the Catholic bill in 1792 "a hasty decision?" The noble earl said, he could assure him, a very different sentiment prevailed: it was evident that they had gained nothing by all the concessions that had been made, but that, on the contrary, they had given power to men who, as might naturally have been expected, were using it with a view to further acquisition. Much as had been done by the act of 1793, the state and the parliament had been preserved in the hands of the Protestants.—It required no great sagacity to foresee that the measures proposed by lord Fitzwilliam would have transferred the whole authority of the country into the hands of the Catholics: and, with such a conviction on the minds of those who were likely to constitute a majority in the Irish parliament, accompanied by a declared resolution to resist the proposition of the government, it was judged adviseable to recall lord Fitzwilliam: but the mischief had unhappily been done. The Catholics, disappointed and inflamed, were clamorous in their language, and violent in their conduct; and when so large a proportion of the population of the country was in such a state, it was not difficult for the jacobins of every persuasion to avail themselves of it, for the purpose of perfecting that system of rebellion which they had long meditated, and which, though originating in jacobinical principles, revived in its progress all the ancient sources of discord, and, previous to its termination, was not to be distinguished from the sanguinary contests in which the Protestants and Papists had formerly been opposed to each other.—When the rebellion was suppressed, the subject of a legislative union was brought under the consideration of his maesty's ministers, it being evident that the connection between the two kingdoms could not be maintained without a material alteration in the system. The admission of the Catholics into the Irish parliament was deemed wholly incompatible with the preservation of the Protestant establishment, and their exclusion from it not favourable to the public tranquillity. Under this impression, it appeared to many persons of consideration, that a *parliamentary* union furnished the only means, by which Ireland could be governed consistently with the principles of the British constitution, as established at the Revolution, and it was conceived that the Catholics, though not relieved from the existing disabilities, might consider their situation much improved, when the discussion of their concerns was no longer confined to men, to whom they might be disposed to attribute the operation of local passions and prejudices; and when, by the abolition of the close boroughs, and the effect of a popular representation, they might expect to obtain an influence upon the members from their own country, fully adequate to the protection of their persons and property, and the security of their interests, in whatever shape they might be brought before parliament. In this opinion, the noble earl said he had concurred, and upon being consulted by Mr. Pitt, had expressed himself to that effect. With reference to that part of the noble baron's speech, in which he had intimated to their lordships his conviction that no pledge had been given to the Catholics, by Mr. Pitt, the noble earl said he was enabled to add his own testimony. He had been called upon by him with other persons belonging to the parliament of both countries to prepare, under his instructions, the articles constituting the basis of the Union. He could confidently assure the house, that, so far from any pledge to the Catholics being in contemplation at that time, the subject was not even introduced as a topic for discussion; and he would add that, if Catholic emancipation, as it is called, had been considered as a necessary consequence of the measure, that he, as well as many of its warmest advocates, would certainly have opposed it. He would ask whether any member of his majesty's government had ventured to state in the parliament of either country, that such a consequence was likely to follow from the Union?—He would put it to the noble baron, whether the confidential servants of the king had prepared his mind for such a result? How, then, could it be supposed that Mr. Pitt had held out such an expectation to the Catholics? The noble earl said, he was so much satisfied to the contrary, and he was called upon by the respect he bore to Mr. Pitt's memory to say so, that he was persuaded, his subsequent conduct, upon that subject, was governed by considerations, that had not occurred until after the union of the legislatures had actually been carried into execution.—The noble earl deeply lamented the agitation of this question, under the present circumstances. He was not disposed to question the motives of any noble lord, much less those of the noble baron; but, surrounded as we were with difficulties, he was apprehensive the most serious mischiefs would arise from this discussion.

—He agreed with the noble lord who had just sat down, that nothing would be gained by the proposed concessions; that there were other objects lurking behind, infinitely more important in the eyes of the Catholics, and that what the noble baron had recommended would, if acceded to, be productive of no permanent advantage, whatever effect it might have in raising the expectations, and adding to the power of those, whose advocates had never been able to state a limit to their demands, and whom there was no hope of satisfying but by the complete sacrifice of our establishment in church and state.—The noble earl concluded by expressing his concern that the noble baron should have signified an intention of withdrawing from parliament if their lordships should adhere to their former resolution upon the Catholic question. He trusted the noble baron would not retire from the service of his country at a time when abilities like his could not be dispensed with. It was a time when every man ought to be at his post; and he considered that of the noble lord to be his place in the house of peers.

Lord *Grenville* disclaimed all intention of substituting a Catholic for a Protestant establishment in Ireland: no man would more decidedly oppose such a proposition, if it could possibly be made.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* observed, that when he was lord lieutenant of Ireland, if concessions were made to the Roman Catholics of that country, those concessions were authorised by the king and by the ministers of this country. As to the other principal point that had been urged in debate, the dissolution, parliament had already come to a decision on that head. He should, therefore, leave these questions their lordships' consideration without any observation on his part.—The question was then put and carried in the affirmative.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 13.

[MINUTES.] New writs were ordered for Dorchester, in the room of the hon. C. A. Cooper, who had accepted the place of clerk of the ordnance; for Grantham in the room of Mr. T. Thoroton, who had accepted the place of the clerk of the deliveries of the ordnance; for Youghal, in the room of lord Boyle, called up to the house of peers; and for St. Mawes, in the room of colonel Shipley, who having been also returned for the borough of Flint, had made his election to serve for the latter place.—The chancellor of the exchequer brought down the following message from the king: "G. R. His majesty being desirous that the house called The Queen's House at Frogmore, with certain grounds thereto belonging and adjoining, should be secured to her majesty for her life and the lives of the princesses his majesty's daughters, recommends it to his faithful commons to enable his majesty to grant and settle the same, in such manner, and with such provisions, as may most effectually accomplish the said purpose. G. R." Referred to a committee of the whole house.—Mr. R. Dundas brought in a bill to enable the East-India company to raise money upon Bond instead of increasing their capital stock; which was read the first time.—The house, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which the report from the committee appointed to prepare an estimate of the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Great Britain and Ireland was referred. The following sums were then voted; for extraordinaries of the army, incurred from 25th December 1805, to 25th December 1806, and not provided for by parliament, 793,710*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*; Army extraordinaries for Great Britain for the year 1807, 2,960,000*l.*; ditto for Ireland 600,000*l.* It was also voted, that a provision be made for the pay and clothing of the militia of England and Ireland, and a provision for the allowances to serjeant-majors, adjutants, and subaltern officers of militia in Great Britain. The house then resumed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose to propose a Lottery or Lotteries, in which the tickets should not exceed 100,000, at 10*l.* a ticket. There had been a suggestion made to the treasury, that it might have a better effect if the prizes in the first lotteries of the year were to be paid in lottery tickets, instead of money. Upon this subject they had come to no resolution, but he thought it proper to inform the committee of the suggestion. He therefore proposed that the lords of the treasury should be authorized to contract with such persons as were disposed to bid for a lottery or lotteries containing 100,000 tickets. The resolution was agreed to.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.] Mr. *Whitbread* brought up his bill for promoting and encouraging Industry amongst the Labouring Classes, and for the better Regulation and Relief of the Necessitous Poor; which was read a first time. On the question that the bill be read a second time, he expressed his regret that he should not be able to bring forward the second reading on the day on which he had at first proposed, because he felt himself in the same situation with several other hon. members, who would be obliged to attend their duties as country gentlemen, at the Quarter Sessions and at the Assizes. Being upon his legs, he wished to take that opportunity of adverting to the very alarming situation of public affairs, and putting a question to the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer whether it was in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to submit an immediate proposition to the house, founded upon the distressing circumstances, in which the late calamitous intelligence from the continent shewed the world in general, and this country in particular, to be placed. If any such proposition were intended, he trusted, that it would not be brought forward without proper notice, and that the right hon. gent. would not think of discussing a question of so much importance, whilst a large proportion of the members of that house would be necessarily absent.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in reply to the hon. gent., rose to do that, which it had previously been his intention to do, as soon as that hon. member should have sat down; namely, to give notice on the part of his noble friend, the secretary of state for war and the colonies, to bring forward a motion on Friday next, relative to the military state of the country. He should be sorry, therefore, that the observations which had fallen from the hon. gent. should induce the house to suppose, that Friday was an inconvenient day for that purpose. He could see no reason why his noble friend might not on Friday open his plan to the house, because that plan could not be carried into effect without a bill, in the various stages of which there would be frequent opportunities, during the course of next week, of discussing its merits. But if it should be the feeling of the house, or even the wish of the hon. gent. himself, that the motion of his noble friend should be deferred to Monday, he had no hesitation to say, that his noble friend would not have any objection to put off his motion to that day. If, on the contrary, the house should feel that no inconvenience would arise from having the general exposition of the plan made on Friday, under an understanding that it would be to be dismissed in detail, after the introduction of the measure founded upon that exposition, he availed himself of that occasion to give notice of the intention of his noble friend, to bring forward the motion on Friday.

Mr. *Whitbread*, though desirous of being present at all the stages of so important a question, did not feel disposed to object to the course proposed by the right hon. gent. But he begged leave to submit, whether the proposition of the noble lord might not be made on Friday, and the discussion upon it adjourned to the Wednesday following.

Lord *Howick* expressed his entire acquiescence in the arrangement proposed by the right hon. gent., and declared himself personally obliged to him for his early communication to him of the intention of the noble lord, respecting the important motion which he was to make on Friday. He wished to be informed, whether, as there was every appearance of engagements having been entered into with foreign powers, it was likely that any communication would be made to the house on the subject of such engagements at an early day? This question he put, because he thought it important that the house should have some information upon the subject, but if the right hon. gentlemen opposite should consider it incompatible with their sense of public duty to give an answer, he should not press the matter further.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* replied, that undoubtedly certain engagements had been entered into with foreign powers, and that it had been the intention of his majesty's ministers not to suffer parliament to separate without making a communication upon the subject. These engagements had, however, been contingent, and ministers had thought it better to defer that communication for a short time, in order to ascertain whether the contingency upon which the engagements depended would take place. It never had been the intention of his majesty's government to suffer the present session to elapse, without making a communication to parliament; and he had reason to think, that early in the next week, he should have the authority of his majesty to make a communication on that subject to the house.

[ROMAN CATHOLIC COLLEGE AT MAYNOOTH.] Mr. *Foster* said, that with respect to the grant to the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth he had given notice that he would move for the ordinary grant of 8000*l.*; but not then thinking the additional grant of 5000*l.* necessary, he had said that he should not move for it. He now rose to give notice, that he should not for the present year withhold his consent to the additional grant, as it had appeared, that the building depending on such money had been already commenced; at the same time he wished it to be distinctly understood, that he did not, by now supporting it, at all pledge himself to support the said grant at a future period, the propriety of continuing which he thought a matter of great question, as it went to no less than double the Maynooth establishment.

Mr. *C. Wynne* said, that as the right hon. gent. had thought it proper to decline pressing his objections to the additional grant, he should not think it necessary to move at present for the documents which would go to substantiate the claims of the Maynooth establishment, to that additional grant. He should therefore withdraw the notice he had made to that effect.

Lord *Howick* was extremely glad, that upon further consideration the right hon. gent. had thought it wise to abstain from a measure that must naturally have proved of the most dangerous and mischievous tendency; nor could he think, that the right hon. gent. had so satisfactorily accounted for this change of opinion.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose to order, and submitted to the noble lord if it would not be better to postpone all observations of that nature until the question was regularly before the house, as, if such proceeding was admitted, the gentlemen on the other side would feel themselves justified in even being irregular while answering to such irregularities.

Lord *Howick* proceeded to observe upon the right hon. gent.'s statement; the right hon. gent. objected to the additional grant the other day, and now assented to it, because he had learned what on the first day he ought not to have been ignorant of, that the buildings had been already begun, and yet the right hon. gent., after assigning that reason, stated that he would for the future object to it, because it was in fact doubling the Maynooth establishment. If the right hon. gent. did not at first know that the buildings were already begun, his ignorance of that fact could have had nothing to do with doubling the establishment; and if such a grant did double the establishment, the actual commencement of the building could not be any argument why the grant should be now acceded to.

Mr. *Foster* rose to order, and insisted that it was quite unparliamentary to enter into the merits of any measure to be proposed, of which notice had been only then given.

The *Speaker* thought it better that any thing to be said upon the subject should be deferred to the time appointed for the discussion thereupon, as the subject was not then before the house.

Lord *Howick* said, that he certainly felt it his duty to bow to the decision of the chair, at the same time that he should take good care to enforce the strict exercise of the rule that had been now applied to him, and upon all occasions, for the future, when a notice was given, he would take care that that notice should not be followed up by any further question or comment whatever. He was certainly fully aware how troublesome it must be to the right hon. gent. to have questions put, which it might not be convenient to answer.

[PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS BILL.] Mr. *Whitbread* moved the second reading of the Parochial Schools bill. The question being put,

Mr. *Davies Giddy* rose and said, that while he was willing to allow the hon. gent. who brought forward this bill, every degree of credit for the goodness of his intentions, as well as for his ability and assiduity; still, upon the best consideration he was able to give the bill, he must totally object to its principle, as conceiving it to be more pregnant with mischief than advantage to those for whose advantage it was intended, and for the country in general. For, however specious in theory the project might be, of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would, in effect, be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture, and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them factious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and, in a few years, the result would be, that the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them, and to furnish the executive magistrates with much more vigorous laws than were now in force. Besides, if the bill were to pass into a law, it would go to burthen the country with a most enormous and incalculable expence, and to load the industrious orders of society with still heavier imposts. It might be asked of him, would he abolish the Poor-Laws altogether? He had no hesitation to declare he would; for, although they relieved many persons, who were certainly objects of compassion, they were also abused by contributing to the support of idleness and profligacy; and he never could admit it to be just or reasonable that the labour of the industrious man should be taxed to support the idle vagrant. This was taxing virtue for the maintenance of vice. He concluded by moving, that the bill be read a second time this day three months.

Mr. *Morris* concurred in opinion with the hon. gent., though he was not prepared to go the full length of all his objections. He agreed, that the establishment of a system so universal, must entail upon the country an incalculable expence, at least 2*s*. in the pound upon the poor's rates; and he thought, that as a national system of education, the expence should rather be paid out of the Consolidated Fund, than by a local assessment upon parishes. In Scotland, he said, the public charge upon the country was but 6000*l*. a year for allowances to schoolmasters for the poor, while the remainder was made up by charges upon the landlord and tenant, or by voluntary subscription; while in England, a single charitable society for propagating Gospel knowledge, expended 4000*l*. a year, being two thirds of the whole public charge in Scotland.

Mr. *Ellison* gave great credit to the hon. gent. who brought in this bill, as well for his good intention in bringing it forward, as for his care in circulating it for the consideration of the magistrates throughout the kingdom. It had been fully considered; but every magistrate with whom he had conversed, was decidedly averse to it, and instructed their representatives to oppose it. He was convinced the operation of the poor-laws and the public charitable schools, already in existence, were fully adequate to ameliorate the situation of the poor. But if there were schools to be built, provided under this bill, and schoolmasters and mistresses employed in 14,000 parishes, the expence must be enormous.

Mr. *S. Bourne* wished the bill should stand over to the next session. And he begged, in the mean time, to suggest to the hon. gent. who brought it forward, that it would perhaps be better not to make the bill compulsory upon all parishes, but merely to enable the overseers, with the consent of the vestry in any parish, to raise, by way of rate, a sum for the support of schools, which they were not enabled to do as the law now stood; voluntary education was at all times preferable to compulsory; and some measure of this kind, he conceived, would prove more effectual than the present. He must add, also, that the situation of parish apprentices demanded the attention of the house. Almost every magistrate must have heard of cases of atrocity, with regard to their treatment, that ought, if possible, to be prevented. They were to be imputed principally to the compulsory nature of the obligation to take them.

Sir *Samuel Romilly* lamented the very different reception this bill met with now, compared with what it had experienced in the last parliament. He thought the bill ought to be allowed to go into a committee, where it might receive full consideration, and such amendments as might give it a fair chance of going forth to the country in a form less liable to objections. An hon. gent. complained that the poor-laws were abused for the maintenance of profligates; but it was the very object of this bill to render the poor less profligate, and less in need of eleemosynary support. He agreed with the last speaker as to the importance of attending to the condition of parish apprentices. It was the practice to send them to as great a distance as possible, where they had no friends who could attend to their situation. In some parishes in London they were accustomed to send them to the distance of some hundreds of miles, and to contract with the proprietors of the cotton mills of Lancashire, &c. for so many of them, who were sent off in carts like so many negro slaves.

Mr. *Rose* would be sorry to oppose the bill going into a committee, provided it was understood it should not pass this session. He had no doubt that the poor ought to be taught to read: as to writing, he had some doubt, because those who had learnt to write well, were not willing to abide at the plough, but looked to a situation in some counting house. With respect to the poor-rates, if they did not now exist, he would propose them, because he thought that the relief of the poor ought not to be left with the generous to the exemption of the miser.

Mr. *Lushington* supported the principle of the bill, and argued for going into a committee. In every country where the poor were well instructed, they formed the better subjects in every point of view. This measure would rather diminish than increase the poor-rates.

Mr. *R. Dundas* felt the strongest predilection for parochial schools, and certainly agreed in the principle of extending information as much as possible among the lower ranks. The object however, for which he rose, was to state in answer to the hon. and learned gent. over the way (Mr. Morris), that the expence was greater in Scotland, than what he supposed it to be. The rates for the schools there, were levied on the landlords, who resorted to their tenants for one half; they besides settled a rate of fees from such of the landlords as could pay them.

Mr. *Simeon* was decidedly against the bill, as going to inflict a compulsory education on the country at a most incalculable expence. At all events he thought that a bill of so much importance to every part of the country, ought not to be discussed in so thin a house, and in the absence of the magistrates and country gentlemen, who were the persons competent to throw the most light on the subject.

Lord *Milton* expressed his surprise that any objection should be thrown in the way of the bill in this stage of it. He replied to the argument, that those who had got some education would look higher, because they were above the generality. This would not be the case if the generality of the lower orders were well educated. There must be a lower order of people who must perform the manual labour of a country; and the better informed they were, the better they would be in every respect.

Mr. *Wharton*, in answer to the last speaker, begged leave to ask, whether the noble lord would have the ministers and churchwardens hold a critical examination in order to ascertain who were fit to be exalted to the counting-house, and who were only fit for the plough?

Mr. *Whitbread* replied, that the hon. gent., with his examinations, had chosen to attach a meaning to his noble friend's words that had never entered his head. His noble friend had intimated that there must be a lower order, and the better informed they were, the better they would be. There would be no need of the hon. gent.'s examination. The thing would settle itself. With respect to the arguments about the absence of country gentlemen, and the thinness of the attendance, they had no weight whatever with him. There were questions which interested the passions of men, on which there would be a great attendance; there were others of the last importance, of which he considered the present as one, on which the attendance would always be thin. He meant to persevere, in order to have a decision on the grand principle, and he would not put off the matter when there were occurrences arising day after day fully sufficient to occupy the time that could be spared on any future occasion. If the matter was not considered when it was fresh in the mind, it would not be considered at all. All the arguments for postponing it were therefore futile in the highest degree. If the matter were to lie over for ten years, it would not be considered till it was pressed forward. What he wanted at present was to have this grand question decided, "whether it was proper that education should be diffused among the lower classes, or not?" That the principle was sound, he was convinced; whether the country was ripe for it, was another question. That it would be adopted some time or other, he had no doubt; if it was rejected at present, he could only conclude that the country was not yet ripe for it. As to the abolition of the poor-rates, that was at present out of the question. As to the expence of education, it was stated by many at a great deal more than it would actually amount to. All the lower orders had an education of some sort, good or bad. It had been said that it might be as well to teach them to play on the fiddle, or to be skilful boxers. This practice of boxing, by-the-bye, as a mode of settling differences, he thought ought not to be discouraged, because it was much better than the stiletto. But a fiddler or boxer would not be the worse for being able to write and read. At St. Giles's there was an education; children were taught to pick pockets, and to go on from one degree of dexterity in wickedness to another, till they came to the gallows; and most of the unhappy creatures who perished there, were such as were unable to read or write. He adverted to the too great severity of our criminal code, which he was convinced had not the effect of diminishing the number of crimes. Among the society called Quakers, crime was almost unknown, and this was accounted for by their being educated in their earliest years. The expence here would be greater, it was said, than in Scotland, But Scotland was not so large nor so opulent. He denied that the people, if generally educated, would be averse to continue at the plough. On the contrary, the ground would be better tilled, masters better served, &c. The hon, gent. then replied to the argument about their reading political pamphlets. When a riotous mob was assembled, it was called an illiterate mob. If one man had knowledge, he would have a much better chance of leading a thousand ignorant creatures to mischief, than if they were all so far informed as to read what might appear on both sides of the question. He then begged the house to look at the situation of Ireland. There the combinations were formed by the ignorant, where their ignorance made them the dupes of the wicked. In the three kingdoms, the excellence of the population would appear to be in proportion to the degrees of information among the lower classes. As to the vices of the lower orders, which had been mentioned by an hon. gent., vices certainly did prevail more or less every where; but in those places where the lower orders were most remarkable for their vices the example was set them by their superiors, who were generally more vicious than they. It was said that the effect of the bill would be to impose an additional rate of a shilling in the pound. He answered, no. It was said, it would do away charities. It would do no such thing. His aim was, to provide schools and school-masters where they were wanted; where they were not, the magistrates would have the power to suspend the operation of the law. The business was committed to the magistrates, who were the most proper persons to carry the act into execution. The system of magistracy had defects; but in what other country was there a body so excellent? As to the suggestion of the hon. gent. (Mr. S. Bourne), he thought that his own was the best plan; but, however, he would rather adopt his voluntary mode than none at all. He had done his duty in bringing this bill forward; and he should persevere until the house should divide upon it; and if they were to reject it, he should nevertheless go away, convinced of its utility, and conscious that it was rejected only because the house was not ripe for its adoption.

The Marquis of *Titchfield* thought much benefit might result from general education, but said that benefit might cost too dear. He wished therefore for some information as to the probable expence.

Mr. *Whitbread* could not say how far the parishes might be provided with, or be destitute of buildings that might answer for schools. In many parishes it would not be necessary to expend a shilling on that account. School-masters could be provided at a very cheap rate.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* wished the bill to go into a committee, with a view to the utmost fairness of consideration. It was the wish, unquestionably, of every one in the house to render the lower classes of the community better and happier. He feared however, that the kind of education here proposed, though it might give learning, would not contribute much to diffuse industry, religion, or morality. He feared a general legislative establishment would injure and destroy the voluntary establishments for public education now existing. He recommended a commission of enquiry to ascertain the state of charitable foundations for public education already established. A commission of that kind was now prosecuting a similar investigation in Ireland without any salary to the commissioners, and with but very few clerks. When such a commission should have ascertained what had been already done, it would be time enough to enquire what further might be done. He defended the principle of the poor-laws. However the system might be abused, as every large system must be liable to abuse, it was a proud characteristic of the nation, that charity was incorporated into the legislature. The poor of this country had consequently an interest in the maintenance of its constitution and independence, which the poor of no other country had. He said the education proposed would disqualify the persons possessing it from the most necessary, and useful description of labour. The Quakers were mentioned as a class universally educated. The example strengthened his argument; for he never knew of an Agricultural Quaker. He wished the bill to be made as perfect as possible, though he did not think it advisable ultimately to adopt it, and without a prospect of ultimate adoption it would perhaps be useless labour to improve the plan.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* vindicated the criminal code by the many instances of the royal mercy that appeared on different occasions.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that the instances of the royal mercy were the best proof of what he had said.

Sir. *John Newport* contended, that the code was sanguinary, and that experience had shewn that capital punishment could not annihilate the crime of forgery. He contended, that the commutation of death, the effect of which was momentary, to some other punishment, under a prolonged life of labour and degradation, would be much more effectual than the gallows.—The gallery was then cleared; but it was agreed that the bill should be read a second time without a division. When strangers were admitted,

Sir *T. Turton* spoke in favour of going into the committee, but he thought compulsory education unadviseable, when voluntary education was every-where establishing itself so extensively.

Mr. *Simeon* saw no good that could arise from going into a committee, and therefore opposed the speaker's leaving the chair, on the same grounds that he had objected to the second reading.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* informed the house, that he had been instructed by the magistrates of a very large and populous city to oppose the bill; in fact, he had reason to suppose that the majority of the magistrates and other principal inhabitants throughout the north of England were averse to the measure. The opposition which the hon. member made to the bill, he rested principally on the ground of the difficulty which existed as to our obtaining a sufficient number of schoolmasters, and on the impracticability of compulsory education.

Lord *Henry Petty* expressed his difference in opinion from those gentlemen who apprehended that danger might result from carrying the education of the lower orders too far, as they expressed it. The measure which was then before the house went no farther than barely to furnish youth who were destitute of all other means, with a certain source of obtaining a very plain and limited education. The magistrates in the north objected to this measure, he understood, on an apprehension that they would be compelled to erect schools, and go to other expence, which would be in many parts unnecessary, as they already possessed within themselves sufficient means of education for the children of the poor in that part of the country. It was to be observed, however, that there was a clause in the bill expressly for the purpose of preventing the extension of its operations to places in which there might be already establishments formed adequate to the purposes of the bill. If it should be found, however, that the bill was not sufficiently strong in that respect, any emendation on that head would be best effected when the bill should be in a committee.—Mr. Whitbread and Mr. D. Giddy said a few words in explanation, after which, the house divided; when the numbers were,

For going into a committee	47
Against it	13
Majority	34

—The bill was then committed for the 21st instant.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 14.

[AMERICAN INDEMNITY BILL.] Their lordships went into a committee on this bill, in which lord Holland read an amendment, which he proposed to substitute for the preamble. It was his lordship's object to place the indemnity in what he regarded as its true light, and to shew that such a proceeding was a matter of more serious importance than was generally apprehended. The amendment referred to the navigation act, the tonnage, and poundage, and recited that part of the bill of rights which relates to breaches of the law by the crown, and raising money without the sanction of parliament; and quoted the act of commerce with America, and the order of council in May last, in order to shew the ground on which the indemnity was claimed. The amendment was negatived in the committee, but lord Holland moved it again on the report, with the view that it might be entered on the journals of the house. It was then negatived also, and the bill was reported without any amendment.

[AMERICAN TRADE BILL.] On the motion that this bill be read a second time,

Lord *Holland* rose. He expected that some noble lord in administration would have stated the grounds on which the bill ought to proceed. However, as that had not been done, he should briefly state the reasons which induced him to approve of the measure. These were chiefly the obvious interests of the united states of America and this country to cultivate a good understanding and friendship; they had more interests in common than any two countries in the world. In every friendly intercourse between two countries, there was, in his opinion, always a mutual advantage: but this reciprocity of interest was most remarkable, as it existed between the united states of America and Great Britain. In the present eventful crisis, a good understanding between the two countries must be important, not only to themselves, but to all independent nations, and this the enlightened government of the United States could not but perceive. In different parts of Europe, in which it had been his lot to travel, he had often heard it asserted, that it was not likely the United States could preserve their present independent government. He was of a very different opinion. The republican institutions of America, like those of every government in which a true spirit of freedom prevailed, contained energies which were capable of being called forth to meet any difficult crisis that might occur, and all that he had heard urged on this subject, appeared to him to result from the prejudices of persons educated under arbitrary monarchies. Nothing therefore could appear to him worse policy than to wish to see any thing like disunion among the people of the United States. Indeed, the more powerful and the more wealthy they became, the better would it be for this country. As they become more populous, the customers for our manufactures would become more numerous, and increase of riches would only give them increased means of consumption. Entertaining these views, he was extremely happy to find that the present administration had, in their policy towards America, thought proper to follow the steps of their predecessors, though a different conduct was to have been expected from them, in consequence of the language they had held when in opposition.

Earl *Bathurst* had not thought it necessary to address their lordships in support of this bill, as it was precisely the same as the act which had passed last year and the year before. He contended, that administration acted with no inconsistency in taking up measures as they had been left by the preceding government, though their view of the subject might have been different before they came into office. With regard to the policy to be pursued towards America, he and his colleagues had, from the moment they took upon themselves the charge of the government, resolved to pursue the system which had devolved to them from their predecessors, unless new circumstances should arise to induce them to depart from it.

Lord *Harrowby* argued on the same side, in support of the consistency of the present ministers in this respect, and contrasted their conduct, when in opposition, with that of the noble lords now in opposition to his majesty's government.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* contended, that nothing could be more widely different than the conduct of his friends, when in opposition, from that of the noble lords opposite to him, when they opposed the late administration. With smooth and gentle tongues they professed a readiness to support that government, but with these professions on their lips, they resorted to every illiberal, underhand, unmanly means, to subvert the power of those whom they were pretending to support. The very opposite was the character of the opposition to which he was ambitious to belong; an open, fair, liberal, and principled opposition; and he trusted he never should expose himself to the disgrace of belonging to such as the last, who were now in power; but whose possession of power ought to be contended against by every man who understood and cherished the spirit of the constitution.

Lord *Mulgrave* recollected that the noble lord had attached himself to a variety of persons both in and out of place; but had distinguished himself most by a disciplined opposition to his majesty's government. For his own part, he had but one political attachment, and to that he gloried to adhere. If it was a disgrace to have belonged to any opposition, it was not for him exactly to say to what opposition the term of disgrace belonged; that must depend upon the sense and opinion of the country at large, and not of any individual: but late events had pretty clearly shewn what was the true feeling and opinion of the country.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* said, he did not mean any thing personal to the noble earl: for he could not indeed charge his memory with any thing the noble earl had ever said or done to distinguish his political conduct.

The *Lord Chancellor* observed, that there never was an administration which had less occasion to complain of a factious and harassing opposition than the last. There was, in fact, nothing like a systematic plan to oppose their measures, among any of those with whom he had the honour to act. "All the Talents," as they were called, were absolutely without any opponents in that house, or any where else he believed, until they began to oppose themselves.—The bill was then read a second time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 14.

[Minutes.] On the motion of lord Barnard, a new writ was ordered for the election of a member for the borough of Bandon, in the room of lord Boyle, now earl of Shannon. Also for the election of a member for the borough of Tralee, in the room of sir A. Wellesley, who had made his election for the borough of Newtown, for which also he had been returned.—Mr. Long moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable the trustees of the British Museum to sell, exchange, or otherwise dispose of, such parts of their collection as were not adapted to the purposes of that institution, and to lay out the produce in the purchase of other articles better adapted to their purposes. The articles which it was proposed to dispose of, were anatomical preparations, and other things of that nature. The disposal of these articles, and the purchases to be made with the produce, were to be under the controul of a committee of seven, at the head of which were the lord chancellor, the speaker of the house of commons, and the archbishop of Canterbury. The establishment was now placed on such a footing, that it was calculated in every respect to answer the purposes intended by parliament. Leave was given to bring in the bill.—On the motion of Mr. Foster, the house went into a committee, to consider of the compensation to be made for the fees of offices abolished in the department of the customs in Ireland. Mr. Foster stated, that the commission of enquiry into the fees of offices in Ireland had particularly recommended the extension of the retrenchment and regulation of the customs fees adopted in this country to Ireland. It became necessary, in consequence of the adoption of that measure, to make compensation to the officers whose fees were suppressed. The amount of the compensation to be paid was about 100,000*l.* He proposed to raise this sum by a tax of 6 per cent. on imports and exports, with the exception of imports and exports between Great Britain and Ireland. The merchants would find this tax less burthensome than the fees. The produce would be about 90,000*l.* If this sum fell short a little, the certainty and regularity of the payment would compensate the officers for the trifling reduction. He moved accordingly, that such a compensation be granted. After a short conversation between sir J. Newport, who thought that the compensation ought to be provided for by some more equal charge, than one that fell wholly upon foreign imports and exports, the fees being equally paid upon imports and exports between Ireland and Britain, and Mr. Foster who answered the hon. baronet's objections, the motion was agreed to.

[Army Clothing and Agency.] Mr. *Cochrane Johnstone*, with a view to shew the practicability of very considerable savings in the Army Clothing and Agency departments, rose to move for a number of papers which he had yesterday given notice of his intention to call for, and to the production of which he did not understand there was any objection. The present mode of clothing the army, by converting the colonels of regiments into a species of wholesale tailors, was particularly reprehensible. In the agency department also, much unnecessary expence was incurred. On the whole, he was convinced a saving of no less than 2 per cent. might be made on the 2,000,000*l.* now annually expended on the army. The hon. gent. concluded with moving, "That there be laid before the house, 1. An account of all sums of money issued to the army agents from the 25th of Dec. 1805, to the 24th of Dec. 1806; specifying the names of those agents, the number of regiments of the line, militia, and fencibles, for which they are employed; and the amount of the securities given by them for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them: 2. An account of all sums of money issued to each and to every of the army agents, by way of compensation for his trouble in the affairs of the different regiments of which he has the management, and for any other public expences, from the 25th of Dec. 1805, to the 24th of Dec. 1806; specifying the several heads of service for which the compensation is granted: 3. An account of all sums of money advanced monthly to the army agents for subsistence, &c. for what period these payments are made in advance, and the names of the agents: 4. An account of the expence for agency attending the 26 articles of the abstract of the army estimates for this year, presented to this house on the 14th of January, the names of the agents entitled to receive the same, and the amount paid to each agent: 5. A statement of the mode of issuing the funds applicable to the Volunteer service through the office of the agent-general, with an account of the expence of that establishment from the 1st of

June 1803, to the 1st of Jan. 1805; specifying the different heads under which the same has been issued: 6. Statement of the sums expended in Great Britain for the Volunteer service between the 1st day of June 1803, and the 1st day of Jan. 1805; specifying particularly how much has been applied to the following heads, viz. attendance at drill, inspection, permanent duty, also of drill serjeants, adjutants, serjeants-major, inspecting field-officers, brigadier-generals, majors of brigade, aides-de-camp, &c. and clothing: 7. An account of all sums of money to which the regiments of the line are entitled for clothing, from the 25th of Dec. 1804, to the 24th of Dec. 1805; specifying the number of regiments: 8. A return of the number of effective non-commissioned officers and privates, on the strength of the regiments of the line from the 25th of Dec. 1804, to the 24th of Dec. 1805: 9. A return of the number of effective officers of each rank on the strength of the regiments of the line, from the 25th of Dec. 1804, to the 24th of Dec. 1805."

The *Secretary at War* had no objection to the production of the papers, farther than that the subjects they alluded to were now under the consideration of the commissioners of military enquiry, who would shortly report upon it. The subjects were certainly most important, and the attention of the war-office and of his majesty's government were particularly directed to them, with a view to make every practicable saving for the public. Under the circumstances of the commission of military enquiry having directed its investigation to the matter, and of its being necessary to go to a considerable expence for clerks to make out the accounts, he put it to the hon. gent. whether it would be desirable to press the motion.

Mr. *Rose* was confident that by adopting the plan of clothing now in use with respect to the invalids, a saving of from 100,000*l.* to 160,000*l.* would be practicable on the sum now expended on the clothing of the army, which was from 800,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* A plan, suggested by the paymaster-general, was under the consideration of his majesty's government, with the approbation of his royal highness the commander-in-chief, for taking the clothing out of the hands of the colonels, allowing them a liberal compensation for the advantages they now derived from it. This arrangement would be more satisfactory to the colonels, at the same time that it would be highly beneficial to the public. With respect to the Agency department, that too had been under consideration: but it was to be feared, that no considerable saving could be made in it, by establishing a general agency-office, at least none sufficient to compensate the great convenience that was felt from having agents chosen by the colonels themselves. He submitted to the hon. gent. the propriety of waiting for the report of the commissioners of military enquiry. If that report should not go as far as the hon. gent. wished, he might move any further step he may think proper.

Mr. *Windham* thought it best to leave these matters to the commissioners of military enquiry in the first instance. Both subjects, the clothing and the agency, had engaged much of the consideration of the late government, with a view to the practicability of some savings upon them. His inclination was very much in favour of the plan mentioned by the right hon. gent. opposite, and that not so much with a view to economy, though that important object also would be promoted, as in order to take the colonels of regiments out of the incongruous situation in which they were placed while suffered to act as clothiers to their respective corps. With respect to agency, that matter had been under consideration so long since, as when he had been in the war office, and the result of the deliberation was, that no saving could be made by the adoption of a general plan, sufficient to compensate the loss of the convenience now afforded by the nomination of his own agent by every commander of a regiment.

Mr. *Cochrane Johnstone* saw the strongest reason for the production of the papers in the avowal of so many official persons, that the subject to which he called the attention of the house, admitted, at least, in a considerable degree, of reform; and that such reform, through many years in contemplation, was still not carried into effect. Probably, if he should omit to bring the matter before the house now, it would remain still to be said, after the lapse of some more years, that the reform was under consideration.——After some further observations from the secretary at war, who said the saving even on the clothing, would not be so considerable as some expected; Mr. Windham who said, it was not so much to saving he looked, as to correcting the incongruity of making the colonels clothiers; and Mr. Huskisson, who said that only a small proportion of the

0,000,000*l.* expended on the army, went rough the hands of the agents, the whole um that could with possibility be retrenchd in this department, being at the utmost 7,000*l.*; the papers were ordered.

[Sinking Fund.] Lord *H. Petty* moved he order of the day for going into a committee on the bill for the appropriation of he Sinking Fund. He would reserve his bservations till he should have heard the entiments of the right hon. gent. opposite.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* contended, that it was improper and unnecessary to adopt this measure, or to come to any resolution upon it in the present session. He allowed that great benefit had been derived from the pause in taxation introduced with this measure; but, in considering the further adoption of that repose in any future session, it would be proper to consider how far it was checked by being burthened with an increased Sinking Fund of five per cent. The measure had been already adopted so far as was requisite for the ways and means of this year. What it would be fit to do at a future period, would be best determined by future circumstances. This measure proposed to compel the public creditor to receive an advanced sinking fund on a small part of the debt now, as a consideration for being deprived of the growing accumulation of the whole sinking fund at a future period. By the act of 1792, it was provided, that unless parliament should establish other funds to pay the public debt, at farthest in 45 years, one per cent. should be set aside for that purpose at the Exchequer, so that it must be paid, at all events, in 45 years. The present measure, therefore, in making an arrangement to pay off the debt in 45 years, gave the public creditor the very worst repayment that by law he was entitled to. The precedent of lord Sidmouth's interference with the Sinking Fund, by no means went to bear out this measure. When lord Sidmouth, in funding 97,000,000*l.* at the close of the last war, made a new arrangement of the Sinking Fund, taking advantage of its produce for that time for the immediate exigency, the public creditor was compensated by giving up the surplus over 4,000,000*l.* a year, which would become applicable to the current service in 1808. Here there was no compensation whatsoever. He entered into a variety of statements to prove, that, by the plan of the noble lord, the most distinct disadvantage would accrue to the public, if they could allow themselves to be deluded by it. He deeply regretted that the expectation had been raised in the country, that during the period of war no greater annual loan would be required than 11 millions, an expectation which there was not the slightest possibility of being realized. He concluded by hoping that the house would not come to any decision on the subject, but leave it in an unprejudged state for the consideration of another session.

Lord *Henry Petty* replied to the chancellor of the exchequer, and asked, how he could call upon the house to defer its opinion on a measure which was contingent on another which had been passed by the legislature, and received the pointed approbation of the king? All that was implied in the resolutions which he intended to propose was, that the house should express its determination that, if the boon should continue for the time proposed, then a benefit would be expected in return. He was not prepared to say that it would be of very material import if these resolutions should be postponed until next sessions; but then the same arguments that were now urged, might be advanced in favour of longer delay, and so on, until the house and the country felt the inconvenience of no legislative regulation having been agreed to sooner. The act of 1802 had been spoken of, but he would ask, did not the legislature then act for the advantage of the public creditor, without ridiculously waiting until the individuals that composed that body should petition the house to interfere in their behalf? The principle upon which the sinking fund was raised, was, it was true, then broken in upon; but it was for the advantage of the public. An advantage to a greater extent would be reaped from the present system; it was by a regard to the security of the public creditor, and a seasonable attention to his interest; it was by public security, and the facility of disposing of property in our funds that an immense capital was drawn into the service of the public. It was said, that the proposer of these resolutions only accelerated the disorder in order that he might apply the remedy; but it was not right that regulations should be adopted for general supply, so as to prevent any sudden emergency hereafter. Would any man wish to get rid of a plan for the better supplying of this metropolis with provisions, merely because we did not want provisions at present? He did not say that exactly the same individuals would hold the stock at each time; but still a certain general good would be effected. It was certain that a proportion of stock, amounting to the value specified, would be paid off in a given period. It was said, however, that contingencies were not provided for, as it was seen that there was a vote of credit for 3 millions last year. The different items, however, of which that sum was composed, were expressly stated, and the house was then satisfied with the statement. In fact, it never was asserted that the system which was now to be proposed, would cover every extraordinary contingency, such as subsidies, arrears of subsidy, &c. But by the plan, as has been already stated, a certain sum will assuredly be paid off in a given time: and if ever there was a time when economy was to be looked to particularly, it was the present, (not economy as to abuses, for in that they were all agreed,) but economy as to the general management of the affairs of the public, and a serious consideration as to whatever would most tend to maintain the public credit. The country would, if these resolutions were adopted, be relieved from considerably increasing burthens for the present, and look forward with certain hope as to the future.

Mr. *Huskisson* contended that the taking from the Sinking Fund, even at the end of ten years, would be diminishing the security which the public creditor now held; and he considered that it would be in the highest degree absurd to declare now, that in ten years we would take from the Sinking Fund, when it was absolutely impossible to foresee the state of the country in ten years, whether it would be at peace or at war, or whether it might not be necessary then to add to the Sinking Fund, instead of taking any thing away from it.

Mr. *Dent* expressed his opinion, that so long as we were able to raise taxes sufficient to pay the interest of our loans, there was no necessity for the plan of the noble lord.

Mr. *H. Addington* defended the conduct of his noble relation (lord Sidmouth). There were some gentlemen who, if they disapproved of his conduct at the time that was alluded to, disapproved of it *sub silentio*. He thought it really somewhat extraordinary that some gentlemen should approve of what was said to give a breathing time to taxation, and yet not approve of the resolutions that were to be moved in support of that system.

Mr. *Long* declared, that he had entertained strong objections to the measure of the noble lord in 1802, though he had deferred to the opinion of his late right hon. friend. He saw no reason for pressing the proposition of the noble lord opposite, this session.

Mr. *Davies Giddy* was so convinced of the radical truth of the noble lord's original propositions, that if he now pressed his motion, he should support it. At the same time, he saw not the utility of proposing the motion, when it was not likely to be acted upon.

Mr. *Vansittart* defended the plan of his noble friend, and thought that the time for requiring of the public creditors any sacrifice was, when they had an advantage from the augmentation that had been made this year to the sinking fund.

Mr. *Rose*, though he had entertained considerable doubts as to the measure adopted in 1802, had yet got rid of those doubts in consequence of the circumstances under which it had been brought forward. The plan of the noble lord was founded upon an accumulating debt, and a decreasing Sinking Fund, but the original plan of his late right hon. friend was founded upon an increasing Sinking Fund, and a decreasing Debt.—The question was then put for going into the committee, and negatived without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 15.

[MINUTES.] The Speaker acquainted the house, that he had received a letter from lord viscount Mahon, who had been returned for Wendover and Kingston; in which his lordship declared, that he had made his election to serve for Wendover. A new writ was ordered for Kingston, thus vacated.—Mr. C. Wynne brought up the report of the committee appointed to examine into the state of Criminal and Pauper Lunatics in Great Britain. The report was ordered to be printed, after a few words from Mr. Wynne, who said that it had been wished to include Ireland and Scotland in the measure advised by the committee, but that it had been deemed adviseable to leave any proposition on this subject, to be brought forward by those who were better acquainted with the circumstances of those two countries.—Mr. Huskisson brought in a bill for investing his majesty with the rights of the Sierra Leone company, which was read a first time.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee on the king's message, relative to the queen's house at Frogmore. On the motion for the second reading of the resolution, Mr. Adam signified his royal highness the prince of Wales's acquiescence in it. The resolution was then agreed to, *nem. con.*, and a bill ordered accordingly.—A new writ was ordered for Rye, in the room of earl Clancarty, who, since his election, had accepted the office of one of the joint postmasters in Ireland.—A new writ was ordered for Rye, in the room of sir John Nicholl, who had made his election to serve for Bedwin.

[Roman Catholic College at Maynooth.] The house having resolved itself into a committee of supply,

Mr. *Foster*, in moving that the sum of 13,000*l.* be granted for defraying the expences of the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth in Ireland, entered into a statement on the subject. The additional sum of 5000*l.* by which double the usual number of Catholic clergy would be educated at Maynooth, had been voted by the last parliament, on the recommendation of the late administration. On enquiry, it had been found that a considerable part of that sum had already been advanced; that the buildings were in a great state of forwardness, and that if therefore the vote was now reduced to its original state, the 8000*l.* would be very much infringed upon by these circumstances. It was on this account that he now proposed the sum of 13,000*l.* to be voted for these purposes; but he begged to be understood, as by no means pledging himself to repeat such a proposition in any succeeding year.

Mr. *Elliot* defended the conduct of the late administration, in having recommended to parliament the adoption of this grant of 13,000*l.* founded on a petition, and expedient in every point of view, more especially when the present state of the continent, by which the Catholics of Ireland were precluded from obtaining education abroad, was considered. But, even were the continent in a different situation, were it practicable for the Catholics to go over and receive a foreign education, it seemed to him to be a question easily decided, whether it would not be infinitely more wise and politic to afford them the same facilities at home. He trusted, therefore, notwithstanding the intimation of the right hon. gent., that parliament would not in future refuse that which it was on all hands agreed at present should be voted for Catholic instruction in Ireland.

Mr. *Hawkins Browne* thought his right hon. friend (Mr. Foster) had acted, on this occasion, with great liberality and moderation. He said, if he had been a member of the Irish parliament, he never would have given his assent to establish such an anomaly as a college maintained within the realm, at the expence of the state, to educate a clergy for the purpose of propagating a religion contrary and hostile to the state itself; a religion which every member of that house was bound to abjure, before he could take his seat; a religion of superstitious, intolerant, and persecuting principles, and which, however friendly he was to toleration and liberty of conscience, he was sorry to find so inveterately rooted amongst so great a portion of the people of Ireland, and now cherished by the sanction of law. He lamented extremely, that there were so many Roman Catholics in Ireland, and would have no objection to agree to the establishment of parish schools for their education, in common with Protestants; not like the Protestant charter-schools, to procure proselytes, but where they might be instructed in the fundamental principles of Christianity, in which all sects agree. But if the Irish Catholics wished to educate their clergy, let them do it like the Protestant dissenters, at their own cost, instead of loading the Protestants of Ireland with taxes for the purpose of supporting a college on their account.

Mr. *Windham* did not expect that such a discussion would have arisen on this subject at this moment; but since it was part of a settled plan of the present government, and the hon. gent. had taken the lead, he should hold it right to follow the ship of the line, and get into deep water. The hon. gent. had expressed his astonishment at the existence of such an anomaly as a Catholic college, for the education of a Catholic priesthood, maintained by government in the midst of Ireland, a Protestant state. The best answer to this was, that the case of Ireland itself was an anomaly, where three-fourths of the people continued Catholics, notwithstanding all the legal cruelties, proscriptions, and privations for so many hundred years, in order to grind them into Protestants. Was it because they refused to become proselytes to Protestantism, contrary to the conviction of their consciences, that they were to have no religion at all? If they would continue Catholics, was it not better for the state that they should be good, enlightened and loyal Catholics, than be left to ignorance, barbarism, or disaffection, under the tuition of priests educated in a hostile country, of whose principles, or whose fitness to instruct the king's subjects, government knew nothing? Was it not better the Irish Catholic priesthood should be men educated under the very eye of government, and be of known character, attached to their native land, than men who imbibed their education and their political principles under the auspices of an enemy? But notwithstanding all that the hon. gent. had said of the gross superstition and barbarism of the Irish Catholics, he conceived it was no more than the gross religion of a gross class of people, and not one whit more so than that of a very great portion of the Protestants of England; and he begged leave to say, that, from every thing he could hear or experience, the enlightened and educated Catholics of this country and of Ireland were not inferior in principles, in virtue, or talents, to any other description of men any where. There was nothing half so barbarous, even in the imputed superstition and intolerance of the lowest of the Irish Catholics, as the cry of "no popery!" so recently set on foot throughout this country, by certain gentlemen amongst those opposite to him.

Mr. *Parnell* said, he held in his hand the Prayer Book used by the Roman Catholics in Ireland, out of which, with the permission of the house, he would read a few extracts, for the purpose of shewing that the doctrines attributed to that body of men were either misunderstood or grossly misrepresented. He accordingly read the following sections of that Book:—"2. It is no matter of faith that the church cannot err either in matters of fact, or in matter of speculation or civil policy depending on mere human reason, these not being divine revelations deposited in the Catholic church." "3. If a General Council, much less a Papal Consistory, should presume to depose a king and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, no Catholic could be bound to submit to such decree." Hence it follows, "4. That subjects of the king of England lawfully may, without the least breach of any Catholic principle, renounce upon oath the teaching or practising the doctrine of deposing kings excommunicated for heresy by any authority whatsoever, as repugnant to the fundamental laws of the nation, as injurious to sovereign power, and as destructive to peace and good government." "6. It is no matter of faith to believe that the Pope is himself infallible." "7. Nor do Catholics, as Catholics, believe that the Pope has any direct or indirect authority over the temporal powers and jurisdiction of princes. Hence, if the Pope should pretend to absolve or dispense his majesty's subjects from their allegiance on account of heresy or schism, such dispensation should be vain and null, and all Catholic subjects, notwithstanding such dispensation or absolution, should be still bound in conscience to defend their king and country at the hazard of their lives and fortunes (as far as Protestants would be bound), even against the Pope himself, should he invade the nation." "9 As for the king-killing doctrine, or murder of princes excommunicated for heresy, it is universally admitted in the Catholic church, and expressly so declared in the council of Constance, that such doctrine is impious and execrable, being contrary to the known laws of God and nature." "11. It is a fundamental truth in our religion, that no power on earth can license men to lie, to forswear or perjure themselves, to massacre their neighbours, or destroy their native country, on pretence of promoting the Catholic cause or religion. Furthermore, all pardons or dispensations granted, or pretended to be granted, in order to any such ends or designs, could have no other validity or effect than to add sacrilege and blasphemy to the above-mentioned crimes." The book from which he had read these extracts, the hon. member assured the house, was in as general use and circulation in Ireland, and was held in equal respect and veneration as the Common Prayer Book of England was in this country. He had quoted them for the purpose of shewing, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland did not maintain any principles contrary to the constitution of this country.

Mr. *William Smith* thought that, in an anomalous government, like that of Ireland, a Protestant government, taking from the large body of the Catholics all the tithes of the country, was at least bound to provide instruction for those Catholics. He thought it most expedient and politic, were it to be argued on that ground alone, that the instruction of the Catholics should be in the hands of the government. Adverting to the doctrines contained in the prayer-book, extracts from which had just been read by an hon. gent., he contended that if sincere in those doctrines, Catholics were entitled to hold any offices of trust. If they were not supposed to be sincere, it would indeed be unsafe to rely upon them, even in social intercourse. The word "toleration" had been very much abused on this subject; and he protested against the false and unfounded idea which it had been attempted to convey by it, that those granting toleration were superior to those to whom it had been granted. He adverted to the conduct of Catharine de Medecis, two centuries ago, who was herself a most intolerant persecutor, and the author of the massacre of St. Bartholomew; yet her last advice to her son and successor was, to establish amongst his subjects freedom of religion. She had tried persecution in vain, was convinced of her error, and fully persuaded that differences in religion could never be settled by force. What was now done, was wise and prudent; and it would be still more wise and prudent, if the present administration would resolve to do the same again, at a future period, and with a better grace.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* protested against the entertaining of any such belief as that he wished to withhold instruction from the Roman Catholics of Ireland. All he wished to do was, to protect the Protestants against the increased and increasing influence of the priesthood. He confessed he had opposed the extension of this grant during the last parliament. But he now thought it better, as he believed he was the only person in his majesty's government who had seriously opposed it, to accede to the proposition of his hon. friend, lest his opposition should appear the effect of spleen, in endeavouring to make this the only exception from the acceding to the grants of the last parliament. He believed, however, the present was the first instance in which the house, on the application of the party alone, without any investigation in a committee, had granted such an increase as was proposed during the last parliament. Had the house gone into a committee, was it possible it could have come to the resolution of extending the Romish priests in Ireland to double their present number? Was this the way to extend the Protestant religion in that country? Only 100 Protestant clergy were educated there annually, yet it was proposed to raise the number of Catholic priests to four times that number. The hon. member for Norwich (W. Smith) had talked as if these priests had been under the care of government. This was a mistake. All that government had to do in the matter was, to bear the expence of the establishment. He submitted, that if this establishment was to be increased, the least thing which could be done was, to give government some say in the institution, that they might know the manner in which the studies were conducted; have the nomination of the professors; or, at least, in some shape or other, know that they were not educating a society of Jesuits, who would not be suffered to exist in any other part of Europe. We ought to know, that the foreigners who might be employed in this seminary were not in actual hostilty to us, and that they were not likely to instil principles inimical to us into the minds of those whom they were called on to instruct. He, on the whole, could not help thinking, that in increasing the establishment in question, we were not only sowing the seeds of continuance for the Catholic religion in Ireland, but, in fact, were doing what we could to root the Protestant religion out of that country. The students of the Protestant church, as he had already said, only amounted to 100 yearly; those educated by this eleemosynary institution to the Catholic persuasion, already amounted to 200; and it was proposed to double them, or to make them amount to four times the number of the Protestant students, thereby giving the Catholic religion a four-fold advantage over the Protestant.

Lord *H. Petty* said, if a Roman Catholic establishment in Ireland was allowed, they must have an education; and the question was, whether that education should be in Ireland, or out of it; or whether they should have any education at all? If not educated in Ireland, the priests would go abroad for education, where they would meet with tenets more dangerous to our constitution. The house would recollect, a priesthood must exist in Ireland, and that it would be best under the encouragement and observation of government than under any other. The right hon. gent. had talked as if they were shut up from the knowledge of government; but surely he knew there were five visitors appointed by act of parliament, one of whom was the lord chancellor of Ireland, who were to make a visitation once in three years, or at any time on the requisition of the lord lieutenant; and, if they did their duty, could it be supposed the establishment was not under the controul of government?

The arguments of the right hon. gent. that there were only 100 teachers of the Protestant religion in the University of Dublin, while there were 200 Roman Catholic priests in the College of Maynooth, went to nothing but to strike a balance of ignorance; for, if there were not enough to teach the Protestants, it was no reason there should not be enough to teach the Roman Catholics; they should rather enlarge the Protestant teachers, than restrain or diminish the others, and let the education be open and manly, and not clandestine and mysterious, as it had formerly been. If the right hon. gent. had wanted information, he ought to have called for it, by a motion, last session, when he opposed this measure. [The chancellor of the exchequer said across the table, that he had called for this information, though not by motion.]—Lord H. Petty resumed. It was extraordinary on a subject connected with the national expenditure, that the right hon. gent. had not made a distinct motion. There was no paucity of the means of education for the Protestant Clergy of Ireland. There was Trinity College in Dublin, one of the most splendid establishments of the kind that existed, besides the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. At any rate, if the means of instructing Protestant clergy for Ireland were deemed too small, let not the means of instructing the Roman Catholic clergy therefore suffer; let it not be a contest which class should be kept in the greater ignorance, but let it be rather an emulation how to diffuse over the whole country, the greatest possible civilization and instruction.

Mr. *J. Leslie Foster* (member for the university of Dublin) hoped, that after the allusion that had been made by the noble lord to the place he had the honour to represent, he would be excused saying a few words on the subject now before the committee. Of the establishment of Maynooth College, as a substitution for St. Omer's, he entirely approved. He did not himself remember the circumstances under which it was originally founded; but believed, from what he had heard, that 8000*l.* annually were voted for the maintenance of 200 students, and 200 only. The principals of that college had, however, now come forward, and asked of parliament 5000*l.* in addition, for the erection of buildings sufficient to lodge 200 students more. This he could not help thinking was in effect to do no less than double the establishment. As to the Dublin seminary, the excellent system of learning adopted there, had certainly induced a number of the Catholic gentry to send their sons to that college. He believed the number of Roman Catholic students considerably above forty. Those young gentlemen pursued the same course of studies for four years with their Protestant fellow students, and in returning to their family had a more friendly, liberal, and just idea of what a Protestant was, than they originally had, or perhaps could have otherwise obtained. At the same time, that college would not forget the origin and nature of its institution. The gentlemen on the opposite benches were, he was sure, too well versed in Irish history, not to know that the Dublin College was founded upon Protestant principles, by Elizabeth, and for the growth and dissemination of the Protestant religion. It was, in fact, a Protestant garrison in a land of Catholics; and the learned and respectable characters at the head of the government of that college, had uniformly acted up to the true spirit of its institution. In the reign of James II., the stand that college made for her civil and religious liberties, would remain upon honourable record, and the late spirit of religious moderation that induced her to forbear from taking any part in the disputes of the day, proved that she could forget her resentments as well as remember her obligations.

Mr. *Dillon* read from a document he held in his hand, a statement of the number of sinecure livings in Ireland, without glebe houses or residences, by which, he contended, it appeared that the Roman Catholics paid one-tenth of their property to a nominal clergy for doing nothing. He said, it was no wonder that the Protestant church was disrelished by the Irish peasant, when the only way through which he knew it was, the exactions of the tithe-proctor. He concluded with an earnest exhortation to the house, to adopt some modification of tithes in Ireland, as the best possible way of restoring the people of that country to content.

Sir *John Newport* defended the way in which the grant had been introduced, and asked, why that mode had not been altered by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Foster), since it had been condemned by his colleague the chancellor of the exchequer for England? He was glad he had the authority of the member for Dublin college bearing him out in the assertion made by him in that house, in the former parliament, and which the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Perceval) did not then seem inclined to credit. There were three reasons for encouraging the education of the Roman Catholics in Ireland: One, that great lucrative objects were withheld from the Roman Catholics, which were the greatest incentives in the education of the Protestant. Another was, that the Roman Catholics were the poorest order, and therefore had a claim on the government to promote their education, because they were not able to support their own pastors. And a third was, that Oxford and Cambridge which were open to the Protestants, were shut against the Roman Catholics; besides, Irish viceroys, in the plenitude of their bounty, took good care to carry over to that country a generous supply of clergy, who were soon provided for on the Irish establishment.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in answer to what had fallen from an hon. member (Mr. Dillon), assured that hon. gent. that the attention of government should be early and anxiously directed to the abuse complained of, with respect to the want of glebe houses, and sinecure livings. He did think with that hon. gent. that it was extremely hard, that any man should pass away an indolent life upon an opulent living, while a poor curate was discharging the duties of that office for the year round, upon a pittance scarcely sufficient to maintain him. He had before failed in two or three instances, in carrying through that house a measure for the regulation of rectories and cures; he however now gave notice that it was the intention of his majesty's present government to submit to the consideration of the house, a measure for reducing the opulent livings, and out of their abundance making an allowance for the poorer curates. It ought to have been done before; he wished that the late government had paid more attention to the church in Ireland.

Lord *Howick* did not mean to protract the debate, nor should he now have risen to offer any thing by way of argument on a subject that had been so ably argued on both sides of the house, had it not been that he could not sit still after the imputation thrown upon the late government by the right hon. gent. He challenged the right hon. gent. to state an instance in which the late government had neglected the church in that country. He desired the right hon. gent. to ask the primate of that country, what he thought of the duke of Bedford's administration as to that head? He desired the right hon. gent. to look into the secretary of state's office for the home department, and there he would see the documents that would prove how far the late ministers were guilty of negligence, with respect to Ireland; but such a charge carried with it all that boldness of assertion for which that right hon. gent. was so characteristic. The noble lord then adverted to the conduct of another right hon. gent. (Mr. Foster) in coming before the house so totally unprepared, without having made the previous enquiries when he was in Ireland, and which he might have made as visitor of Maynooth college, a conduct that appeared to him to evince a culpable carelessness and levity.

Mr. *Foster* said, that the noble lord had charged him with levity. He asked that noble lord if there was a document to produce to the house which could substantiate the claim now made upon it, and if there was not, he would say that the noble lord, in charging him with levity, had been guilty not only of levity but ignorance. He contended that no such document could be found.

Lord *Howick* did not think the right hon. gent. could satisfy the house of his diligence in office by evading the charge of negligence, in resorting to such pitiful excuses.

Mr. *Foster* would not call such language unparliamentary, but he would pronounce it pitiful.

Lord *Howick* left it to the house to determine: the right hon. gent. had said, he could not find any document. He then said, he did not say he had made any enquiry; and he now said, that he did not say, he had not made an enquiry: if such was to be the candour and intelligence of the Irish chancellor of the exchequer, he could not congratulate that country on the appointment.

Colonel *Barry* said a few words against the policy of continuing the grant in future. He had been present at all the former debates on the subject and had not heard of these documents. He disapproved of the wanton and unprovoked asperity with which the noble lord had treated his right hon. friend.

Mr. *Sheridan* congratulated the late administration on the honourable testimony they had received from the gentleman who had just sat down: that gentleman had been present at all the former discussions upon this subject, yet such was his confidence in the virtue of the late ministers, that he never once felt himself called upon to deliver his sentiments upon the present subject: [A laugh:] but now when men had succeeded, for whom they both felt such a distrust, his patriotic jealousy at once put an end to that silent and according acquiescence to the judgments and sentiments of honester men.

Colonel *Barry* said, that certainly the diligent and punctual attendance of his right hon. friend to his parliamentary duties, in the last sessions, [a laugh,] enabled him to remember accurately all that then passed in that house. Unfortunately, however, he (Col. B.) had spoken on that subject, though he did not expect, nor indeed, did it appear, that it had made any great impression on his right hon. friend.

Mr. *Sheridan* said in answer, that if he had not been as vigilant and anxious in his attention to his parliamentary duties during the last sessions as he usually was, it was owing to nothing but his unbounded confidence in the late administration. [A laugh.]

Dr. *Duigenan* denied that the late administration had manifested any solicitude to promote the interests of the Protestant religion in Ireland. On the contrary, he had to state that a bill which he introduced, at the instance of several of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, to enforce the residence of the clergy, and which bill was a transcript of that brought forward in this country by sir W. Scott, was discountenanced by that administration, and in consequence rejected. What the administration to which he referred had done for the benefit of the established church in Ireland, he had yet to learn.

Lord *Howick* had no idea that the disinclination of the late government to countenance a measure brought forward by the learned doctor was likely to depreciate the character of that government, either in England or Ireland. Therefore he did not think it necessary to make any attempt at vindicating himself or his colleagues against the learned doctor's accusation.

Lord *Milton* observed, that gentlemen, in asserting the sufficiency of a certain number of clergymen to administer the duties of the Catholic religion in Ireland, because such a number was thought necessary in 1795, seemed altogether to exclude the consideration of those events which had since occurred on the continent, which events limited the supplies from that quarter, and also appeared to forget the growing population of Ireland.

Mr. *Grattan* thought it remarkable, that while the gentlemen on the other side agreed to the resolution, they pursued a course of argument directly against it. Their argument, indeed, would militate not only against the proposed increase of the institution, but against its original establishment. The principle of the original establishment was to provide the means of educating and domesticating the Catholic clergy of Ireland, and thus to protect them from the opportunity of imbibing foreign principles. With that view, the college of Maynooth was instituted, and the state of the continent at the time rendered such an institution peculiarly necessary. Did any alteration take place in the state of the continent to abate the amount or character of that University? It was absurd to say, that the same number of Roman Catholic clergymen would suffice for Ireland now, that was thought requisite in 1795; for that would be to suppose the population at a stand, and nothing could be imagined more absurd than to suppose that 200 clergymen would be sufficient. There were no less than 2400 parishes and 1100 benefices in Ireland; and if so many clergymen were appointed to instruct one million of Protestants, or rather half that number, for the other half at least of those denominated Protestants belonged to the different classes of dissenters, how could 200 clergymen be considered competent to perform the ecclesiastical duties of Catholicity to three millions of people? The idea was preposterous. And as to the expence, the Catholics were generally unable to educate their clergy, and they must be educated at the public expence, or they must be ignorant and a disgrace to Christianity. The expence was trifling, and the object was material. Would any friend to toleration in common policy starve religion to save the treasury 5000*l.*?—The right hon. gent. animadverted in terms peculiarly emphatical upon the statements of those who dwelt upon what they called the uncivilized state of Ireland. Some indeed, said the right hon. gent., affect to say that the great body of the Irish people are mere savages. I will not defend the Irish against such a charge, but I will defend you. If Ireland, after having been so many centuries connected with you, has not learned enough at least to rescue it from the savage state, while the world has been progressively improving, its connection with our country has not been a blessing, but a uisance. I will never hear, added the ght hon. gent., any reflection upon the orals or manners of my country without sing to resist it. I shall always protest gainst any reflections upon a country to hich I owe so much—to which you owe so uch—which is still ready to serve you, nd from which, I trust, you will continue o derive the most active and ardent support.—The resolution was then agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 16.

[MINUTES.] A new writ was ordered for the borough of Orford, in the room of Lord Robert Seymour, who having been also elected for the county of Caermarthen, had made his election to serve for that county. —The speaker informed the house, that he had received a letter from Samuel Smith, esq., who, having been elected for Midhurst and Leicester, had made his election to serve for Leicester. A new writ was then ordered for Midhurst.—Mr. Hobhouse reported from the committee, to whom the resolution of the house of the 11th day of Feb. 1789, respecting the Recognizances to be entered into by any person having presented a petition to this house, complaining of an undue election, was referred; that the committee had come to the following resolution; "That, so far as the said resolution respects the notice required to be given by the petitioner to the sitting member or members, or their known agent or agents, of the time and place of the intended examination of the sufficiency of the surety or sureties to be named in any recognizance, and of the names, additions, and places of abode of such sureties, if the petitioner shall not have been able to find and serve the sitting member or his known agent or agents, and if he shall thereupon have obtained an order from the house enlarging the time for entering into his recognizance, it shall be sufficient for the petitioner to give the said notice in writing, seven days at least previous to such examination, to the clerk of the house of commons, who shall enter the same in a book to be kept for that purpose, which shall be open to the inspection of all persons concerned." Ordered, that the said resolution be printed.—Mr. C. Dundas moved, that the order of the house of the 24th of Nov. 1699, "That the chairman of the Committee for any Private bill do not sit thereupon, without a week's public notice thereof set up in the lobby," and which was, upon the 15th of Feb. 1700, declared to be a standing Order, be read: and the same being read, it was ordered, That a committee be appointed to take the same into consideration, for the purpose of enabling the chairman, in all cases where the house has given power to the committee, to send for persons, papers, and records, to issue an order accordingly, so that such persons, papers, and records may be had in readiness for the committee to proceed upon at the expiration of the week's notice; and that they do report the same, with their opinion thereupon, to the house.

[BREACH OF PRIVILEGE—COMPLAINT RESPECTING THE POOLE WRIT.] Mr. *Jeffery*, pursuant to notice, rose to call the attention of the house to a circumstance, which was not only a violation of law, but a high breach of the privileges of that house. On the 29th of April, the writs were issued, as he understood, for the general election, and amogst the other writs, one for the election of Burgesses to serve in parliament for the town and county of the town of Poole. He had been informed by the messenger of the great seal, that this writ had been delivered immediately by him to Mr. Jonathan Brundrett, chief clerk to Mr. Lowten, in the Temple, to be sent to the sheriff of Poole. When he called upon Mr. Lowten, to enquire whether the writ had been sent, he was informed, that it had been sent three hours before; and on asking to whom the writ had been sent, he received a rude answer declining to state to whom, and accompanied with an observation, that it had been sent down in opposition to himself. It was not till the 20th of May that the sheriff gave notice, that the election would be held on the 25th of May, and in consequence, sir Richard Bickerton, one of the lords of the admiralty, and himself, who had gone down to Poole when the writs were issued, expecting that the election would come on immediately, with several of the electors of that city, were detained there three weeks to their great inconvenience. He should not detain the house by dwelling upon the motives of the conduct of which he complained, but should only state, that as parties ran high in the town, and the numbers were nearly balanced, the delay had been resorted to, in order to give an opportunity to one person, who would not have been of age to vote till the 22d of May, time to attain the proper age to vote. The consequence was a special return with respect to the two other candidates; he having been the only person actually returned. He should not trouble the house farther at present, on the subject, than by moving, that Mr. Stainforth, messenger of the great seal, who was attending in the lobby, should be called to the bar, to be examined relative to the business.

Mr. *Creevey* wished to know what breach of privilege the hon. member complained of.

The *Speaker* said, it was his duty to answer that question. Undoubtedly, any person who detained a writ issued for the election of a member of that house, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, the highest which that house knew, because such conduct had the effect of keeping the representatives of the people, who ought to be in the house, for the time, out of it.

Mr. Stainforth was then brought to the bar, and stated, that he had received the writ for Poole a little after twelve o'clock, on the 30th of April, and delivered it within less than two hours after to Mr. Brundrett, chief clerk of Mr. Lowten, for the purpose of being forwarded with all possible expedition to the sheriff of Poole. Mr. Stainforth then withdrew, and Mr. T. Lowten and Mr. Jonathan Brundrett were ordered to attend the house to-morrow.

[VOLUNTEERS.] Sir *Thomas Turton*, in rising to make his motion, in pursuance of his notice, for a return of the effective strength of the Volunteers, felt it impossible not to participate in the satisfaction of the house and of the public, that a noble lord, whom he did not then see in his place, was to-morrow to bring forward a proposition in which this part of the national force would be adequately provided for. There was a return similar to that he wished to call for before the house, presented in December last, but as he knew that it was inaccurate with respect to three or four regiments, he was sorry that it could not be seen from it how far it was to be depended on. It was peculiarly desirable, in the present situation of the country, to know what was the effective strength of its Volunteer force; as it was not to be concealed that that force had greatly decreased in consequence of the discouragements which it had met with. He was convinced, however, that the Volunteers were sound at heart, and that, with a little encouragement, they would again fall into their ranks; and, in the present state of the country, they should look to the Volunteers principally for the defence of the country. He should conclude by moving, that there be laid before the house a return of the effective strength of the Volunteer force of Great Britain and Ireland, distinguishing cavalry from infantry, to the latest period to which the same can be made out.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* had no objection to the motion, as he thought that every information on this subject should be afforded to the house. But he apprehended that the hon. baronet would be disappointed, if he expected more accurate information in this return than in that which had been laid on the table in December last. The inspecting field-officers had then been done away, and the returns were made by the commanding officers of the corps, without any check on the part of government. These inspecting field-officers had been only just appointed; and, though they might have made returns of a few corps, the great mass of the returns, which by the law were to be made every three months, would still rest on the same authority as the returns to which the hon. bart. had alluded.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* contended, that if any relaxation had taken place in the zeal of the Volunteers, it was because there did not appear the same occasion for their services, and that, when the enemy should again appear on the coast, they would again rally round their standards. If the Volunteers had been worked, as formerly, he was sure their numbers would have diminished. The measures of the late administration respecting them, he insisted, were wise. He felt warm on this subject, because he had commanded Volunteer corps ever since 1794, and he knew them to be attached to their sovereign and the constitution. Whilst he had a limb to stand upon, he should be found at his post, and he was persuaded the Volunteers would be found to adhere steadily to the principles upon which they associated.

Sir *T. Turton* replied, and contended that such discouraging language as "armed democracy," "depositaries of panic," &c. which had been applied to them in parliament, had principally tended to diminish the numbers of the Volunteers. It was impossible for them, having the feelings of men, to be insensible to terms of reproach, and it required all the influence of their officers to keep them from shewing their sense of them by withdrawing from their corps. He had raised the corps he now commanded, in 1794, and had the satisfaction to state, that whatever provocation might have been given to the Volunteers, his corps had not been influenced by it.—The motion was then agreed to.

[East-India Company's Bonds Bill.] Mr. Grant moved the order of the day, for the second reading of the East-India Company's Bonds bill. On the question being put,

Mr. *Creevey* rose, not to negative the second reading of this bill, but to move that the second reading of it be put off, till the East-India accounts now printing, should be in the hands of members. The house was not in possession of any documents to prove the expediency of agreeing to such a measure. This was the first instance in which that house had been called upon to pass such a measure, without previous enquiry into the grounds upon which it was founded, by having the petition referred to a committee of the house to examine into its allegations. There were at present two budgets in arrear, and the last accounts of the India company, to which the house could resort for information, shewed the affairs of the company to be in a ruinous state. By these accounts it appeared, that there was an excess of above two millions in the company's foreign expenditure over their revenue, and a loss of 2,200,000*l.* in their trade at home. Under these circumstances, and whilst the company had a debt of seventeen millions at home, payable at the option of the holders, he did not think that parliament would do right to pass this bill without enquiring what means the company had of discharging, as well their former debt, as this new incumbrance. He should therefore, notwithstanding the prospect held out by the hon. director opposite, of a permanent peace, and consequent prosperity of the affairs of the company, move as an amendment, that the bill be read a second time on this day fortnight.

Mr. *Grant* replied, that though the hon. member might be actuated by a desire to promote the public interest, he took the wrong course in his speech, for his arguments were founded in ignorance, not in his knowledge of the subject. The sole and simple reason for bringing forward the bill before the India accounts could be brought under the consideration of the house was, that if that course had not been taken, the bill could not be passed this session. The hon. member was aware how difficult it was to prepare the India accounts, so as that they could be presented in a form to be intelligible to the members of that house. He was sorry to find an hon. gent. who had filled the situation lately held by that hon. member, so ignorant of the affairs of the company as to make the assertions he had done. It was true that by the accounts on the table there appeared a deficit at home of above 2,200,000*l.* which the hon. member had stated to be the amount of the company's loss on their trade, whereas it had arisen from the quantity of stores and other articles which were necessarily sent out in consequence of the situation in which the company's settlements were placed. By the plan adopted in 1802 for the liquidation of the company's debt, it had been recommended to send out from Europe considerable quantities of bullion, in order to avoid the necessity of making loans on improvident terms in India. This had been done in 1803, 4, and 5; but the sums and bullion so sent had been applied to the purposes of the wars that then existed, so that no reduction of the debt had taken place. So also, when the system in India had been changed by marquis Cornwallis, considerable sums had been sent out, not for commercial purposes, but for the general expenditure of the presidencies in India. Under these circumstances, the company, though by law authorized to increase their funded stock, had applied to parliament for authority to issue bonds, and this was a much better course for the public, besause, if the stock of the company should not be worth any thing, it would be irretrievable to the holders, whereas the bonds might or might not be taken at the option of the individuals who might speculate in such securities. What he had said with respect to the prospect of peace, was founded on the report made by the governor-general, and he was persuaded that the jealousies of the native powers had been extinguished by the conciliating disposition manifested towards them by our government. On all these grounds, he should vote that the bill be now read a second time.

Lord *Folkestone* defended the statement of his hon. friend, as to the situation of the East-India company's affairs, and contended for the propriety of deferring the discussion, till the papers now printing should be in the hands of the members. He protested against the implied guarantees that would be given to the security of the bonds, without sufficient investigation of the state of the company's affairs. To issue the bonds without such a guarantee, would be to delude the public.

Lord *Howick* insisted upon the propriety of waiting till the documents now printing should be before the house. The importance and extent of the measure to be proposed to-morrow, for the defence of the country, would involve details, which would, in all probability, keep parliament sitting for so long a time, as to allow full opportunity to pass this measure after ample discussion. The state of the East-India company was such, that if the house could not in this session, go into a particular investigation of the company's affairs, it ought at least to pledge itself by a resolution to do so in the next. He expatiated on the declining state of the company's investments and sales; on the increased dangers menacing our Indian possessions from the increased power of Bonaparte, whose hostile designs against our Indian empire were well known. He insisted also on the instability of the peace with the native powers in India. He was of opinion, that those who should advance money on the credit of these bonds would have a claim upon the public, if the company should prove unable to discharge them. [Certainly not, said Mr. Grant,] That was, in his opinion, at least doubtful. If the company could raise the money on its own credit, why did it come to parliament? If the sanction of parliament was necessary, it was in order to give the bonds a credit, which implied a sanction, amounting virtually to a guarantee.

Mr. *R. Dundas* defended the raising of money upon bonds, in preference to the augmentation of the company's capital, which the company was already by law entitled to make. With respect to the urgency of passing the bill soon, he believed it was strictly a private bill, and must of course be reported this day se'nnight, or fall to the ground. This, however, the house might dispense with. With respect to the state of the company's affairs, though expensive wars had brought on heavy charges, the Indian empire was as little ruined by those heavy charges, as this country was by the heavy wars it had to sustain in Europe. Neither did the failure of commercial speculations in one or two years imply absolute ruin. The West-India merchants also were under difficulties: but nobody thought of saying they were in danger of being ruined. He denied that the passing of this bill amounted to a guarantee on the part of parliament. It might as well be argued, that parliament would be guarantee to the increase of the capital which the company had already power to make by act of parliament.

Dr. *Laurence*, as a member of parliament, ignorant on this subject, and entitled to information, contended, that no farther proceedings should be had on this measure, without full inspection of such documents as could be had. There would be abundant time for this. It was generally understood that the session could not be terminated in less than five weeks.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought it strange, that, as this measure had been agreed to by the late board of controul, it should now be opposed by the secretary to that board (Mr. Creevey). He denied that parliament, in passing the bill, guaranteed the bonds. The present high price of the company's stock, 180 per cent., was a sufficient proof of the company's credit, and the stability of its funds, without the aid of parliament. The present discussion was, at least, a sufficient notice that parliament gave no sanction. The parliament was never supposed to sanction the West-India dock company, or any other private speculating company, when an act was passed, enabling such company to increase its capital. It was allowed on all hands, that the company wanted relief, and this was the best mode of granting that relief.

Sir *A. Wellesley* supported the measure, and maintained the propriety of proceeding upon it without delay. The company's investments had been fully attended to. The difficulties arose from the state of the continental market, goods to the amount of 7,000,000*l.* being on hand. The territorial revenue in India, afforded a surplus of 1,000,000*l.* above the expenditure. The late wars had rendered our empire more secure against any attempt from the native powers.

Lord *Morpeth* recommended a minute investigation of the company's affairs, with a view to a complete settlement. Temporary arrangements were indeterminate and unsatisfactory.

Mr. *Lamb* thought parliament bound to investigate the solvency of the parties to whom it granted power to raise money, and of course responsible in the event of these parties proving insolvent.—The question being put, a division took place,

For reading the bill a 2d time now,	35
Against it	10

The bill was accordingly read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 17.

[Irish Glebe Houses Bill.] The order of the day being read for the second reading of the Irish Glebe Houses bill,

The Earl of *Hardwicke* said, he should wish the bill to be postponed for further consideration, to Thursday next. He conceived the bill to be superfluous: an act having passed in the year 1803 granting the sum of 56,000*l.* the same as proposed by the present measure, for building Glebe Houses in different parts of Ireland. All, therefore, that was required, was to carry that act into execution; and it was with the view of enquiring into the causes of its having hitherto remained a dead letter, that he proposed to put off, for a few days, the second reading of the bill now on the table.

The Earl of *Suffolk* understood the reason of not executing the act passed five years ago, to be the want of sufficient securities for the due appropriation of the money. This was, however, a very unsatisfactory reason, because the clerical livings might be taken as securities. Something ought certainly to be done in the business. At a time when the extension of the privileges of the Catholics was so much objected to, surely means should be taken for spreading more generally the Protestant worship, by increasing the facilities of attendance upon it. He had no doubt that the residence of the established clergy in their respective parishes would be productive of many converts to the Protestant faith. Upon this point he could speak from a fact within his own knowledge. What was considerered the pattern regiment of the artillery at Woolwich consisted of Irish Roman Catholics, and of these, as there was not a Roman Catholic Chapel within a convenient distance, a very considerable number of them spontaneously attended the established church. Of the dissenters, very few, if any, did so: but that might arise from there being several meeting houses in the neighbourhood to which they might resort. Among the Roman Catholic troops at the depôt in the Isle of Wight, he believed there were few who frequented the established church, because they had an opportunity of attending divine service at Cowes, according to their own system. Here he could not but advert to an expression which fell the other evening from high authority (the Lord Chancellor). Their lordships had been told, that the Catholics were within the pale of the constitution. If he was rightly informed, an instance had occurred, in which the Catholic soldiers at Cowes were compelled, under threats of punishment, to attend the established church: and if such a proceeding was to be permitted, it was clear that the Catholics were not within the pale of the constitution.—The earl of Hardwicke's motion was then put, and agreed to.

[Defence of the Country.] The Earl of *Suffolk* then rose to state, that before he left town, on his necessary avocations, he should feel it his duty to address their lordships on the military defence of the country. He was apprehensive that the proposition to be brought forward in the other house would come before their lordships too late to admit of his delivering his sentiments upon it. He should therefore state what he had to say on Monday. He begged leave to remind the house, that his advice had been followed in many of the points which he had repeatedly urged on their attention. There still, however, remained much to be done towards an efficient system of defence. He must at the same time intimate, that some of the observations which he might have to make, were of so delicate a nature, that he was apprehensive he should be under the unpleasant necessity of clearing the bar. He wished it to be understood, that nothing but an imperious sense of duty could induce him to move for the exclusion of strangers. [Here there was a cry of order!] He was aware that he was not altogether in order, but he was unwilling that the public should conceive that he wished to conceal from them any proceeding but such as a due regard for their own interests and safety required to be kept secret.—On his lordship's motion, the house was ordered to be summoned for Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 17.

[Complaint respecting the Poole Writ.] On the motion of Mr. Jeffery, the house proceeded to the further consideration of the enquiry into the causes of the detention of the writ for holding the late election at Poole.—Mr. Jonathan Brundrett being in attendance, pursuant to an order of the house, was called in and examined. He stated that he was a solicitor, acting as clerk to Mr. Lowten: that immediately after he had taken out the writ from the crown-office, he had handed it over to a gentleman who he expected would have forwarded it with all possible expedition.

He professed the most respectful deference for the authority and privileges of the house, and declared, that if he had offended against either, it was altogether without intention. On being questioned more than once from whom he had received the writ, he answered, from Mr. Stainforth of the crown office. On being questioned as to the person by whom he had been employed to take out the writ, he pleaded his honourable feelings as a bar to his answering, and entreated the indulgence of the house for his silence. On this, Mr. Brundrett was ordered to withdraw.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that when the situation, education, and character in life, of the witness were considered, his hesitation to answer the question put to him could not be imputed to mere ignorance. But as it did not become the house to take any rigorous step without explanation, he proposed that Mr. Brundrett be again called in, and that the Speaker should explain to him, that the house could not allow the ground he had laid down for refusing to answer the question put by its authority.—Mr. Brundrett being again called in,

The *Speaker* informed him, that the house did not admit the excuse he had offered, and repeated the question to him two or three times, by whom he had been employed to take out the writ? Mr. Brundrett persisted in declining to answer the question, and threw himself upon the indulgence of the house.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* saw no option for the house in the contumacy of the witness, but to commit him to the custody of the serjeant at arms.

The *Speaker* suggested, that the first question to be put was, that Jonathan Brundrett, having refused to answer the question put to him by the authority of the house, was guilty of a high breach of privilege.—A resolution to this effect having been put, was agreed to, *nem. con.*

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that as the house had so unanimously declared its sense of the offence committed against its authority, by the refusal of the witness to answer, it remained for him only to follow up the unanimous resolution of the house by the usual motion in such cases. He therefore moved, that Jonathan Brundrett be, for his said offence, committed to his majesty's gaol of Newgate.

Mr. *Barham* suggested, that it might be a sense of professional duty towards the person who had employed him, that had caused the silence of the witness: the courts of law allowed great latitude in this respect, and though the witness might have erroneously applied the principle here, some consideration was due to the habitual force of a professional obligation. It was besides a fact well known to most of the members in the house, that great exertions were in almost every case of contested election made to obtain the writ, with a view to fix the day of the election as it might suit the convenience of the party possessing it. It was a species of hypocrisy that he could not join in, to know and avow out of doors, that such a practice universally prevailed, and to cry, oh horrible! and oh monstrous! as if it was a most outrageous calumny, when such things were mentioned within doors. If the practice was felt to be in itself an abuse, or to be liable to abuse, it would be more becoming the wisdom of the house to apply a general remedy, than to punish any individual trespass with extreme severity. He thought it would be sufficient punishment to commit Mr. Brundrett to the custody of the serjeant at arms.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* contended for the right of the house to investigate all the proceedings with respect to the writ. If the witness persisted in his refusal to answer, he might, in so doing, be ambitious to raise his professional character; but that ambition was no reason why the house should restrain itself in the investigation which its constitution and character prescribed, nor in the exercise of the means it possessed of rendering that investigation effectual. The question was perfectly legal, and the excuse offered was totally insufficient.

Lord *Howick* observed upon the generality of the practice of taking out writs with a view to the convenience of the parties taking them out, in giving them a discretion to fix the time of the election. Some general remedy ought to be applied. Three parliaments ago the writ for Northumberland had been offered to him, with a view that he should consult his convenience in the use of it. He declined the offer, desiring that it should be transmitted to the returning officer, and intimating that if any improper delay occurred he would complain to the house of it. He would ask the secretary of the treasury (Mr. Huskisson), if there were not other instances also of his favour in issuing the writs. When the sheriff of Westmoreland sent for the writ for the orough of Appleby; for the election, by which he now held his seat, he found it was issued to another person, who used it according to his own convenience: the abuse ought to be removed by a general remedy, and not by ineffectual severity in a particular instance: Mr. Brundrett stood rather in the light of a person questioned as to his being implicated in a criminal act, than as a mere witness. If he were not a party, but questioned merely as to the crime of his employers, the professional principle ought to protect him.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the witness had already acquitted himself by immediately handing over the writ. An attorney was not protected from answering, where he himself was a party.

Mr. *Bathurst* and Mr. *Yorke*, on a review of all the circumstances, voted for the motion.

Mr. *Huskisson* defended the treasury from the imputation of interfering with the issuing of the writs.

Lord *Ossulston* alluded to a case, where he knew of an order being sent from the treasury not to deliver out the writ to any person in opposition to ministers, and this too at a time previous to its being known that the place was actually vacant.

Lord *Howick* imagined the hon. secretary of the treasury would better understand the hint he had thrown about, if he enquired what had been done in the case of the writ for the university of Cambridge.

Mr. *Sharpe*, from his confidence in the veracity of the hon. member (Mr. Jeffery), and from the contumacy of the witness, felt himself bound to vote for the motion of committal.—Mr. Montague spoke to the same effect.

Mr. *W. Smith* candidly confessed, as he believed most members conversant with contested elections might do if they would, that he had himself made an arrangement to get out a writ early for the advantage of a friend of his; but, upon application, he found that the opposite party had been still more active and successful. He hoped a general remedy would be provided by an obligation to issue the writ only to the returning officer. He deprecated the severe punishment of an individual case in the present general practice. He thought a committal ought now to take place; but the excuses that had been offered would be irresistible grounds of liberation as soon as a motion to that effect could be made.

Dr. *Laurence* hoped this discussion would lead to a general remedy of the evil complained of, and that not only a fair issue of writs would be the consequence, but also a fair and impartial intimation of intended dissolutions, instead of a partial communication to a favoured set after the departure of the post on a Saturday, allowing that set the advantage of a priority of two days on the canvass.

Mr. *Dent* said a few words in vindication of the messenger of the great seal, the officer concerned in issuing the writs.

Mr. *Smith*, in explanation said, he did not mean to say any thing to the disadvantage of that officer; but merely to state the impropriety of the general usage in these matters as it stood at present.—The question being put, it was ordered that Mr. Brundrett be committed to Newgate.

Mr. *Jeffery* then moved, that Mr. Lowten be called in, having first stated, that on hearing at the crown office, that the writ had been taken out by Mr. Lowten's clerk, he had gone to Mr. Lowten's chambers, who refused to tell him to whom it had been sent, but said very rudely, that it had been delivered three hours before to a person in the city, who had sent it to Poole; he would not tell to whom, but added, "if it is any satisfaction to you to know, it is gone in opposition to you."

Mr. Lowten was then called in, and in the course of a long examination, stated, that he neither directed Brundrett to take out the writ, nor knew who did. On being asked whether, having stated to Mr. Jeffery that the writ had been sent to Poole three hours before, he had himself sent, or was privy to its being sent, by any other person? Mr. Lowten begged to know, what the hon. member meant by the word privy? On being informed that it was meant to enquire whether he had any knowledge, direct, or indirect, he said he had not; that he had merely ordered Brundrett to give it to the persons in the city who had employed him to take it out. He could not answer precisely what he had said to the hon. member; he had, he believed, said, that the writ had been sent into the city three hours before. He had not said it had been sent to Poole, at least he knew nothing of the fact of its having been so sent. The hon. member was very pertinacious, and would not take the answer thus given him, but Mr. Lowten told him he would give no other. He did not say the writ was gone, in opposition to the hon. member, his connections, or his opponents. On this difference between the statement of Mr. Jeffery and Mr. Lowten, as to what passed at this interview, some questions arose as to who were present. After some remonstrances on the part of Mr. Lowten, as to the impropriety of examining who was with him upon private business, he stated, that it was Mr. Bryant, attorney, and that Mr. Jeffery was accompanied by Mr. Graves, of the same profession. Mr. Bryant was no clerk nor assistant of his. When he ordered Brundrett to give the writ to the persons who employed him in the city, he referred to Messrs. Ambrose and James Weston, attorneys. He knew no reason for their employing Brundrett to take out the writ, except that he was nearer to the crown-office than they, and that he was employed to take out writs for him. When so many enquiries were afterwards made about the writ at his chambers, he thought it right to send Brundrett in person to enquire after it at Poole; Brundrett was his confidential clerk, and he was anxious to have his character set clear in the business. Mr. Lowten was then ordered to withdraw, and the farther consideration of the business was adjourned to Monday, when Mr. W. Bryant, Mr. W. Graves, Messrs. Ambrose and James Weston, were ordered to attend on the motion of Mr. Jeffery.

Mr. *Barham* moved, that the messenger of the great seal be also ordered to attend, in order to explain the circumstances relating to the issue of the writs.

Mr. *Huskisson* seconded the motion. He was anxious to shew, that no influence was exercised by the treasury.—The messenger was accordingly ordered to attend on Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 18.

[MINUTES.] New writs were ordered for the borough of Helstone, in the room of Mr. Richards, who since his election, had accepted the office of steward of his majesty's Chiltern Hundreds; and for the borough of Appleby, in the room of lord Howick, who, since his election, had accepted the office of steward of the Hundred of East Hendred.—Mr. G. Galway Mills took the oaths and his seat.—Mr. Jeffery, in consequence of the illness of one of the witnesses, postponed the proceedings of the Poole writ, to Thursday next.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that, on Monday, he should bring in a Bill for continuing the commission of military Inquiry.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 20.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Mellish presented several petitions from the ministers, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor of different parishes in the city of London, against Mr. Whitbread's bill for the Education and Relief of the Poor. The petitions were respectively ordered to lie on the table till the second reading of the Poor Relief bill, and referred to the committee on the Parochial School bill. Similar petitions were presented from the magistrates of Surrey, and from different places, which were disposed of in a similar way.—A new writ was ordered for the Borough of Winchelsea in the room of sir F. F. Vane, bart. who since his election had accepted the office of steward of the Chiltern Hundreds.—Sir C. Pole presented a petition from R. Eyre, esq. relative to a sum of 59,000*l.* remaining unpaid of the proceeds of a Dutch Factory, captured in the year 1781, at the capture of which the petitioner commanded his majesty's sloop of war, Nymph. The petition praying a compensation out of the public money, was consented to on the part of the crown, by the chancellor of the exchequer, who did not thereby pledge himself as to what course might be afterwards adopted with respect to the petition.—The Attorney-General brought up a bill to amend the 40th of the king, concerning the personal and other property of the king and of the Queen consort for the time being; which was read a first time.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, pursuant to notice, moved for and obtained leave to bring in a bill, to continue the Commission of Military Inquiry. The bill was to continue the commission to June next, and he proposed this limit, not because he expected they could bring their labours to a close in that time, but at the desire of the commissioners, who wished that parliament should have the power of considering then, how far it might be expedient to continue the commission after that period.—Mr. Cochrane Johnstone moved, that there be laid before the house, an account of all balances to the latest period, for or against the army agents, as far as the same could be ascertained. Also, a statement of the fund for granting pensions to the Widows of Officers, the names of the persons upon the list; the amount of the pension to each, and the time when they were placed in the list. Also, an account of the application of all sums that had been anted by parliament to the compassion-e list, the names of the persons on the st, the amount of allowance to each, and he times when they were respectively laced on the list. Ordered.—The East-ndia Bond's bill went through a committee. fter some enquiries from lord A. Hamil-on, as to the grounds and objects of the measure, which were replied to by Mr. rant, in a short statement, the same in ubstance with what he had said in the rior stages of the business, the report was rdered to be received on Thursday.

[Breach of Privilege—Complaint especting the Poole Writ.] Mr. *Barham* stated, that he held in his hand a petition from Mr. Jonathan Brundrett, now a risoner in Newgate, offering to answer the uestions which the house might put to im, and expressing sorrow for having ncurred the displeasure of the house. It appened, unfortunately, that, upon the motion of an hon. gent. (Mr. Jeffery), the urther consideration of the business was ostponed till Thursday. As to the case of Mr. Brundrett, he trusted that it would meet the general feeling of the house to bring him up to-morrow, in order that he might be examined, and then discharged, as his present confinement was very injurious to him in his professional avocations. The petition was then read. It stated, that the petitioner was sensible that he had justly incurred the displeasure of that house. He declared that, in refusing to answer questions put to him by the house, his motive was not from any disrespect of the house, or disregard for its authority, but that he had acted merely from a general sense of his professional fidelity. He also declared that he was by no means instrumental in delaying the writ, as he delivered it to the person who employed him, within a very few hours after he had himself received it. He was himself entirely unacquainted with any of the candidates for the borough of Poole. He no longer persevered in refusing to disclose the persons who employed him, and was ready and willing to answer whatever questions the house should think proper to put to him, and hoped the house would permit him to be examined at their bar.—The petition was ordered to lie on the table. Mr. Barham then moved that the petitioner should be brought up to-morrow to be examined.

The *Speaker* conceived that it would be contrary to the established rules of the house, that a business which was fixed for Thursday, should be taken up sooner than the day appointed. He did not recollect a single instance of such a thing having been done.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* conceived that the house could not, in this instance, depart from its accustomed rules, but he had no objection to Mr. Brundrett's being called up to-morrow, for the purpose of being discharged. He thought that Mr. Brundrett had by his petition, and declaring himself ready to answer, set himself right with the house, and he did not think that it could be their wish to keep him longer in confinement. If, then, the hon. gent. would alter his motion, and move for his being called up, not to be examined, but to be discharged, the personal inconvenience would be removed from the individual, and the rules of the house would be preserved.

The *Speaker* thought this would remove the objection. He might be discharged to-morrow, and an order might be then made that he should attend for the purpose of being examined on Thursday, that the house should go into the business.

Mr. *Jeffery* said, that he should be perfectly satisfied under those circumstances, that Mr. Brundrett should be called up to-morrow, for the purpose of being discharged. It was then ordered, that Mr. Brundrett should be called up to-morrow, for the purpose of being discharged.

[Poor Relief Bill.] Mr. Whitbread moved the order of the day, for the second reading of the Poor Relief Bill.

Mr. *Morris* rose, and said, that although there were some parts of the bill to which he objected, yet there were some provisions of it so important, and so conducive, as he conceived, to the interest and comfort of the labouring poor, that he trusted the house would feel disposed to adopt them. The first feature of the bill, which he decidedly approved of, was the empowering magistrates to grant warrants of relief for those whom they knew to be proper objects. He also highly approved of the relief being given to the poor occupier of a cottage, simply furnished. As the law now stood, a person must sell his house, his furniture, his bed, and even the tools of his trade, before he was recognized as an object of relief. Those things, however, were as necessary as food itself; and it was only increasing the burthen on the parish to reduce the pauper to such an extremity of distress, that he should not be able to do any thing for himself. He was sure that this part of the bill would meet the general feeling of the house. He considered that it would increase considerably the estimation of the magistrates, if they were not merely held up to the poor in the way of terror, as the enforcers of the penal code, but if they should be also held out as the dispensers of the national bounty and charity. He approved of the extension of the facilities to obtaining settlements, but disapproved of some of the clauses of the bill. He objected to creating a vestry jurisdiction, and would much rather those matters were trusted, as at present, to an overseer of the poor, whose decisions were still subject to appeal from every petitioner. Neither did he approve of the rewards that were held out at a distant period for the encouragement of industry: he thought those rewards were very well from private agricultural societies, but that national rewards should only be given for splendid services to the state, done at the hazard of life; or else for valuable discoveries. He thought the common duties of society brought with them their own reward. Upon the whole, there were so many points in the bill of which he much approved, that he hoped the bill would go into a committee, where it might undergo any alterations that were thought proper.

Mr. *Davies Giddy* would also vote for the second reading, but had strong doubts as to the propriety of the proposed relaxation of the laws of settlement.

Mr. *Whitbread* rose shortly to reply. He was extremely sorry his hon. and learned friend behind him (Mr. Morris) disapproved of many points in the bill, which he himself conceived highly essential to a satisfactory amelioration of the poor-laws. There were, however, several of the clauses, which his hon. friend did approve; and if he could not obtain all the clauses embraced by the bill, he was desirous at least for the enactment of those, against which no material objection had been expressed. With respect to that clause in the bill which tended to facilitate the obtainment of settlements to poor persons long resident in a parish, he was extremely sorry to find a right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose), who was the first to introduce a relaxation into the laws upon that head, opposed to the present clause. In his own conception, nothing could be more inconsistent with reason, justice, and humanity, than the law as it now stood, which refused settlement to a poor man, who had spent the vigour of his youth, and the industry of his whole life in a parish, maintaining an honest character and an orderly and exemplary conduct, in the support of himself and his little family, for 20, 30, or even 40 years, without ever calling on the overseers for parochial relief: it was cruel that such a man should be driven at the latter end of his life, borne down by age and infirmities, from the parish which had so long benefited by his honest labour, to a parish perhaps two or three hundred miles distant, where he happened to be born, but where he had never been since a boy, to seek a settlement and maintenance amongst persons to whom he was utterly unknown, and who would, of course, feel but a cold disposition to maintain an object, of whose character and merits through life, they knew nothing. A case of this sort had occurred in his own parish, since the dissolution of the late parliament, where a poor man of four-score, resident fifty years in that parish, applied for relief, and the overseers insisted on sending him to the parish where he was born, at a distance of 300 miles! It was enough to break the heart of any magistrate of humane feelings, to be obliged to give effect to the law in a case of so much cruelty; and therefore feeling himself unable to comply with that severity, he had contrived by an application to the overseers of the poor man's native parish and those in his own, to prevent the poor man from being removed. This wretched old man never had applied before for parish relief, and even locked himself up with his aged wife, in their miserable cottage, determined to starve to death rather than be sent to a workhouse. It was therefore desirable to do away this cruel distinction, and to enable the magistrates to do by law, what humanity forced them now to do against law. Another clause was that which enabled the parish overseers to refuse aid to the pauper until he should have parted with the last article of his miserable furniture, even to his bed, and expended the last shilling in his maintenance, instead of letting him keep his little furniture, and affording him some temporary relief at his own house during a time of sickness or transient distress, rather than forcing him naked to a workhouse, obliging him to become a permanent burthen on his parish. Upon the whole, he wished the bill to be allowed to go to a committee, to receive such amendments either by the expunction or the improve-ent of such clauses as now seemed exceptionable, and thus to enact such clauses as ould be made unexceptionable, and which ould derive no improvement from delay.

Mr. *Rose* took shame to himself, that he was not aware the bill was to have been his day read a second time. There were many clauses of the bill which he approved f, and thought they might be productive f much good; but there were others which e thought liable to strong exceptions, as ending very much to unsettle a system which, however desirous he might be to improve it, ought not to be materially changed without the utmost deliberation. He acknowledged he had originated the clause in 1793, which facilitated the acquisition of settlements to the members of friendly societies. He wished the principle could have been extended generally, but there were a great variety of instances, in which it would operate oppressively upon numberless parishes. Upon the whole, he wished the bill for the present to be improved as far as possible in the committee, that it might be printed, and sent forth for public consideration, and again taken up in the next session with further opportunities for deliberation.

Mr. *Whitbread* lamented, that the right hon. gent. whose habits of industry had inclined him to pay more attention to this subject than any other member of that house, should now say he was unprepared. After the bill had been introduced in the last session, divided into four, discussed in a committee, printed, distributed through the country for the consideration of the magistrates; and, after the notice of a week that the bill was to be read a second time this day, that the right hon. gent. should say he had not considered it, was extraordinary; and if such a plea came from him, what could he expect from other members less in the habit of attending to such subjects? He had been charged with pertinacity in continuing to urge forward this system; but he disclaimed all pertinacity. He hoped, however, there was nothing reprehensible in a member of that house persevering in measures which to him appeared right and salutary for the public good; and if the right hon. gent. did not approve the whole bill, there were some clauses at least, which he allowed were admissible, and to the enactment of those he could surely have no objection.

Mr. *Lushington* spoke generally in favour of the bill, though there were a few points to which he had objections. He particularly approved of that part which enabled the magistrates to award relief in those cases where the overseers refused it, and that part which proposed rewards for long and exemplary conduct in poor persons, who in their own sphere acted as meritoriously as the soldier, who, in another line of life, became entitled by his exploits to the bounty of his country.

Mr. *Simeon* denied there was any such law in existence, as that which he was surprized to find taken for granted in the course of this debate, namely, a law empowering the overseers of the poor, to refuse relief to a pauper, until he should have sold all his little furniture for his maintenance. He had heard, indeed, that overseers in many parishes, where there was no resident justice of the peace, assumed to make such a law, or to act as if it were in existence; but he hoped it would not go forth to the country, that any such law existed in the British statute books. Such a principle was directly contradictory to the statute of the 9th of Geo. I. which gave the magistrate an appellant jurisdiction on the overseer's refusal, and empowered him to award relief upon affidavit, shewing just ground.—After a few words in explanation, the bill was read a second time and ordered to be committed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 21.

[MINUTES.] On the motion that the bill for extending the Royalty of Glasgow be now read a third time, Mr. Maxwell moved as an amendment, that the said bill be read this day three months, which after a conversation, in which Mr. Boswell, Mr. Laing, and Mr. Creevey supported the amendment, and the lord advocate and solicitor general of Scotland the bill, was negatived on a division of 41 to 21. The bill was then read a third time and passed.—Mr. Mellish presented petitions from the parishes of St. Mary, Islington, and St. Clements Danes, against the Parochial Poor Relief bill.—The Speaker acquainted the house that lieut. col. Alexander Park not having entered the required recognizances within the time limited by act of parliament, the petition complaining of an undue return for the shire of Kinross fell to the ground, and the order for hearing the same was discharged. The time for entering into recognizances on the petition complaining of the undue return of sir James Craig for the town of

Carrickfergus was enlarged to this day se'nnight.—Mr. Jones gave notice, that it was his intention in the early part of the ensuing session, to move for leave to bring in a bill to compel parochial officers to give in on oath certain rate-books previous to elections.—Mr. Brundrett, who had refused to answer the interrogatories of the house, on the subject of the detention of the Poole writ, and who had been committed to Newgate for that refusal, being in attendance pursuant to order for the purpose of being discharged, was brought to the bar, where he received the following reprimand from the Speaker: "Jonathan Brundrett; an unwarrantable delay appearing to have taken place in the execution of the last writ of election for the town and county of the town of Poole, and it appearing also that the writ was delivered from the great seal into your hands, you were interrogated at the bar of this house touching your conduct in that transaction, and you then thought fit to refuse making answer to the questions upon which you were examined. For that contumacy you were committed a prisoner to his majesty's gaol of Newgate, in order that you might feel, and others might know, that this house will not suffer any man, with impunity, to violate its privileges, or set its authority at defiance. But now that your imprisonment has brought you to a confession of your error, and a proper sense of obedience; this house accepts your submission, and consents to your discharge; and you are discharged accordingly." On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, what the Speaker had said in reprimanding Jonathan Brundrett, was ordered to be entered on the journals. Mr. Brundrett was ordered to attend on Thursday next, at the resumption of the enquiry respecting the detention of the Poole writ; and Mr. Wm. Spurrier was ordered to attend at the same time.

[PAPERS RELATING TO THE POLYGARS.] Sir *T. Turton* rose, pursuant to notice, to move for certain papers tending to throw light upon the conduct of the Indian government towards the Polygars. His object was to vindicate the character of the country, by the investigation of the parts of the Indian system, which called most loudly for enquiry, and as far as that should be found possible, affording redress where injury had been done. He wished also to impress the necessity of correcting the whole system on which the government of India had been for some time conducted. The transaction to which these papers referred, was but one of many which had left a very dangerous rankling in the minds of the natives. The systematic interference of the Indian government at home and abroad, with the prejudices and habits of the natives, had excited great dispositions in their minds to hostility towards the British interest. He adverted particularly to the late lamentable transaction at Vellore, which had originated from an interference of this kind. The whole system called loudly for enquiry and reformation, which he was anxious by every effort of his to expedite and carry into effect. With this view he gave notice, that unless the noble lord opposite (Folkestone) should be prepared to bring forward the Carnatic question in a fortnight after the commencement of the next session of parliament, he would himself call the attention of the house to that subject. He should now only move for copies of the instructions given by the Bengal government to major Bannerman in 1799, for the regulation of his conduct towards the Polygars, and also several other papers connected with the same subject.

Mr. *R. Dundas* had no objection to the production of the papers, but entered his protest against any inference of criminality in any one in the measure of disarming the Polygars, which had been rendered indispensably necessary by the disorders these Polygars were eternally committing. He should himself move for further papers, with a view to place the whole subject in a fair light.

Mr. *Addington* entered his protest against the prevailing practice of moving for papers with a view to crimination, without any ground whatsoever to induce a presumption that there had been criminality.

Lord *Folkestone* said, he should be ready, early in the next session, to proceed to the discussion and decision of the Oude question.

Mr. *Grant* rose to state, that nothing could be more erroneous than to suppose that the late unfortunate affair at Vellore arose from a system, or a design to interfere, in any manner, with any of the habits of the natives. There was no such design at home or abroad; and though such an idea had for some time been prevalent here, he could assure the house, from a particular perusal of the papers relating to the transaction, that there was no ground whatever for the opinion. The principal motive of the authors of that lamentable ransaction, seemed to be a wish to restore the sons of Tippoo Sultaun to the hrone of their father.

Mr. *W. Keene* entered into an historical etail of the proceedings with respect to he Polygars, which he defended.

Mr. *Wallace* vindicated not only the ourt of directors, but the government of Madras, from the charge of interfering with the habits and prejudices of the natives of India.—After a few observations rom sir A. Wellesley, the papers were ordered; and also several other papers moved for by Mr. Dundas.

[Parochial Schools Bill.] On the motion of Mr. Whitbread, the house went into a committee on the Parochial Schools bill.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* said, that understanding from the hon. gent. that that was the stage for proposing any clauses that might be deemed necessary, he rose for the purpose of submitting a clause to the committee. His great objection to the bill in its present form was the mode of carrying into effect the relief proposed, namely, by compulsion. He disapproved entirely of compulsion; in its present form, the bill was not to be fitted to the parish, but the parish to the bill, and this he thought would be in general impracticable: besides, if compulsory, it might considerably check the spontaneous charity of many individuals: another objection was, that it was teaching the persons relieved that they might claim as a right that relief which they ought to be taught to look upon as a favour. He was not at all anxious that any of these bills should pass into a law this session. The public were anxious to give their opinion upon them, and, as far as he could learn, that opinion was against them, for certainly he had heard of many petitions against the bill, and not one in favour of it. The clause he had to propose was, that it be lawful for the churchwardens, parish officers, &c. to hold vestries in their respective parishes, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of establishing a school or schools, under the direction of fit persons, to be by them appointed for the better education and instruction of the poor of the said parish. Something to this effect, he thought, would be better than any compulsory method; for certainly the inhabitants of each parish were better judges of the claims of their own poor, and their own means to judge of and provide for these claims, than gentlemen in that house could possibly be.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he was not at all sure that the house could pass this measure in the form of a law this session, but it might perhaps be expedient at least to make it take the shape and form of a law, as they were all agreed as to the necessity of instructing the poor. It was giving power to the churchwardens to do, under the sanction of parliament, what they already were in the habit of doing; and as he approved so much of the principle of the bill, he should support it in its present state.

Mr. *Hawkins Browne* thought it was certainly the duty of parliament to provide regulations to instruct the poor; but to get them to receive it, was a very different thing. In many parishes, the office of school-master would become a perfect sinecure. It would be extremely difficult to find any number of parishes to which the same law would properly apply. Some contained 10,000 inhabitants, while others contained only 30. Some were flourishing in their manufactures and trade, and others decaying. Some were supported by agriculture alone. Some had no endowments, while others had charitable institutions and free-schools. While he disapproved of the measure, he at the same time gave the hon. gent. who had brought it forward, great credit for his patriotism and zeal for the public good, but he really thought parliament had not come to a sufficient investigation of the subject, to enable them to come to a law, even although this had been an earlier period of the session.

Mr. *Wilberforce* was glad to perceive that his own opinion, as to the desirableness of not passing the bill during the present session, seemed to accord with the general disposition of the house. It was certainly more important that this subject should be decided upon, than that it should be decided upon soon. It was highly to be wished, that there should not be any appearance of forcing this plan upon the people, and he regretted to find upon conversing with many magistrates, and other country gentlemen, that they were not so well disposed towards it as he was himself. At the same time, he could not approve of the amendment proposed by the hon. gent., because, if the voluntary measure which he recommended, should be unsuccessful, it would be very difficult afterwards to carry the compulsory one into execution. The necessity of instruction among the lower classes in the south and west of England, and in Ireland, was strikingly obvious; in the latter particularly, he was convinced that on the instructing and enlightening of the people depended the very safety of the empire itself. Still, although general instruction might be very practicable, he was not quite prepared to agree to the sending out a parliamentary edict for that purpose. He thought that sufficient pains had not been taken to avail ourselves of the voluntary institutions for the education of the poor, and was of opinion, that it would be a great improvement to the measure, were it only to operate where those institutions were deficient. Having instanced several cases in which the detail of the bill might be improved, he recommended that the bill should be made as good as possible, and be then sent to the country for the general sentiment. Parliament ought not to be hasty in this business: they ought to recollect that they were legislating for posterity on a subject in which their happiness was more concerned than in any other; for he was convinced that in a thousand attempts to do good, there was not one the result of which could be ascertained with so much satisfaction as the diffusion of useful knowledge.

Mr. *Whitbread* expressed himself happy to find, from the conclusion of the hon. gent.'s speech, that he continued to be an advocate for the diffusion of knowledge: such an opinion was to be expected from a man of his character and conduct, and one who had paid such unremitting attention to similar subjects. He owned, however, that he was somewhat surprised at the inclination for delay which that hon. gent. had manifested. Had he not proofs in other parts of the world of the benefits which resulted from the diffusion of the truths of the gospel? And how were those truths to be still further diffused in this country, but by putting into every one's hands the keys of knowledge? The hon. gent. had allowed that the instruction of the Irish was indispensable with the safety of the empire; was a moment then to be lost? He (Mr. Whitbread) was then what that hon. gent. had often been, in the hands of the gradual abolitionists of the bill. The postponement would be espoused by those who hoped, by putting off the bill to another session, to get rid of it altogether. The measure had been opposed without having been even read, for if it had been read, it could never have been asserted that it was compulsory. It did not compel a single child to attend; it only gave power to the magistrates to erect schools and to appoint schoolmasters: the rest would necessarily follow. This misrepresentation proved to him, that if the bill were re-printed and sent into the country, it would be only to make waste paper. When parliament met again, gentlemen would declare that they had not had time to read it, and would press for further delay. He desired, therefore, to have a decision on it in the present session. With regard to the petitions on the table, they did not complain of the principle of the measure, but of the enactments, as tending to affect the petitioners; but the bill contained a clause, enabling the justices to suspend the execution of the bill, where unnecessary. This would obviate any inconvenience, unless, indeed, the magistrates were supposed to be corrupt. If corruption were thus to be imputed to all men, every attempt to benefit mankind must cease. We must do nothing but lie down and die. It had been said, that the bill would put an end to charitable contributions. Not so. If in a large parish 6,000 children were educated by charitable contributions, and 10,000 were not educated at all, his bill passing over the former would apply only to the latter, whose situation was rendered at present so much more distressing by the contrast. It had been also said, that by the bill, parishes would be compelled to raise a shilling rate. No such thing. The bill only gave a power of doing so when necessary, a necessity that would perhaps not exist once in a thousand parishes. The impossibility of carrying the measure into effect in a year, had been dwelt upon. Why was it impossible? In many parishes schools were already erected. In others, temporary buildings might be used until schools were erected. It would be easy to find schoolmasters, among whom there would doubtless be a competition for appointments. If the committee adopted the proposed amendment, he should despair of its ever being the serious intention of the house to carry the general measure into effect. The most weighty objections that had been made to the bill, related to the metropolis and its neighbourhood. It was certainly not probable that police magistrates would be so likely properly to execute the provisions of the bill, as magistrates in the country, who possessed local knowledge and local interests. If, on the report of the bill, the members for the city f London, or for the county of Middlesex, hould propose a clause to prevent this ower from being lodged in the hands of the olice magistrates, he should not object to t. He repeated his wish, that the bill night pass in the present session. The xample of Scotland, and the north of England, evinced the benefits of that nstruction in which he was most desirous that the rest of the empire should participate.

Mr. *Wilberforce*, in explanation, declared hat on no subject had he formed a more deliberate, and at the same time a more decided opinion, than on the advantages which a country must derive from the instruction of its people. The difference of opinion entertained by the magistrates, and others with whom he had conversed, was not on the benefit of instruction, but on the mode of conveying it.

Sir *John Newport* was decidedly in favour of a measure which the hon. gent. (Mr. Wilberforce) supposed to be most intimately connected with the interest of Ireland and the general welfare of the empire. He thought it, however, to be his duty to state what was the opinion of a man who was not only a friend to the regular establishments of these countries, but also to its political interests, and who was universally acknowledged to be a friend to the human race, he meant Mr. Howard the philanthropist: that patriotic and moral man had travelled through Ireland, and he stated, that if ever we attempted to incorporate any particular principles of faith with our education of the people in Ireland, we should certainly fall short of our object. He therefore hoped, that as far as respected that country the system of education would be conducted on the most liberal and enlightened principles of toleration.

Mr. *Rose* urged the postponement of this measure. There appeared a general disinclination to it throughout the country, and in proof of this, he read a letter from a gentleman, stating, that at a quarter sessions, where above 30 magistrates were assembled, this measure had met with general disapprobation. He trusted, however, that the hon. gent.'s well-meant endeavours would give the greater facility to some practicable mode being adopted. He hoped that a plan would be effected, which should admit of mixing habits of industry with education; for in many places there was a disinclination in the lower orders to send their children to school merely for education. If the bill were now to be adopted, it would incur a great expense in the erection of schools, &c. without producing much practical benefit. He approved of the amendment, as best calculated to reconcile the country to the measure; it would thus be rendered more palatable, and a better chance would be afforded for its ultimate success.

Mr. *Simeon* thought the question came to this, whether it were better to adopt a voluntary or a compulsory mode of education. He found a general objection against enforcing this measure by compulsion. Poor parents were not averse to have their children educated; but from the ages of 7 to 14, in country places, they could send their children into the fields, and gain something for the better support of their families; and if deprived of this advantage, they would come sooner upon the parishes for relief. He thought no one could object to the education of the poor, provided it was coupled with religious instruction. He objected also to this measure, on account of its expense.

Mr. *Lushington* objected to the amendment, as tending to render the measure itself perfectly nugatory.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* professed himself a warm friend to the moral and religious instruction of the poor; but he thought that, by adopting the amendment of his hon. friend, the house would part with the measure for the session in a state infinitely preferable to that in which it would otherwise be. He agreed with an hon. baronet, that it was not advisable to couple proselytism with education; but he hoped that no fear of being suspected of such an intention would ever induce the house to separate religion from education; for he was convinced, that by a religious education alone, the people could be made good subjects, and their happiness be established.—After some further discussion, a division took place;

For the amendment .	33
Against it . . .	12
Majority . .	21

The compulsory clause was therefore lost.—On the re-admission of strangers to the Gallery, we found,

Mr. *Pole Carew* speaking against the bill. He said, he could never admit the justice of laying such an impost as two millions a year, the amount of the charge according to his own calculation, upon one class of the community, namely, the landed interest of the country, to educate another class. But whatever advantage, in the way of morality, might arise to the poor from learning to read, he could see neither utility nor morality in teaching them writing and arithmetic, and he begged that gentlemen would just turn to the preamble, and substitute the words "writing" and "arithmetic," in place of the word "instruction," and see how the matter would then bear in their own minds, as to the feasibility of the position, "Whereas great advantages to the lower orders are likely to arise from teaching them writing and arithmetic."

Mr. *Whitbread* immediately rose. He said, the hon. gent. had attempted to cast a degree of ridicule upon the preamble and the intent of the bill, which, in his opinion, it did not deserve. The hon. gent. asked, would any man say, after considering the principle in the way he had put it, whether morals were likely to be improved by writing and arithmetic? He (Mr. W.) was the man that would now stand forward, and answer, that they would; and he was ready to vindicate his opinion, but should be glad to hear the hon. gent. defend his own. He would assert, without fear of contradiction from any rational man, that writing and arithmetic, so far as they tended to exercise and improve the human understanding, tended also to improve morality; and that every vestige of knowledge, in progression from the humblest to the highest and most refined, operated proportionably to the improvement of morality amongst mankind.—After some farther discussion, the bill was gone through, reported forthwith, ordered to be printed as amended, and to be taken into further consideration on Monday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 22.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Sumner presented a petition from John Alcock, esq., praying for an enlargement of the term for entering into recognizances on the petition complaining of an undue return for the borough of Lancaster, on the ground of the indisposition of one of the sureties. He then moved, that the time of entering into recognizances be enlarged to Monday next. Sir J. Newport and Mr. P. Moore opposed the motion, on the ground that the time had passed for presenting such petitions. Mr. Dent pledged himself in a few days to bring before the house a scene of iniquity on this subject of a very extraordinary nature. After a few observations from the Speaker, the motion was negatived without a division.—Mr. Dent gave notice, that he would to-morrow move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the feelings of the house from being thus played with.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.] Lord *Castlereagh*, in pursuance of the notice which he had had the honour to give, rose to call the attention of the house to the military measures which his majesty's ministers had thought it their duty to propose; a subject at all times important, but perhaps never so important as at the present momentous crisis. It had been to him a subject of considerable uneasiness, that the production of these measures had been somewhat delayed by his own personal indisposition; but there were other and more serious causes which had induced government not to be hasty in bringing them forward. His majesty's ministers could not but feel, on coming into office, that the event of the campaign on the continent which was then opening, whether favourable or disastrous, was likely to present to the observation of parliament, the truest motives for inciting them to exertion—motives much more powerful than any which the statements of government could otherwise produce. He could also assure the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Windham), that his majesty's ministers were anxious that their return to office should not be marked with any undue impatience to subvert the plans of their predecessors. Among the eminent qualities of the right hon. gent. the solicitude to destroy established systems was one, which he owned he was least desirous to emulate. Impressed with these feelings, his majesty's ministers examined deliberately the military system already in existence. He was prepared to admit, that whatever objections he felt to that system, he also felt considerable difficulty in making a fundamental alteration in it. A comparatively inferior system laid claim to protection, from the circumstance of its being in existence; and therefore, in what he should offer to the house, the right hon. gent. would not find such a deliberate purpose of alteration as perhaps he expected, or as characterized his own arrival in that department, which he (lord C.) had now the honour to fill. Having thus stated the reasons why this subject had not been submitted at an earlier period to the consideration of parliament, he should now feel it is duty to propose to them a measure of reat energy, which would put the country o much inconvenience, which would subject it to severe sacrifices, but which was endered indispensable by the circumtances of the times, and by the measures f the late administration. On this point, e felt relieved from the necessity of entering into a particular and detailed description f this necessity. The present situation of Europe was enough of itself to rouse the ublic attention. If the late administration llowed, when they were in office, that the military strength of the country was inadequate to its objects, how much more so must it now be, when it was hardly possible to turn our eyes to any quarter in which he interests of Great Britain were not at stake? If the sphere of action were great, when the right hon. gent. was in power, how much was it extended at the present moment? We had now to support new principles of policy, and to feed so much larger an army employed on foreign service. In the army at home also, we were called upon either to make a great effort to render the second battalions of our regiments efficient, or with a due regard to economy, to abandon them altogether. He was apprehensive, however, that should they be abandoned, the weakness which marked them, would characterize the first battalions, and that the first battalions would soon become as inefficient as it was so deeply to be lamented that the second battalions now were. It was impossible to look to the general aspect of Europe, and to the returns on the table, by which it appeared how large a portion of our force was employed abroad, and even on the most superficial view, entertain a doubt of the necessity of great exertions indeed, if we were desirous of preserving our security at home, and of not abandoning our military greatness abroad. If the necessity were disputed, he was prepared, and staked his personal responsibility to prove (could he do so without divulging that which ought not to be divulged), by the most satisfactory and undoubted details, that no voluntary or other local force was adequate to the wants of the country, but that for every thing of that description, a regular and efficient force must be substituted. The question, therefore, was not whether the volunteer system or the Training bill, could be improved, but what that system was which would carry our regular army and militia to the highest point, with the least inconvenience to the existing establishments, and with the most moderate pressure on the country? If he had satisfied the house that some substantive increase of regular force was necessary for the preservation of our dearest interests, it would be a proposition not very difficult to establish, that we must not rely for that amount of force which the public exigency required on the system of ordinary recruiting which the right hon. gent. opposite had projected, or on any system of ordinary recruiting which human wisdom had devised. He would not now enter into a detailed examination of the right hon. gent.'s system: that would be a subject for future discussion; but he would generally state it as his own deliberate and decided conviction, that if any system of ordinary recruiting were freed as much as it were possible to free it from the effects of undue competition, and were in every respect as well administered as it was in human power to administer it, it might keep up an army once brought to its standard, but it could never be competent of keeping up an army, and of increasing it at the same time. Let the house look at the result of the right hon. gent.'s system for the last six months—the most favourable period of its operation—they would find that, deducting the boys raised by it, the actual produce of men obtained for the army, was not so great as by the former double operation of the ordinary recruiting, and the Additional Force act, much less was it calculated to give that increase to our military strength, which the foreign measures of his majèsty's late ministers (and into the wisdom of those measures he would not now enter) had rendered necessary. If therefore, it was meant to have a bona fide addition to the amount of our public force, it was perfectly illusory to depend on the ordinary recruiting; in truth, therefore, the question came to this, what measures must be resorted to to raise the army to the standard to which circumstances imposed the necessity of its being raised? Certainly, by some sort of compulsion. No desirable species of compulsion had ever occurred to any administration unconnected with ballot; and here he could not avoid condemning the unnecessary pains which the right hon. gent. opposite had taken to decry the use of ballot. If it were allowed that compulsion must be resorted to, and that compulsion must be founded on ballot, our choice was narrowed to a very limited extent. In submitting to parliament what had occurred to his majesty's ministers as most expedient on this subject, he hoped they would not expect any peculiar novelty. He acknowledged that he had not made any very great discovery: he had indeed avoided every thing that appeared mighty ingenious, because he knew very well, that on all subjects, and especially on military subjects, these ingenious and complicated theories, although they might look extremely well on paper, were found to be sadly deficient when attempted to be put into practice. He was persuaded, whatever his opinion of the military plan of the right hon. gent. was, that at all times, and in a state of war above all other times, it was infinitely better to adopt the military establishments of the country as they stood, and to fortify and support them, than to weaken and throw them down for the purpose of substituting some speculation, of which experience alone could prove the superiority. There seemed to be this simple alternative on which to decide. If we were to raise a great number of men by ballot, the country must be called upon either to submit to a ballot for men direct for the regular army, or to submit to a ballot for men for the militia, with the view of our drawing from the militia that aid which the incomplete regiments of the line required. He would state the grounds for the option made by his majesty's ministers, and shew why they thought it the less advisable measure to raise a number of men by ballot direct for the regular army. It was true that the act of 1804 (the Army of Reserve act), to which he might consider himself a party, was for the purpose of raising men by ballot direct for the army; and it was also true, that if ever a military measure was beneficial to the country, it was that act, from which, in a very short space of time, most important advantages had been derived. If, therefore, the country stood in the same situation, as that in which it stood in 1804, he should certainly have thought it the duty of his majesty's ministers to submit to parliament some proposition, analogous to the Army of Reserve act; but it was impossible not to feel that the circumstances of the country were essentially different now from what they were then, and that they were now precisely such as to afford strong reasons for a preference of the other mode of increasing our military strength. In the first place, from the magnitude of our force (however yet inadequate) we had more nearly approached to those bounds by which every country limited in population, must necessarily be prevented from furnishing more men for its military service, or at least from furnishing them without considerable difficulty. If, therefore, a mode offered itself of procuring men with more facility than in any other way, that mode ought to be adopted. There was another striking difference between the situation of the country when the Army of Reserve act was passed, and the situation of the country at present. Just before the former period, the regular militia had been balloted, and had been called into service; now, their period of service had expired, and would terminate with the termination of the war. Whatever supplies, therefore, might now be drawn from the militia for the regular army, would consist of men whose services would be otherwise approximating to a conclusion, while the new levies, to fill up the deficiency thus occasioned in the militia, would consist of men commencing a term of service of 5 years. Thus the country would obtain a military protection ready for a new war or any other emergency, and would enjoy a diminution of those burthens which must otherwise be incurred at the conclusion of peace, to replace that very great portion of the militia which must in that event be discharged. In proposing, therefore, to levy men by ballot for the militia, rather than to revive the provisions of the Army of Reserve act, no new or avoidable burthen would be imposed upon the country, but that burthen merely would be anticipated, to which, on the return of peace, the country must submit. That part of the measure of the right hon. gent. last year, which excluded from the army any regular battalions for limited service, was another strong cause for preferring the mode now proposed of augmenting our force. It was true, that this obstacle was not insurmountable, but it was the wish of his majesty's ministers to disturb as little as possible the existing military establishments of the country. The levy of men for the militia would be less prejudicial to the country, and to the regular recruiting for other reasons. There was a greater proneness in the peasantry to enter into the militia than into the regular army. Men for the militia would not only be more easily got, but they would be of a better description; and although he allowed that the rge ballot which would be required, ould raise the bounty considerably, yet would not be raised so much as if the me ballot were to take place direct for e regular army. The balloting for the ilitia had become congenial to the habits f the country. It was familiar with it. he people recognized it with tranquillity, nd the magistrates executed it with ease. he Army of Reserve act, although a most stimable measure at the time of its adop- on, yet being one of comparatively greater ressure, after it had been four months in peration, degenerated so much, that those y whom it had been proposed, thought it heir duty to move for its suspension. He hought also the house would feel, that the act of the penalties under the Army of Re- erve act never having been enforced, was a most serious obstacle to any recurrence o that measure. Those who were in power had transferred the penalties to the Addi- ional Force act and that alone; but when he right hon. gent. proposed to parliament to repeal those fines in defiance of every principle of public justice and legislative dignity, he (lord C.) had endeavoured to shew how pregnant with mischief that right hon. gent.'s proposition was; and that it was one which would render nugatory any measure similar to the Army of Reserve act. That the step then taken was unwise, now appeared pretty strongly; and were he to propose a renewal of the Army of Reserve act, he was satisfied that he should, in consequence, subject the country to all the vexation of a legislative measure, which must end in complete failure. The house would also feel as an inducement to prefer the mode which he had suggested, that looking at the present state of the country, if the gentlemen of the militia were disposed to lend themselves to such a laudable object, it was much more desirable that any temporary inefficiency should exist in the defensive rather than in the offensive part of our military force. In every point of view, therefore, it seemed preferable to raise men for the regular army from the militia, than to raise men for the regular army by a ballot. It was a mere anticipation of a burthen which must be imposed; it was a cheaper method; it was one by which better troops would be procured; and it would ultimately restore to the recruiting market that monopoly which he was as desirous as the right hon. gent. opposite, that it should possess.—Having thus detailed the grounds on which the measure now proposed had been adopted, it became necessary to state the extent of the levy. At the termination of five years service, all men balloted for the militia were entitled to their discharge. The official documents proved, that from December next to the succeeding May, between 5 and 6 thousand of the militia would be so entitled to their discharge, besides the waste produced by other circumstances. He was anxious when the subject of ballot was agitated, to submit to the house the expediency of providing not only a cover for this deficiency and this waste, but also such a number of supernumeraries (for whom the officers now in the militia would be sufficient), as would render any further ballot for two or three years wholly unnecessary; so that a security would be given to the line, that a continual ballot would not exist in competition with their ordinary recruiting. In looking to the number of men which it would be proper to raise for these purposes, two questions offered themselves for consideration. What number of men could the militia afford to spare? and what number of men did the army indispensably require to put it in a state of adequate efficiency; that was, to place every regiment, including the second battalions, on its proper footing? Having duly weighed these points, his majesty's ministers proposed that all those men now serving in the militia exceeding three-fifths of the militia establishment in Great Britain, and one half of the militia in Ireland, should be transferred to the line. By this arrangement, about 21,700 men would be gained from the militia of Great Britain, and about 7,000 from the militia of Ireland. It had been thought better to propose to take the excess above three-fifths of the British militia establishment, and the excess above one-half of the Irish militia establishment, rather than to take two-fifths of the British militia and half the Irish militia, because as several of the militia regiments were not completely filled up, the latter mode would weaken them too much. In one word, by the proposed plan, the British militia would remain at three-fifths, and the Irish militia at one-half of its present establishment. The men to be raised by ballot were, as he before stated, for three objects, to cover the waste in the militia, to supply the deficiencies occasioned by so great a transfer from the militia regiments to the regular army, and to provide a body of supernumeraries large enough to prevent the speedy recurrence of the ballot. To effect these objects, it had been thought better to mention a proportion, rather than a defined number. As the law at present stood, his majesty was empowered to call on the counties to ballot for a supplementary militia, amounting, in Great Britain, to 24,000 men, viz. 20,000 in England, and 4,000 in Scotland. As the number of this supplementary militia was exactly half of the established militia, so it had been deemed advisable to propose that the counties should be called upon for a supplementary militia and a half, making 36,000 men for Great Britain, besides 8,000 for Ireland. Allowing for the necessary waste, this would add at least 38,000 men to the gross military force of the country, and 28,000 men to the regular army; leaving with the militia a large body of supernumeraries, sufficient for a long period to release the standing army from the embarrassments, which a ballot must occasion; and, when peace should arrive, instead of not having any militia at all, the country would possess a militia of 36,000 men, and would only have to raise the difference between that number and the full establishment, namely, a fourth, or 12,000 men.—Having thus stated the extent to which in the present public exigency it had been thought wise to carry the increase of the regular army from the militia, he observed, that no pains had been spared by his majesty's government to digest a mode of transferring the men from the militia to the line, more free from objection than any that had hitherto been devised, more palatable to the officers of the militia, and less likely to hurt that just pride in their different regiments, which they so laudably entertained. On this part of the subject his majesty's government would be extremely happy to receive any suggestions from the officers of militia, with which they might think proper to favour them. It had occurred to his majesty's ministers, that there were two objections which were likely to press on the feelings of militia officers; the first was, the large amount of the force that would be extracted from the militia; the other, the danger which the militia regiments would for a while incur of a relaxation of discipline by the volunteering and recruiting for the line. With respect to the first objection, he trusted it would not be deemed a very serious one, when it was considered that, although a great diminution in the numbers of the militia must certainly take place for the increase of the regular army, yet that a greater number would immediately be supplied from the counties. With respect to the second objection, it was proposed, in the first instance, and for a certain period, to submit the recruiting for the line from the militia solely to the direction of the militia officers. It was proposed, that for 30 days after the issuing of the warrants, no soldier or officer of the regular army should interpose, or have any intercourse with the militia. It was in the contemplation of his majesty, and of his royal highness the commander-in-chief, to give, as usual, commissions in the line, in proportion to the number of men raised, and to commission the officers in the regiment to which the men might be invited to go, should the wished-for number not be produced within the 30 days: but it was also proposed to accept a smaller proportion of men, provided they were produced in 30 days, in preference to the allowing of volunteering in round numbers, if a third was thus produced instead of two-fifths. He would submit to the house but a few observations on the terms of enlistment, because they would with more propriety become the subject of a future discussion. He was certainly far from wishing to anticipate the decision of parliament, on a question of so interesting a nature, as whether or not the men should be allowed to enlist for life; though he confessed that he differed very widely from the right hon. gent. opposite in his opinions on that point; he was by no means disposed to advise that the regulations adopted last year by parliament should be rescinded, and things restored to their former state. Yet still he thought it would be wise to give to individuals the alternative whether they would enlist for life or not; but he admitted that the only fit opportunity for discussing this question would be on the introduction of the Mutiny bill, and that such discussion was irrelevant to a collateral measure like that before the house. He would observe, however, that the right hon. gent. himself had not thought that no case could occur in which a deviation from his regulations would be advisable. He had certainly held out an expectation to all those who had served 21 years in the army, that they would be immediately discharged; but prudence would not allow him to venture on this step, and in the face of his own principles he abstained from discharging these men, who were very numerous, and ho were still in the service. If, there- re, the right hon. gent. relaxed the re- lations of parliament, to suit his own nvenience, surely he (lord C.) might call on parliament to relax them for the nvenience of the public and for the lvancement of the general interest. If were so fortunate as to persuade the ouse to agree to his propositions for trans- rring a portion of the militia to the line, d for raising a great number of men by allot for the militia, he was convinced he ould shew them, that whatever might be e expediency of granting such an option the peasantry enlisting for the line, it ould unquestionably be adviseable to give the militia enlisting in the line, the op- on of a limited or an unlimited term of rvice; of course with an increased boun- for the latter; that those who were not sensible of the charms of a limited term of ervice as the right hon.gent.opposite, might e empowered to make their election accor- ingly. He did not mean to make this a art of the general measure, but would ubmit it in a separate clause. He must ot omit to state what it was the intention f his majesty's ministers to propose with egard to that part of the military force of he country which was not regular nor mi- tia, but which was ready to support and ome in aid of both;—and first, as to the right on. gent.'s measure of last year, the Train- ng bill. In duty to him and to the house, ome explanation was necessary of what had een done by his majesty's ministers on his subject, since they came into office, and of what they meant to do. The act was, that if they had been the original advisers of the measure, or had partaken of the right hon. gent.'s partiality for it, it would have been out of their power to carry it into effect; for so happily was it contrived, that the ballot could not go forward in many of the counties, and though in this double carrying bill, the militia ballots were suspended, it left the training lists completely in the back ground. Consistently with the sentiments which he had already stated, he declared that though not an original admirer of the right hon. gent.'s measure, yet, being in existence, he wished to draw even from that measure, as much military resource as possible. He would, therefore, not propose to parliament to abolish that part of it which related to classifications, ballots, &c. for the due execution of which government had it in contemplation to suggest some provisions; but as to the training part, he confessed that he had never been able to obtain information; and he called upon the right hon. gent., if he could, to afford it to him, how that could possibly take place under the superintendance of a constable alone, the only way presented by the bill. Indeed, the right hon. gent. had contrived to throw such a ridicule over this part of the subject, that it was vain to hope we could inspire a rustic feeling upon it, or convert the training so directed into a rustic amusement. He pledged himself, therefore, to propose that this part of the training bill should not be realized; but he repeated, that he would not abandon the bill altogether, or rather he would not abandon that part of it which was taken from the Defence bill, which was the only efficient part of the Training bill, and which the right hon. gent. had contrived very much to disfigure. A fundamental objection which he entertained to the Training bill, was, that the time of service was too short. It was impossible to train men, unless they were organized; and when so organized, he thought that they ought to be liable to a longer service. What with the registering, balloting, &c. &c. the year appointed by the Training bill would soon vanish, and the ballot would soon be to recommence. If the volunteers should find themselves unable to continue a sacrifice, which was unquestionably a severe one, which had reflected the highest honour on their character and conduct, but which, in many instances, would scarcely be expected to be permanent; in this case, in the Training bill, or rather in the Defence bill, might be discovered a basis on which the military establishments of the country might be founded. Instead of balloting the men to be trained for a year, he would propose that they should be balloted for two years at least; indeed, three years would not be too long a period. If parliament consented to this, they might gain two objects; in the first place, the discipline thus diffused would be greater, and would qualify the subjects of it for the regular army if wanted; in the second place, looking to that amount of force which parliament had declared it was necessary, should be six times larger than the militia, or, in other words, 200,000 men, the seeds of a permanent military force might be planted in it, which might grow up as the volunteers might decline. His notion was, having laid the foundation of this force, to enable his majesty to direct that, where the volunteers were not in this proportion of six times the number of the militia, a local militia should be created, by ballot, out of the men disciplined by the Training bill, to be officered out of the regular militia. He meant to propose that this local militia in peace, should be disciplined the same number of days as the regular militia, but that they should never serve out of their counties, except in cases of rebellion or invasion. Thus would be produced a regular and organized force, out of that which, according to the measure of the right hon. gent., could create nothing but embarrassment. By this, the Training bill might be rendered useful, for he entered his solemn protest against throwing down any great public establishment, for the mere purposes of speculation. Here was the difference between the right hon. gent. and himself; when the right hon. gent. came into office, he most unwisely did every thing in his power to relax the volunteer system, for the purpose of introducing his Training bill. He (lord C.) on the contrary, was not desirous to subvert any thing done by that right hon. gent.; the fact was, indeed, that with his best endeavours he had done nothing. He (lord C.) had always advised that the character and spirit of the volunteer corps should be upheld until some other decisively superior establishment could be discovered as a substitute. His majesty's present government had re-established the system of inspection of the volunteers; without that system it was impossible that any principle of economy could be observed—that any security could be enjoyed for the proper administration of the funds, appropriated to various parts of the volunteer service, or that the volunteer establishment could be kept in an organized state. It was in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to encourage volunteer corps, not to substitute permanent service for their drill days, for that in most cases would be inconvenient, and in many impracticable, but to pass those drill days in exercises from home. It would then be seen which of those who entered into volunteer corps, did it for the sake of exemption, or for other motives. If parliament should think fit to adopt any subsequent measures on this subject, his majesty's ministers would not shrink from it. Let them, however, be deliberate in their undertaking, recollecting the old saying, "the more haste, the worse speed." The noble lord here entered into a brief recapitulation of his arguments. He had been called upon to propose to parliament, in a time of exigency, a measure adequate to meet that exigency, and which therefore, whatever its nature might be, was open to strong and plausible objections, since it must be one of great burthen, and imposing great sacrifices on a country which had already borne great burthens and made great sacrifices, not with patience only, but with pleasure. But he was convinced that the country would feel now, as it had always felt, that those who proposed these burthens were its best friends, because they were proposed for the security and welfare of the country. On subjects of this nature, considerable difficulty existed in giving a preference to one among various measure, all standing on the ground of solid argument and ingenious reasoning; but he could assure the house, that the proposition which he had the honour to submit to them was the result of the most anxious consideration from the earliest period after the acceptance of office by his majesty's ministers. They had made the best proposition they could—had disturbed, as little as possible, the existing establishments, and had not allowed themselves to enter the field of military discovery. Unquestionably, the militia service would, for a time, be disturbed, but it would soon recover itself, and he was sure that when the officers of the militia considered that the men taken out of the militia for the advantage of the country, were only those men who must soon have been discharged by law, and that in lieu of them they would receive fresh and abundant materials for rendering the militia efficient both in peace and war, they would give their cordial support to the measure. It was a consolation to reflect, that the history of this country did not afford an instance in which, when the public mind was called upon to encounter difficulties, it was not the peculiar characteristic of Britain to rise superior to every obstacle, and never to be so strong or so distinguished, as after the pressure of distress. That individual, who, unfortunately for the world, had acquired such an ascendancy on the continent, was little aware, that by that very ascendency he was creating in this country a power to which the world might ultimately look for deliverance; and that out of the necessity which his inordinate ambition produced, the military character of

Great Britain would probably be raised to greater height than any to which it had hitherto attained. The noble lord concluded by observing, that he should divide the measure into two bills, and that if the bills, for which he was about to move, should not be ready for delivery to members on that night, of which he was somewhat apprehensive, he should not press the second reading on Friday, but propose that it be postponed to Monday. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill, for allowing a certain proportion of the militia in Great Britain voluntarily to enter into his majesty's regular forces.

Sir *George Warrender* thought that the noble lord had not made out any case to shew, that any considerable addition was necessary to the disposeable force. It appeared to him extraordinary that with the views entertained by the hon. gentlemen opposite, and considering the charges made by them against their predecessors, for not having sent expeditions to the continent, they had not made this proposition to parliament upon their first coming into office. If the measure had been brought forward last session, and he had had the honour of a seat in that house, he might have supported it; but he could not give his consent to it on the present occasion, when the country had only to look for a defensive force. As to the transfer proposed from the militia to the regiments of the line, he felt considerable difficulties upon that subject, because the measures necessary to replace the men so transferred would interfere with the regular recruiting. The militia was certainly a favourite service, because it was limited both as to time and place, and was attended with a provision for the wives and families of the persons who engaged in it. There could be no doubt therefore that men would be more readily had for that service than for the line, a circumstance that would materially interfere with the ordinary recruiting. The system that had been adopted last year, he contended, had proved eminently successful. The right hon. gent. who had brought forward that system, had uniformly stated that the benefits to be expected from it would be progressive, and the event justified his statement. The effect produced by it in the northern counties was very great, and by the papers upon the table, it appeared that by this system the number of men raised in the year 1807, was greater by 700, than the number raised in the corresponding period of last year under the last system. If the remaining months of the year should be equally productive, of which he had no doubt, the whole number raised under the new system, in the year 1807, would be 22,000. The noble lord had said, that it was not his intention to alter any part of that system by his measure, but whilst the ballot would be going on, it would be almost impossible to obtain a man for the regular army. He was sure the house would be disposed to make every sacrifice that the occasion might require, but the country had a right to consider, whether it could look with confidence to the efficacy of the sacrifices it was called on to make, and to expect that its resources should be properly applied. And if they looked to the manner in which the present ministers came into office, the country would have no reason to be satisfied on this head. He felt that the measure proposed, would not add to the military force of the country, but transfer a portion of one branch of it to another; and, therefore, should not think that he was discharging his duty, if he did not oppose it in every stage. The noble lord had said, that the king had at present the power, without resorting to parliament, of calling out the supplemental militia to the number of 24,000. Of this he doubted, because there were some of the supplemental militia at present in the service; and if the power existed at all, he could not think it would extend to a greater number, than the difference between the number of those of the supplemental militia now serving, and the whole amount of that militia. There might be different opinions respecting the propriety of calling out the supplemental militia, but of this he was certain, that the measure of the noble lord would do away the benefit derived from the regular recruiting. The system now in force would in the present year produce 22,000 men, and would prove progressively more productive in every future year. The plan of the noble lord would impede its progress, and operate as a very unequal tax upon the public, for every gentleman must know, that not one of six of the balloted men served in person, so that, in procuring a substitute, the individual was subject to a most severe and unequal tax. Upon all these grounds he should feel it to be his duty to oppose the measure, unless it should undergo such modification in the committee as would remove his objections.

Mr. *Yorke* wished to take the earliest

opportunity of stating his objections to the measure proposed by his noble friend, because, however disagreeable it might be to him, it was the duty of every gentleman in that house, to state candidly his impressions upon a subject of such importance. He was undoubtedly aware, that what he was going to state, would not meet with general concurrence, but he was acting under a feeling of duty, and should declare his sentiments with candour. We had now come to a crisis when the situation of affairs would not admit of blunders, when an error might be fatal, and every member was therefore bound to make a free communication of what he felt upon the subject. He approved most cordially of that part of his noble friend's proposition, which provided for the transfer of so many men from the militia as could be induced to volunteer into the line. That part of it was most efficacious, and if the proposition were to stop there, it would produce great public benefit, because the men so added to the army would be applicable to the protection of Ireland, where the militia could not be expected as a body to serve. The men also, who should volunteer into the regular army, would very soon be fit for service in the regiments to which they might be transferred. As he understood his noble friend, his plan was to raise 38,000 men by ballot for the militia, in order to replace those who should volunteer into the line, and to provide a certain number of supernumeraries, in order to supply the vacancies as they should occur by casualties, and the expiration of the men's service, so that it should not be necessary to resort again to the ballot for some time. To this part of his noble friend's plan he objected, because it did not appear to him to be efficacious. As to the application of the ballot, he had objections to that too, but not on the ground stated by the hon. member who had just sat down. It was his conviction that the ballot was necessary, and when that particular mode of raising a supply for the army had been the subject of much obloquy in that house, he had defended and supported it. He had on that occasion stated, what he was now ready to repeat, that no force adequate to the protection and defence of this empire could be obtained without some species of compulsion. No great army could be raised and kept up without having recourse to a compulsory levy. And it surprised him to hear gentlemen who applied their minds to such subjects, and supported the reputation of statesmen, assert, that, when an army of three or four hundred thousand men was to be raised, such a force could be supplied by voluntary service. He agreed with his noble friend, that this was not the time for discussing the merits of the measure, and he equally approved of his intention not to disturb the system of the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Windham) this session. It had always been his wish to allow any measures that might be adopted by parliament a fair trial, and it was on that principle he acted, when he had proposed to give the late Defence act an opportunity of fair trial. With respect to the plan of the right hon. gent. opposite, however, he was bound to state that it did not appear to him efficacious, and might be dangerous. That plan, he admitted, might be adequate to keep up the numbers of the army, if once the army was raised to the establishment voted by parliament, and he had said the same of the measure of the right hon. gent. now no more (Mr. Pitt). But though he admitted this, the measure would not answer his purpose. The system, he allowed, had produced something more than the ordinary recruiting, and the Parish bill. But the noble lord had stated, that the deficiency of the army, from the establishment voted by parliament, amounted to between 52 and 30 thousand; the casualties amounted to 13,000; so that the number to be raised within 12 months, in order to answer the purpose he had in view, would be 38,000. He had also another objection to the present system, arising out of the alteration of the terms of service. The system might for that reason produce more men, but fewer soldiers. British soldiers should be military men, *sui generis*. They were often engaged against twice their number of enemies, and under disadvantages of situation and circumstances, of debarkation and embarkation; they must therefore be real soldiers, and British troops had always proved themselves to be of that description. If our brave but unfortunate countrymen in Egypt, where the efforts of every individual was necessary to repel the superiority of numbers that assailed them, had not been troops of that character, it would have been impossible to save the remains of that army. He did not concur in the objection to the ballot, because it would interfere with the system of the right hon. gent. This measure was to furnish 38,000 men to the army, and he could not see any reasonable objection to it on the ground of its nterfering with a part of the supply under he present system. They could not apply he conscription which had enabled France o overrun the continent to this country. But the ballot was applicable, both because t was necessary, and conformable to the practice of the constitution; but he could not as-ent to its application as proposed by his noble friend. By the papers upon the table, it appeared that the regular force at present in Great Britain and Ireland, was 25,000 less than when he went out of office, a period when so much was said about the necessity of augmenting that description of the national force. Upon this subject the house, he thought, ought to have some explanation. Though no person ought lightly to make a charge upon ministers for their distribution of the public force, yet when he considered how that force had been last year distributed, or rather scattered, he could not avoid saying, that the matter ought to be explained. A considerable force had been sent to South America, and though he should not say any thing of the merits of the first expedition to that country, because an hon. officer, a friend of his, had been tried for having undertaken it, he was ready to admit, that it was advisable to support the force that achieved the original conquest. But he wished to know from the right hon. gent. opposite, (Mr. Windham,) why, after the battle of Jena, so large a force as 5,000 men had been sent out under general Craufurd to America. These troops, from the manner in which the expedition had been conducted, had been nine months at sea. The troops which had been employed in foreign service, were the best of the British army. There was an army likewise in the Mediterranean, from which the expedition to Egypt had been detached. That expedition he felt it difficult to appreciate, nor should it have his approbation, unless it could be proved to him, that under all the circumstances of the case the project was well concerted and the force dispatched fully adequate to its object. From the circumstances he had stated, it appeared that a recruit for the army was necessary. The regular force in Great Britain and Ireland at present, was 15,000 less than even last year. It would be obvious how necessary it was in the present situation of the world, to concentrate the British army in these Islands with all possible expedition. As that was impracticable with respect to the distant troops, he agreed to the use of the ballot to raise a considerable force; but he thought the ballot should be employed to raise an army of reserve, which would be disposable for the protection of Ireland, rather than to recruit the militia. The Army of Reserve act, and the other defensive measures which he had formerly brought forward, were only so many great steps towards making the country a military nation. He had long been a militia officer, but should not suffer his natural partiality for one branch of the military establishment, to prevent him from stating his opinion on it freely as a part of the whole. The militia had done much service, but was not now adequate to the object of its establishment, for it was not numerous enough. The number of the militia had been calculated upon the exigency of the wars in which this country had been heretofore engaged, and was consequently inadequate to the present crisis. A much smaller establishment was sufficient, when the most formidable expedition that could be equipped against any country, in 1744, which was composed of 30,000 troops, under Marshal Saxe, assembled at Boulogne, than under all the circumstances of the present war. Besides, the war had continued now 14 years with little intermission, and the officers of the militia, who had submitted to considerable privations and inconvenience, in order to make themselves soldiers, would not be disposed to continue during a war, of which they saw no end. He did not think it therefore possible that proper officers could be obtained for the militia during such a length of time. There were at present 56 second battalions in the country, which generally did not consist of more than 250 men each. It would, of course, be necessary to send 750 men to each to complete them, and all the men which were proposed to be got from the militia would not be sufficient to complete 36 of them. He should, therefore, propose that the remaining twenty should be added to the nine garrison battalions that were nearly complete, and that then the ballot should operate to fill those 29 garrison battalions. The advantage that he would propose from this would be, that instead of 25,000 men gained for the regular army for the defence of the country, there would be 46,000. As to the objection of his noble friend, that the ballot for the reserve would be productive of expence, by raising the price of substitutes, he was sure his noble friend must have been misinformed upon that head, because undoubtedly the ballot for the reserve in the former instance, had not the effect of raising the bounties for substitutes for the militia. As to the remission of the penalties he had disapproved of that measure, but he could not agree with his noble friend, that it would be an objection to the effect of a bill for raising a similar one now, because it would equally apply to the militia acts, which had not been impeded by it. He had never thought the Defence act which he had brought forward perfect, but he had always considered it as a step taken upon the country towards its military organization. When he brought it forward, he had looked to it more as a stimulus to the volunteer force to keep it up to that amount, which would be adequate to the necessity of the times, than for any immediate effect from its own operation. He did not think that the militia should be reduced below 30,000, and therefore he wished that after it should be reduced to that number, the militia should be left in that state, and another force arising out of the general training act should be engrafted upon it. As to the observations of his noble friend with respect to the employment of the constable under the training act, he should only say, that as all these measures were new, it had not been thought advisable to subject the persons to be trained to the mutiny act, but rather to try how much the country would bear, and to leave the discipline to be maintained by the constable, who, in former times, was a person of even considerable military command. But he saw no reason why the persons, who should be called out as he proposed, should be subject to the new mutiny act in the same manner as the militia in time of peace. They might be taken out for a fortnight in spring, and a fortnight in autumn each year, and disciplined by the militia regiments, which should be marched into their counties for that purpose. A levy of 200,000 or even 100,000 armed and clothed, and thus engrafted upon the militia, though not to be regularly embodied till the occasion should arrive that called for their service, would compose a most formidable defensive force. This idea was not new, for a similar course had been adopted in 1796, with respect to the supplemental militia.—He had thought it right to state thus freely his sentiments upon this question, and was confident the country was ripe for such a measure as that he had proposed, if the parliament should set the example, and that in consequence, by Christmas next, the country would be in a situation to defy all danger. In stating his sentiments on the subject, he had discharged his duty. He saw that the military system of the country was far from perfect; he was afraid they talked too much on these subjects, whilst so little had been done. He had hoped that they had done with discussions of this description; but as the subject had been again broached, he trusted the house would take effectual measures for procuring a great army, which, added to our naval pre-eminence, would enable us to bid defiance to the tyrant, who had trampled upon the independence of so many of the continental states.

Mr. *Bathurst* coincided in most of the sentiments expressed by his right hon. friend, though he could not help being surprised at his having introduced into his discussion topics that had no immediate connexion with the question then under consideration. He contended that the measure of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) was adequate to the purposes for which it had been intended, though it might not be sufficient to afford an immediate supply, such as the crisis demanded. His noble friend needed not to apologize for having made his proposition to parliament; the apology should, according to his impression, be for not having made it before. If the country was to be saved, it was by becoming an armed nation that its salvation was to be effected. He agreed with his right hon. friend, that the question now was, whether the ballot was to be employed for recruiting the militia, or raising an army of reserve; but he had some doubts of the propriety of allowing the militia to volunteer into the line, especially as the principal object of the measure was the internal defence. He was afraid, however, that his noble friend had his attention too much bent upon foreign and continental expeditions. The house should keep in view that it was desirable to have a force disposeable for Great Britain and Ireland. His right hon. friend had stated that the militia was in a declining state, but he had omitted to state that this measure would destroy the spirit of those who commanded and kept up that force. His noble friend had said, that it was not his intention to interfere with the existing establishments, but by this arrangement he would most materially injure a more important branch of the national force. Whenever the Militia had been before drafted into the line, e was in the contemplation of foreign exeditions, but the present measure was rought forward with a view to home deence. After this measure should be caried into effect, no militia officer could look pon himself as belonging to a military esablishment, if the house should sanction he impression, that it was unfit for the deence of the country. By adopting the propoition of his noble friend, they would run he risk of breaking in upon a most imporant establishment. He could not agree n the recommendation of his right hon. riend, to have the militia regiments marched nto their respective counties for the purpose of drilling the mass, because if marched from the military posts they occupied on he coasts, they would be rendered inefficient for immediate defence. The noble ord had stated as a ground of his measure, that about 6000 of the militia would be withdrawn from the service, in consequence of the expiration of their terms: but if these men were to withdraw from the militia, how could his noble friend expect to get them to enter for the general service? It was his opinion, that the militia ought rather to be increased than diminished. When the noble lord stated, that if the circumstances of the country were the same now, as when the Reserve Act had been brought forward, he should have preferred that measure, he could have wished that he had been more particular in pointing out what those circumstances were that influenced his mind. When the Reserve act had been resorted to, the object was to provide for the home and foreign service, but now the object was to provide for the home service only. Besides, an objection in the former case lay against the Reserve act, because the Militia, and Supplementary Militia had been raised by ballot immediately before. At present, the country had had the advantage of a long respite from the ballot, and the population of the nation had not for some time been called upon to make any very extraordinary efforts to assume a military character. The measure of the Army of Reserve was as perfect in its detail as the Militia acts, and had proved as efficacious in a short period as any measure that had ever been proposed. The suspension of the fines under the Reserve Act had been an act of justice. His noble friend had omitted to touch upon several other modes of recruiting, viz. such as give a single step of promotion for raising a certain number of men. The Training bill, too, he thought ought to be put in force, in some shape or another; and he was sorry not to have heard his noble friend state in what manner he proposed to do that:—as we approached the point of danger, the attention of all thinking men in the community was awakened to the means of repelling it. The right hon. gent. concluded by stating, that these extraordinary measures must of necessity interfere with the ordinary recruiting, but that in this country there should be as many channels as possible of procuring a supply for its military force.

Mr. *Windham*, though he admitted that that was not the proper time for discussing the measure proposed in detail, yet found it impossible to omit that occasion of contradicting and confuting, as he trusted, to the satisfaction of the house, some of the statements that had been made by the noble lord opposite. He felt it also necessary to trespass upon the indulgence of the house, in order to reduce the question to its real grounds. Since the noble lord had opened his plan, another, the competitor of that plan, had been recommended by the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Yorke), and his right hon. friend who had just sat down. If the ballot was again to be resorted to, he was inclined to think with those right hon. gentlemen, that it might be better used for raising an army of reserve, than in the way recommended by the noble lord. The plan of the noble lord was calculated to break down a most valuable branch of the military establishments of the country, and for the attainment of a force, which for a considerable time could not be superior to it. He had often been in the habit of contending in that house, that regiments of the line must be superior to militia regiments; and certainly he did not conceive that, in so doing, he was giving reasonable cause of offence to any description of persons whatever. It was not in the nature of things that troops, who could not by their constitution have any opportunity of real service, except in case of invasion, could acquire the same spirit and character, or attain to equal discipline, with troops accustomed to act together, and to witness the conduct of their officers in circumstances of real danger. The officers, too, of the militia, who entered that service young, and with a view to pass a few years agreeably, would not devote themselves to their profession in the same way as persons who had nothing else to depend on for their subsistence, and for all their success and prospects in life. He had often contended that such a difference existed; and, until the more favourite charge respecting the Volunteers had been started, he had been, for so doing, represented as the enemy of the militia. The gentlemen opposite had, on all such occasions, put themselves forward as the champions of the militia; but their present measure exemplified the truth of the Spanish proverb,—"Defend me against my friends, and I will defend myself against my enemies." He had often told the militia officers in that house, that it was not from him, but from those that professed to espouse their cause, that they had any thing to dread. The gentlemen opposite would not suffer any person to touch the militia but themselves. They had fatted them up for their own eating; they secured them as country gentlemen do the game in those places near their houses, which, by an odd *misnomer*, are sometimes called *the preserve*, where the game are, indeed, preserved, but only till some circumstance (the arrival perhaps of some favoured guest) shall furnish an occasion for falling upon them with redoubled fury. It was not to be expected that militia officers, who had made such sacrifices in the service, and bestowed such pains in disciplining their respective regiments, should not be disgusted at having their best disciplined men taken from them. It was still more provoking to hear, that this was done for the purpose of erecting a force for home defence. It was not, as had been well observed by his right hon. friend, for foreign expeditions that this measure was resorted to, but for home defence, for which the militia had been expressly formed. If the crisis called for such a measure, he was convinced the militia colonels, who had already made so many sacrifices in the service of their country, would be willing to submit to this also; but, then, they had a right to expect that the necessity of the sacrifice should be proved: as the country also had a claim to be satisfied, that it was necessary and proper for the purposes of immediate defence to begin by breaking up so large a portion of the existing force.—This, however, was only the first effect of the noble lord's measure. The further and more lasting consequence was the destroying the ardour and confidence of the militia service for years to come. What could the men in the militia think of their officers, or what could the officers think of themselves, when they were told, that, if invasion was really to come, it was necessary to put the men under other leaders, and that those who had hitherto been at their head, who had been devoting their lives in preparation for a crisis such as was now arrived, were not the persons fit to conduct them into action, but must give way to others more proper for that office? If this was not an indignity, he was at a loss to know what was; or how it was possible to do more to put down, from this time forward, all zeal in the officers of militia to improve their regiments, and all belief on the part of the regiments that it was worth while to improve them, or that they could ever be brought to a state in which they should be able to face the enemy.—But, to return to the immediate effects of the measure, and abandoning for the moment all consideration of its future consequences, how was it to tell for its professed purpose of immediate defence? For a certain time to come, the effect of this measure of strength could be no other than weakness. In whatever degree the hon. gentlemen might choose to describe the superiority of a regular regiment over a regiment of militia, they would hardly go the length of saying, that the worst of the first class was superior to the best of the other. They would not pretend to say, that there was not a period, and perhaps a pretty long one, during which the regular regiment, with its new recruits, would not remain inferior to, what the militia was before these recruits were taken from it; and during this period, whether of longer or shorter continuance, the country must be the weaker. Thus far, therefore, there could be no plea of necessity; for it never could be necessary for a country, with a view at least to any immediate pressure, to make itself weak. But a time will come, it seems, when the measure will make us strong. And with a view to this it is that we are to begin to calculate, comparing the degree of strength to be thus obtained, and the length of time during which it is to last, with the temporary weakness that will precede, and the increasing and endless weakness that will follow it. For it happens whimsically, that the measure now proposed as necessary for the salvation of the country, will be good for that purpose only on the supposition that the attempt of the enemy shall be made within a certain prescribed period. Should it be a little too soon or a ttle too late, should we be unable to be-peak the invasion, and to fix it exactly to ur own time, all that we shall have been oing will have rendered our situation only o much the worse.—The period of strength ill, however, at last arrive, namely, when he men transferred shall have been so ettled in their new regiments; as to give to he regular army more strength than the removal of the men shall have taken from the militia, and when our numbers shall, upon the whole, have been increased by the difference f those raised through the medium of ballot beyond what might have been raised in the ame time by recruiting. We were to consider the price at which this increase of strength would be purchased, joined with the consideration of the time for which it was likely to last.—He had already observed, that we were to pass to this period of strength through the medium of a period of weakness. He had observed, also, on the last-ing evil that would be incurred in consequence of the effects produced on the militia service.—The third head remaining to be considered, was the value of that system of military measures which was adopted last year, and to which we were now about to put an end. Upon the subject of these measures something of a preliminary question had arisen at the time, how far what was proposed was entitled to be called a plan. He for one had always rejected that title, disgusted, as he had been, by the applications which he had seen made of it: Yet he certainly did not mean thereby to admit, that in the best sense of the word, as implying the just distribution of a subject into its proper parts, and a systematic direction of those parts to the common purpose intended, the measures of last year were not as well entitled to that appellation, and indeed a good deal better than any measures that had preceded them; or, as far as at present appeared, than any that were likely to follow.—The measures, however, of last year, had so far less of a plan, that their pretensions to merit, contrary to what might be the case now, was more in what they *un*-did, than in any wonder-working powers which they professed to have in themselves.—The army had been, for years, supported by shifts and expedients. It was supplied by means which could not last, and which, while transitory themselves, were continually destroying the resources from which any supply could be expected in future. It had been kept alive by drams and cordials. Its constitution, in fact, had been so broken by the experiments which had been tried upon it, and the discipline which it had undergone, it had been so bled and cupped, and blistered and purged, that, when the new practitioners were called in last year, there remained no hope (conformably indeed to the opinion which they had often given) but by discarding medicine altogether, and trying what might be done by nature, when left to operate for herself. If the patient was to be saved, it must be by air and exercise, by diet and regimen, by good and wholesome food, given too in sufficient quantities. The best service to be rendered in the first instance, was, to tear the prescriptions, and throw all the physic bottles out of the window. This was the basis of the plan of the late ministers with respect to the army. They were led to this plan as well by consideration of the general nature of things, as by reflecting on what had been the history of the military establishments of the country for many years past. Within a period not exceeding the memory of many whom he was then addressing, a guinea to buy necessaries, and a crown to drink the king's health, was all that was given to a recruit upon his entering the army. A bounty properly so called, that is to say, a price to tempt a man to do what he was otherwise disinclined to, was unknown. The service was its own price. So late as at the beginning of the American war, examples were found of officers reprimanded by the war-office for having extended the bounty so far as to two or three guineas. Among the general causes operating to produce the change which afterwards took place (those great ones, namely, of the depreciation in the value of money, and the continuance of the pay at the same rate at which it stood in Charles the Second's time), a cause of a more limited, but of a more immediate effect, was the militia. This system, for reasons which he had often stated, and would not now repeat, did not, for several years after its establishment, produce any consequences affecting materially the recruiting of the army. But at last, as the militia assumed a more regular form, as the practice gradually prevailed of calling it out, and keeping it constantly embodied during every war, as its discipline improved, and the practice of substitution took place of that of serving in person, its effects upon the army began to be severely felt. The demand for substitutes on the part of men placed in circumstances the most disadvantageous for obtaining what they wanted upon reasonable terms, soon brought things to a state, in which service in the militia (a service for a few years, and within the kingdom), could be purchased only at a high premium, and in which men, therefore, could hardly be looked for in great numbers, who would be willing to forego this premium, and enter the army for nothing. The only expedient that occurred for remedying this evil, was to give a bounty for the army also; and thus to enable the army to hold up its head, and bid against the militia. But though this succeeded for a time, its very success was such as contained a principle destructive of its continuance, the effect of the competition being to raise the price upon both services, till at length a sort of limit was produced, not merely by the consideration of expence, but by the effect which the high bounties had in producing desertion. Nothing now was thought to be left, but to have recourse to compulsion, that is to say, ballot: but as ballot could not be applied directly to the army, the expedient devised was to augment the militia, in order that afterwards the men might be induced, by bounty, to extend their services, and become soldiers complete.—Upon this view, a grand attempt was made, in the years ninety-six and ninety-seven, to raise the militia from thirty thousand to very near 100,000 men; and in the years 1799 and 1800, out of the force so raised, to transfer to the army a force of about 46,000. Neither attempt succeeded to the full extent. The projected 100,000, with all the endeavours used, could never be made to rise much higher than 70,000; and of the 46,000, the first portion, or 20,000, with whom the trial was made, were obtained in the year 1799, at the time of the Dutch expedition: but of the remaining 26,000, to whom permission was given to enlist in the year following, not more than 12,000 were obtained at the time, the rest were left to enlist at their leisure, and, if they should still decline, were to continue subject to be called upon for the militia. The militia laws had, in the mean time, fallen into great confusion, owing to these successive changes; and a right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke) making part of the government of the time, had, in consequence, in the year 1802, introduced an act, meant for the purpose of consolidating all the former acts, and settling the system upon a permanent footing, but still keeping in view the grand object, the augmentation of the number, on account of the difficulty that was found of adding, by any other means, to the military force of the country. The establishment of the militia for this country was to be 40,000. But even here, unfortunately, the authors of the measure reckoned without their host. War came, and the price of a substitute rising in consequence above the amount of the penalty, the measure produced only money and not men. New expedients were then devised, to make the amount of the penalty keep pace with the bounty; and the whole scheme being, after all, insufficient for its purposes, new militias were created, new augmentations made to those already subsisting, and new measures brought forth on a similar principle, though of a different form. He had forgot, in the enumeration of the measures previous to this period, the famous Quota bill, by which mutiny was introduced into the navy, and the Provisional Cavalry bill, the most diverting certainly, if not the most efficacious of all the measures of the class in question, by which sums had been paid to the amount of 70 or 80 guineas to rescue old ladies from the terrors to which they were exposed of being turned into light-horsemen. Greater designs were now conceived, and greater powers brought into action. Besides the militia in Ireland, which was created or augmented about this time, a new militia, on somewhat more extended terms of service, was set on foot, under the name of the Army of Reserve. Many gentlemen had expressed their opinion, not without great show of reason, that if a measure of the sort at present proposed was to be adopted, it should be a repetition of the Army of Reserve. The great objection, of course, was the extreme hardship, which, besides that it was a strong objection in itself, had the effect also of rendering the measure, after a certain point, incapable of being executed. Such had been the case in the instance in which the measure had been already tried. After a certain time, a re-action had been produced which made it incapable of proceeding a step further. The measure was therefore abandoned, not from any caprice or jealousy in the government which succeeded, who, on the contrary, shewed a desire to continue it as far as they could; but because it was *functus officio;* it had done less indeed in some degree than it had hoped, but all that it could do. The Parish bill succeeded to it; and it was not cessary to point out to the house what the ilure of that bill had been. [A cry of no, o, from the treasury bench.] If this easure had not failed, it must be because ome new definition had attached a differnt meaning to the word failure. He knew f no criterion of failure in any underaking, but that of not doing what it had ntended and engaged for. The Parish Bill ad engaged to raise 40,000 men in about 5 months, that is, by the 1st of October 805: in about twenty months, that is, by e 1st of March following, it had not aised 13,000; and during its whole contiuance, it never produced to the amount f 16,000. This, according to common deas, would be called failure. But had it ucceeded ever so well, it never could ulimately have furnished to the regular rmy more than 9000 men a year. Nay, here was a degree of success which would ave prevented even that, and have put an end to the measure altogether. If all who had been raised under the bill, had agreed to extend their services, and to enter the army, fulfilling thereby the very purpose which the measure had in view, the bill from that moment would have ceased to exist. It could not continue but by failing in part to execute what it intended. In that way it might, it was true, continue to operate, though its success was for its *maximum* limited in the way which he had stated, and had for its *minimum* no limit all, but might be reduced to the supply of the casualties on a portion of the Army of Reserve, however small. No further failure need indeed be looked for in the bill, than its being one which, from the burthens it imposed, the injustice which it committed, the serious oppressions and abuses to which it led by converting into an engine of recruiting all the parochial government and smaller police of the country, was rejected by the general voice, was thrust out of the statute book by the universal conviction of its unfitness to continue there. The Parish bill therefore died a natural death, and was not put an end to prematurely by any desire on the part of the ministry of the time, to make way for a favourite measure of their own. It ended, as all its predecessors had done, if not like some of them, by having absolutely run itself out, and having reached the point beyond which it could not stir a step, yet by shewing, that, after all that could be hoped for from it, the evils attending were such as to make its continuance no longer tolerable. The proof is, that no one has ever thought of reviving it. If its merits were what the hon. gentlemen had so often contended, if it really was that system of recruiting which had accomplished the object so long sought for, and discovered a source of recruiting on which the army might safely rely, why, in God's name, did not the hon. gentlemen propose to the house to re-enact it? It was in vain for them to say, that the remission of the penalties under the former bill had rendered this impossible. To make any thing of this, they must shew that the remission of these penalties was avoidable; that four or five hundred thousand pounds, he believed, of penalty, incurred by acts for which the parties were not blameable, inasmuch as the service required was wholly out of their power, for which many of them were even meritorious, inasmuch as the impossibility arose from the restriction which they had imposed upon themselves of not breaking the law, could be levied without a degree of injustice which nothing could authorize. If this could not be shewn, the return to the measure was not precluded by any other cause than the vices inherent in the measure itself. Here, then, the same difficulty recurred as the country had been struggling with for the last 30 or 40 years. If the Parish bill was not fit to continue; if continuing, it could not produce to the army, at the utmost, more than 9000 men a year; if the recruiting, for a long time declining, was now further reduced by the effect of these very measures, something must be done, not so much to augment the army, as to prevent its going down, and to supply the number of men by which it must annually be diminished. The same necessity which existed for supplying the place of the Army of Reserve-bill, existed now for supplying the place of the Parish bill, or for making good at least what would have been wanting to that bill, had it been possible that it should have continued, and had it produced the whole of the 9000 men, which alone it was capable of producing. To say the truth, none of the measures that had been successively tried, down at least to the present time, had been rejected in consequence of any idle desire of change, and still less of any mean and envious spirit of jealousy on the part of persons newly succeeding to the government, and following those of whom they were the opponents and rivals. In fact, the measures were most of them changed without any change of ministry, and by the very same persons who had brought them in. They were changed, either because they were found impracticable or objectionable, or because, being of a temporary nature, their continuance became useless after a certain time. On one or other of these grounds was a stop put to the several augmentations of the militia proposed in 1796, 1797, and 1802. In part the measures were found to be impracticable; in part they were rendered no longer desirable by incidents which had happened in the mean time. The Quota bill and Provisional Cavalry bill passed away without any enquiry as to the cause of their decrease, and certainly without any lamentation for their loss. These two, any more than the others, were no sacrifice to party rivalry; they died in the life-time of their parents, and were by them quietly conveyed to the family vault, without the least suspicion of their having come by their death, through any undue means. In like manner, the last of the Militia Augmentation bills which he had mentioned, that, namely, of 1802, was superseded by the authors themselves, who, finding the measure impracticable in its first form, (the price of a substitute having soon risen above the amount of the penalty,) and not likely to prove effectual, even after all the additional rigour of making the fine cumulative, had recourse to the measure of the Army of Reserve, being in fact a militia of something of a different form with something more of effect, but at the same time with more of severity. He had already observed, that no charge could be brought against those by whom this measure was superseded; if any supersession could in fact be said to have taken place, where the measure in question had ended itself. The same was true of the ministry of last year, with respect to the Parish bill. That measure had not indeed, like most of the others, ended itself: it was not even clear, that the numbers to be raised by it, though at the expence always of the regular recruiting, might not for a time have gone on increasing: but it was demonstrable that it could not finally have answered its purpose, and in the mean while the objections to it were such that all the world was crying out for its repeal. This was the state of things in which the late ministry came into office. The same difficulty remained that had subsisted all along, the difficulty namely of providing a fund from which the army might be regularly supplied; and for this the measures adopted had not only furnished no remedy, but, for the most part, had not even attempted one. After every new turn, though a considerable addition might in the mean time have been made to the numbers of the army, the country was equally to seek for the means by which those numbers were to be maintained. The difficulty was in fact continually increasing: every new attempt in the course hitherto pursued having tended to throw new obstructions in the way of those that succeeded it. Ballot created the necessity of bounty. Bounty, rising to excess, and losing as much by desertion as it gained by recruits, created in return the necessity of new ballot: then bounties shot up to a height, which not only stopped all ordinary recruiting, but created a burthen which it was impossible the country should long endure. Forty, 50, 60 guineas became the price of a recruit. Ballot and bounty were indeed the only resources that seemed ever to have been thought of. The whole compass of our invention, the whole scale of our music, seemed to comprise only these two notes. It was the sort of poverty of conception, reproached by some foreigner to English cookery, that we had but one sauce, and that that sauce was melted butter. The ministry which then came in, ventured an opinion, that possibly more men might be found to enter the service, if the service was made more eligible, by holding out more advantages or fewer objections. It seemed to them, that the hope of inducing men by bounties to enter into an engagement, which was to last for life, was little less than an absurdity, if it was not something worse. If the engagement was not in itself desireable, could it be hoped, or was it (he would add) to be wished, that many should be found so rash and foolish, as to be determined in their choice by the attraction of a few guineas paid in the shape of bounty? If such a resource could even be relied on, it might well be doubted, whether a government ought in conscience to have recourse to it, and so to place itself with respect to its subjects, as to be trading for ever with the ignorant and thoughtless for the purpose of inveigling them into engagements, which it was confessed, by the very form of the transaction, they were likely afterwards to repent of; this repentance moreover being of a nature to last for life. It was not a question however of duty or propriety. It was found by experience, that the military service had by degrees, and in consequence of the change of times, fallen into a state in which it could no longer attract men in sufficient numbers; and that any attempt to supply by bounties what was wanting in the service itself was, as might be supposed, a vain attempt which could go but a little way towards remedying the evil. They took, therefore, the only means which, according to their ideas, could hold out a hope of success, the only means in fact which were left them, that of a general improvement of the conditions of the service in such a way as should not be attended with too great an expence, nor be inconsistent with the discipline and well-being of the army. They might have gone to the old resource, as the noble lord has done, of plundering the militia: that expedient was as open to them as to his majesty's present ministers, and required no great genius to invent, nor talents to execute. But besides that it did not meet the difficulty, and would have left the country, in a short time afterwards, just in the same situation in which all similar measures had left it, it did not appear to them a measure to be resorted to, even for the purposes for which it was good, except upon a necessity greater than that which they considered as existing.—Whether the experiment thus made had succeeded or not, as procuring a supply for the army adequate to its consumption, it would be difficult to say that the attempt ought not to have been made, since it was by a change of this sort, that is to say, an improvement in the service, in some way or other, that a prospect of complete success could alone be afforded, and since, even if such success should be unattainable, the partial success of every other measure must be greatly promoted, by whatever should render the service more palatable to those who were to enter into it, whether voluntarily, or by compulsion. The trial hitherto made, not only shewed that the measure ought to have been tried, but that it was likely to be attended with the most complete success. To have put the army upon a footing in which it might have stood by itself without the aid of continual props and supports, was, if accomplished, no small service: but it was far from the whole which the circumstances of the country at the present moment unhappily required, and which the late ministry might flatter themselves with having effected. Against the new dangers which now threaten every country, armies alone are not a sufficient defence. When the army has been carried to its greatest extent, means must still be looked for from the population at large, from the great mass of the community whom it is idle to talk of turning into soldiers, by whom the state must be maintained, and whom it cannot maintain, and who could not therefore be spared, even if they could be forced, except occasionally and momentarily, from the labours and occupations of common life. To devise the means by which the great mass of the inhabitants might be made to contribute to the general defence, and come in aid of the operations of the army, was the object of the Training act,—a measure which, if the noble lord thought to decry by shewing, could he even succeed in so doing, that in the details much was still imperfect and wanting, he must be answered as Dr. Johnson answered some one who, on similar principles, was criticizing a dictionary, that he who thought to destroy the credit of a work of that sort merely by pointing out particular faults, only betrayed his own ignorance, for that no work of that nature was ever put forth, in which examples might not be found of faults of every description. Such faults he was ready to allow might exist in the Training act, but not more than would naturally be found in every similar measure. No bill of the sort in question was ever completed in the first instance, or came perfect out of the hands of the framer. Much must always be left to be supplied and corrected by trial and experience. These additions and amendments let the noble lord supply. But let him not set aside or seek to depreciate the measure, or deny that a measure of this sort, this or some other, must form a great and leading branch, the very basis and trunk he would almost say, of every system of military measures, which it would be right to adopt in the present circumstances of the world. An army is the great instrument by which a country must act, whether for foreign wars or for home defence. But an army must be supported, and, what is more, an army must be supplied. An army itself may want the co-operation of other less regular force: for which purpose, part of his system would be, as it had been, to keep on foot an establishment of corps similar to our present volunteer corps; that is to say, corps that should act as such, and under the immediate command of their own officers. But a further and still more important use to be derived from the population of any country, was to keep them in that state in which there might be a sufficient portion ready at all times to supply the deficiencies, and make good the losses of the regular army, that is to say, in which there should always be a certain number of men ready enrolled and liable by law to be disposed of for those purposes, and in which the men so enrolled should be in a certain degree prepared for the service assigned, by having received as much training as it might be convenient or possible to give them. The enrollment and the legal preparation might be always complete. The training would vary according to circumstances, and must at all times be to a great degree imperfect. But a bill for such purposes must always exist, and be more or less acted upon, as long as the circumstances of the country and of the world should continue what they were. Such were the objects of the present bill, and which as far as enrollment went, the first and main object,—was already complete or nearly so. The country had at this moment, in virtue of that bill, 200,000 men, whom his majesty might immediately proceed to train, and whom he was immediately authorized to dispose of for the purposes of defence in his regular regiments, or in any other way that he should think fit. Such a body of men so circumstanced would be no bad present to the country, even though to as late a period as that at which the preparations of the enemy should have actually begun, not a man of them should have had a musket upon his shoulder. But why was that to be their situation? The bill, if not prevented, was proceeding in its natural course, and would soon give to these men as much training as the circumstances required, as much at least as it was thought desirable to attempt consistent with a due regard not to render the measure more burthensome or vexatious than was necessary. Difficulty, he denied there was any, more at least than must attend every measure of detail, when tried for the first time. If more training was necessary than the bill had provided, let more be given. As much had been done as seemed to be wanted at the time when the bill was brought in.—This part of the plan of the late administration, which the noble lord seemed inclined to overlook, was, on the contrary, that one of the three members of which it consisted, which operated in the most directions, and did, more than any other, give to the whole its character of unity and system. It was not a little which the Training bill was likely to do for the recruiting service: the volunteer establishment, such as it was meant to be under the late acts, would grow out of it altogether. This last fact was so true, that, according to the system of volunteers now proposed, there ought to be no Training act at all. The view entertained upon this subject by the late administration, and which he must contend to be the true one, was, that the volunteer service should be considered as the privilege of those, who were willing and able to contribute by their purses, as well as by their persons, but who did not choose, for whatever reasons, to subject themselves to the compulsion of the Training act. Three classes of persons were supposed: those to whom service in person, in whatever mode, either was, or was considered to be, a burthen, but who were ready to contribute their money; those who were willing to serve, but who wished to be indulged in the privilege of serving in corps by themselves, and under officers of their own; those, lastly, who having either not the wish or not the means to purchase one or other of the above exemptions, yet being comprised within the prescribed limits of age and stature, and not included in any special exception, must be content to perform their share, by no means a severe one, of the common duty, upon the terms, which the act had laid down. But it would be the cruellest and most unjust of all proceedings, if persons so circumstanced, were, in addition to their personal service, to be called upon to contribute to the expences of those who were allowed to perform that service, upon terms more agreeable to themselves; if the poor were thus to be called upon to pay for the privileges of the rich. This must be the case if volunteers were no longer to serve, agreeably to what had been supplied by the acts of last year, at their own expence. The acts of last year had provided, that volunteers already enrolled should be allowed to continue, with the exception only of certain special cases, upon the same rate of allowances, which they had before enjoyed; but that all who should engage hereafter, instead of being trained under the general act, should serve in corps of their own, with the condition of never being compellable to serve out of those corps, should be required to serve at their own charge. A more just condition could not well be conceived, nor one, in consequence, from which the departure would be more unjust with respect to those on whom such departure must be the means of imposing an additional burthen. The condition was indeed as udicious as it was just: a due provision was thereby made for those distinctions of rank, which in many points it was most mportant to preserve, and which it would rarely be desirable to confound, even on those points which might seem to regard more the feelings of the individual than the interests of the community. The force thus provided would not only cost the public nothing,—a circumstance that he believed would be found hereafter of some account when the charges should come in upon the system as then established—but would consist precisely of the description of persons, selected as by a rule, whom you would wish to have in it, and be limited to the extent to which alone it would be desirable that it should be carried. No rule could probably be invented which would distinguish with such exactness those whom it would be desirable to collect into volunteer corps, from those who would be left with more advantage to be disposed of by the executive government, (to be distributed for the most part into the regular and militia regiments,) than that which resulted from the single condition prescribed by the act, namely, that all persons serving in future in volunteer corps, should serve at their own expence. With a view to police, a most important consideration in the establishment of the force in question, nothing could be more desirable than that those entrusted with arms and subject so little to any military controul, should be persons of some substance and stake in the country. Even in a military view, a certain portion of corps composed of men in the higher ranks, similar to those that we meet with in the history of the times of Charles I., might be of the most distinguished use, and render services not to be accomplished by any other means. Such was the volunteer force which the late system of measures would have given the country, arising naturally and insensibly out of the measure (the Training act), of which the noble lord was disposed to make so little account, and forming a contrast which he hoped the house and country would not lose sight of, with the volunteer force as before subsisting, and as now intended to be re-established. He for one was fully convinced not only that the plain and simple plan adopted last year, was the best that could have been chosen, but that it was the only one, consistent at least with sense and reason, which the nature of things afforded. In respect to the particular part to which allusion had last been made, viz. the Training act, it was that which could not be withdrawn without weakening the measure throughout, and in part entirely destroying it. It was the sole foundation and basis of what was proposed as the volunteer force; it was the source to which the army must look for an immediate and instant supply in case of invasion: it would, in the mean while, contribute, probably, most powerfully to the recruiting service: it would have the constant effect of training the people gradually to arms, and of preparing them for the great dangers, to which they must long look to be exposed. A Training act of some sort or other there must be. He had no claim to originality on this point. He had stated from the first, when introducing the measure, that, he took for his model, and was anxious to be understood as doing so, the measure of a similar sort introduced by a former administration, adhering to the same whenever he could, and departing from it only, as he would wish his own to be departed from, where, by later and further consideration, mistakes might be corrected, or improvements introduced. Were a scheme of national defence to be prepared entirely from the beginning, he should be disposed perhaps (though it was a question of nice consideration) to make it consist of three only out of the four members, of which our present force consisted, viz. the army, the volunteers, and the Training act, leaving out that great and now most important part, the militia. But it was one thing to say upon any subject, what should have been done originally, and another, what was proper to be done with things already formed and established. It might have been better possibly, that the militia hsd never been established; but it was a far different question, whether you would now abolish a force of that description, making often more than a half of your army at home, and wrought to its highest possible perfection. Upon these grounds the late administration abstained carefully from every thing, by which the militia force could be injured or weakened. It would have been just as easy to them as it is now to the noble lord, to make a large addition to the army, by robbing to the same amount the militia. Such a measure had in fact, many temptations to them which it had not even to the noble lord; and might have been adopted also, in the then state of the country, upon infinitely better grounds, and with far less risk and inconvenience than it was by the noble lord at that moment. A measure of that sort would have given a great, real and a still greater apparent activity to the new regulations for the improvement of recruiting. It could not be that the ministers of the day were incapable of imagining such an expedient, or that all the inventive talents of the noble lord were necessary to repeat a measure which had been already tried, over and over, and which, to say the truth, never required originally any greater force of mind or thought than that which consists in wishing for what you want, and taking it when you have the power. The house would hardly fail to remark the whimsical circumstance, that those who doubted of the original expediency of a militia force, were the persons to preserve it when established, and that the noble lord, and others its friends and champions, were those who began the work of its demolition. With these changes in the thing itself, and these proofs of the disposition of those to whom its fate was committed, he had only to entreat of the hon. gentlemen that they would put an end to the measure altogether, and would not keep it in a state in which it was nominally to subsist, while all its real virtue and efficacy was withdrawn. When the noble lord was dealing out his opinions about the practicability or impracticability of the Training act, the house would recollect, that he (the noble lord) was in the situation of the man, who wished the oracle to declare whether the sparrow was alive or dead, which he held in his hand. The noble lord had nothing to do but to give a squeeze, to verify at any time his own predictions. Nothing as yet had caused any difficulty in the execution in the Training act, but the unfortunate substitution of the militia lists in the room of those originally intended, and which certainly, as it now appears, would have been far more correct as they were likely to be more suitable to the ends proposed. It was a point on which he had yielded to the judgement of persons more conversant with such matters than himself, but whose judgement had certainly proved erroneous in that instance. The pleasantry of the noble lord on that provision of the bill which required the attendance of the constable, was both unlucky in itself, and still less fortunate in its application. If it could have wounded any body, it must have been a gentleman to whom the noble lord was disposed to pay compliments, the right hon. gent. opposite, (Mr. Yorke,) by whom the clause was first introduced, and from whom Mr. W. had only the merit of borrowing it. But in truth the joke was perfectly harmless. It was a very good one when the noble lord first heard it, (for it was not new,) but somehow or other it missed fire in his hands. In truth, what more proper person could be found than the constable to keep order among men, all of them of his own parish or district, who, not being yet soldiers, would, if not placed under the controul of some civil officer, be under no controul at all? A much severer blow than all the noble lord could inflict by his wit, or than had in fact been inflicted in any other way, was now levelled against the success of the measure, by the option which it was proposed to give to those who entered from the militia, of entering, if they should think fit, for life. This little clause, so moderate in its operation, so reasonable in its pretexts, so innocent in the eyes of those by whom the subject had been but little considered, so well understood by those by whom the clause was brought in, was just the most mischievous, as well as the most dexterous stroke that could have been contrived by persons who wished the destruction of the measure, and were not disposed for the moment openly to avow their hostility. It was a stroke given by a poisoned dagger, which, though it might make a wound no bigger than the scratch of a pin, would soon be the means of spreading disease and gangrene over the whole body. It had been observed repeatedly, that the great effect to be hoped for from the measures of last year, must depend on the opinion that would be entertained of their stability, on the confidence to be placed in them, founded in the assurance that they would not be departed from or made the cover for designs other than those which they professed to have in view. Confidence, as had been remarked on some occasion by the late lord Chatham, was a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom. It might be said with equal truth, that it was a plant of slow growth in ignorant bosoms. Ignorance was always prone to suspicion; and besides that the persons to whom measures of this sort were addressed, and upon whom they were to operate, were among the most illiterate and the most ignorant, something far short of ignorance might be allowed to be suspicious, on a subject where, for a long series of years, deceits and impositions of one sort or another had, he feared, been so repeatedly practised. The moment it came to be understood, that the system of last year was to be changed in any part, all confidence in what was left, and all reliance on what was to happen in future, would be, if not at an end, at least greatly impaired. It would be in vain to tell the people, that nothing was changed but what depended upon their option; that they were still at liberty to enter as before for a limited term, and that faith in that case would be equally kept with them. The general impression remaining upon their minds, and upon the minds of those by whose opinions and feelings their own would be governed, would be, that a change had taken place in that which they had been told would be permanent, and that the same security no longer subsisted, that what should be held out to them as the condition of a soldier, should continue to be so a few years hence. It was not to be supposed, indeed, that even without this change, the confidence of the people in the measures of last year had attained to any thing like its *maximum*, or that it would perhaps for a period of several years have become so fully established, as to give to the country the entire benefit of that system. That distrust upon such subjects was not wholly unreasonable, was proved pretty clearly by the present events, The measure could hardly be considered as having reached its maturity, till service for seven years as a soldier should have become as familiar to the minds of the people, as service for seven years in an apprenticeship; till they should have seen the examples of men returning after such service, and exhibiting a living proof among their friends and relations, that promises of this kind were really meant to be kept, and were not liable to be changed by every change which might happen to take place among the rulers of the state. Conformable to these views was the experience of what had already passed. The first great pledge which operated with the people respecting the late measures, was the increase of allowance, the payments on which commenced only at Christmas last, to the Chelsea pensioners. Then they began to see proofs that the government was in earnest, that all which they had heard upon the subject was not mere talk. These proofs, fortunately for the country, these and some other parts of the late system would still continue to operate, and would promote the success of the hon. gentleman's measures even in spite of themselves. There were parts, which the hon. gentlemen, with all the laudable spirit of mischief by which they had shown themselves to be actuated against the measures of last year, had not yet ventured to touch, and of which they would, on the contrary, be very glad to transfer the benefit to themselves. Had the benefit thus produced, been suffered to remain with the system which gave it birth, and to which it might seem of right to have belonged, had all the parts of that system been suffered to work together, according to the views of those who originally framed them, it is not too much to say, that they would have risen more and more, the longer they had continued, in the estimation of the country; that they would have improved upon acquaintance; that as it would, and as it had, far outstript its competitors in the outset of its course, so it was not a measure which was likely to lose on longer trial the advantages which it had once obtained. If ever there was a measure formed on principles having a view to permanency, composed of materials which were likely to last, which, being good from the beginning, was for a long time certain to improve and never to grow worse by keeping, it was the measure to which he was alluding. The hon. gentlemen knew and felt this, and were determined therefore betimes to destroy it. Though for this intention he could not be supposed to feel much good will towards them, he might have felt more respect had they sought to execute their purpose upon better pretexts and by nobler means. The pretexts indeed did not depend wholly upon themselves: they must take up with such as they found or such as they could make. He was happy to think that in neither way their success had been such as could make it much a subject of congratulation. There was no pretence to say, that the measure had not succeeded, in the period for trial which had yet been given, to the full extent of what its authors had ever promised. In the last six months, the produce of the bill had exceeded what had been raised during the corresponding period, by the ordinary recruiting and the Additional Force act put together. This was all that need be required. No one had ever objected to the Additional

Force bill upon the score of its not being likely to raise men. The objection was to the means which it employed, to the expence which it incurred, to the lasting evils which it would entail upon the country. When it was considered, moreover, that the men raised under this act might be received at a standard lower, by two inches, and of an age higher by fifteen years, than in the regular army, that is to say, at 5 feet 2 inches, instead of at 5 feet 4 inches, and between 18 and 45, instead of between 18 and 30, to have exceeded at once the produce of that bill, joined to the *undiminished* produce, according to the hon. gent., of the ordinary recruiting, was a degree of success, in the early stages of the measure, with which the authors of it might well be satisfied. He for one had never promised himself, and assuredly had never ventured to promise others, that it would attain, so soon after its commencement, a degree of success exceeding, or even equal to that which he had stated. So far as to success.—It could as little be stated that the measure had, as yet at least, produced, or showed a tendency to produce, any of those evils which had been predicted of it, in respect to its effect on the feelings or character of the soldier, or on the discipline of the regiment. Such an objection, so far as related to the mixing of men upon different terms of service, would come with an odd grace from those, who were now studiously and wantonly augmenting that inconvenience, by an infusion of men, not only serving for different periods, but serving for different periods with men raised at one and the same time with themselves. Formerly, when this consequence had been so much objected to; though then even, (by the way,) with the most perfect inconsistency on the part of those who had been concerned in the Army of Reserve or Additional Force acts; the men who came in for term of years were men raised professedly upon a new system, and were to be added to those who had entered the army before the system in question had been introduced or thought of. Many of these, from the length of their past service, were not further removed from the period of their discharge than those who had newly entered upon a term in itself shorter. None could complain, or feel even any discontent, that others had the benefit, and without prejudice to themselves, of a change of system which had not taken place till after their time. Of part of the benefits of this change they had been made to partake; and it had been objected to him more than once, he must confess not wholly without reason, that he had not followed up his own professed intentions in that respect, by giving to all who were then serving, and whose period of service amounted to not less than 21 years, the option of retiring, should they be so disposed. He was fully persuaded both that such permission ought to have been given, and that it would have been attended with the most beneficial effects: and it was not without much regret that he found the opinion of others different from his upon that point, more especially after the expectation which had been held out, though certainly such expectation has not amounted, with respect to the soldier, to any direct pledge. But, in point of fact, no injury had yet arisen to the service of the army from any of these sources, even if the measures of the hon. gent. were calculated to afford a remedy, or if they did not on the contrary directly tend to introduce the evil of which they formerly affected to be so apprehensive. In the mean time, he was happy to find that the general judgment of military men, and the general sentiment of the country at large, confirmed his statement, notwithstanding that the known inclination of government might operate even without any exertion of undue influence, to give a different turn to the opinions of those dependent upon them. If it was true, as the noble lord said, that the British army could not at any time derive a sufficient supply from the volunteers alone, this was a serious grievance. Such had not been the case formerly, and his measure would provide a supply for future exigencies, in the number of persons retiring with pensions, at the end of their times of service, who would be liable to be called forth again upon such exigencies. So far as he was himself concerned, he wished his measure to be repealed, as he was sure it would not be allowed a fair trial. He denied the existence of an emergency sufficient to justify the breaking up of the militia, and the overturning of the new system. If such an emergency did exist, he would prefer a direct ballot into the line as the means of meeting it. It was not true that the regular army was in a continued state of decrease. It had increased in 1804; it had increased in 1805; and notwithstanding a reduction of 3000 men at Ceylon, there had been an increase of 8000 men from March 1806 to March 1807. The w measure according to its last rate ould afford a supply of 24,000 men a ar, which was 11,000 above the com- on casualties as commonly calculated. he measure was now in the hands of his ajesty's ministers, who would probably act it like a parish nurse, stinting its meals, sturbing its rest, and giving it a sly pinch often as opportunity offered. He would ove for further returns, though the sense the country was so clear that it seemed perfluous to take further pains to shew e success of his measure. He had said at it would be useful to commence the sys- m of discharges by dismissing those who ad been 21 years in his majesty's service. e was sure these men would have been im- ediately replaced by others induced by eir example to come forward; such would the effect of other cases of discharge al- . His opinion, however, had been sur- ndered to persons whose judgment he spected, and who thought otherwise. He ad given no pledge, of course no engage- ent was broken. With respect to the mployment of our troops on foreign ser- ce, the troops sent to Alexandria, had one not from home but from the Mediter- nean, where they had been sent by the te ministers. He should, if called upon, e ready to argue the policy of the expe- tion. The sufficiency of the number of oops sent was another question. There ad been every reason to think that the ex- edition had been undertaken with the con- urrence of the natives. Under these cir- umstances, and if it had not been for the isconception that led to the disasters that efel our troops, they would have been ble to maintain themselves unhurt. With espect to the expedition to South Ame- ca, it was undertaken not by the choice f the late government—it was undertaken ontrary to orders, by an officer who, it as to be presumed, acted not improperly n undertaking it, as he was again in em- loy. [Hear! hear! from the opposition.] t became necessary to send out aid as oon as the first account was received. The romptitude and sufficiency of that aid he as ready to maintain; for the delay in the assage of general Craufurd's expedition, e late government was not culpable. No xpedition had ever sailed from this coun- y better manned and found. No force ad ever enjoyed better health, or suffered o very little by casualties. All the letters eceived from the fleet spoke in the highest erms of the general to whom the merit of this was given, as well as to the naval officer commanding, to whom he was glad to have an opportunity of doing this justice, as he knew the arts practised to injure him.

Mr. *Herbert* expressed much regret, that at the time of the union something more effectual had not been done to assimilate and in some measure identify the constitution and services of the militias of the two countries. If such an assimilation in all respects could be effected between these two bodies, the advantages resulting from it to the military strength of the empire would be incalculable. He had only to wish that the noble lord (Castlereagh) had proposed some measure to that purpose, at the time when he had it so much in his power to exert the influence and weight of the situation in which the noble lord was then placed.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* thought the Army of Reserve act was the best military system this country had ever seen. When the late ministers quitted office, there were 600,000 effective men ready to defend the country, and he defied the present administration to keep up such a mass of military force, by their new systems.—The question was then put from the chair, and leave was given to bring in the bills moved for by lord Castlereagh.—The noble lord then brought up a bill "for allowing a certain proportion of the militia in Great Britain voluntarily to enlist into his majesty's regular forces;" and also, a bill "for the speedily completing the militia of Great Britain, and increasing the same, under certain limitations and restrictions;" which were read a first time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 23.

[Irish Glebe Houses Bill.] On the order of the day being moved for the second reading of this bill,

The Earl of *Hardwicke* rose to state his promised objections to it, which he pronounced to be perfectly inadequate to its purposes, and indeed wholly useless. The urgent and notorious want of parsonages in Ireland, must have been felt by every friend to the Protestant establishment in that country, and he was sorry to see no grounds whatever urged for the necessity of the present measure, by which it did not appear that any sums necessary for carrying into effect the object of the bill were at all provided for, or were certain to be forthcoming.

Lord *Redesdale* contended, that, however deficient the bill might be in many respects, yet it was absolutely necessary, and would, he trusted, be attended with very essential advantages. It made it imperative on the Irish treasury to advance the money, and so far the main object of the noble earl's objections was removed.

The Archbishop of *Dublin* concurred in the observations made by the noble and learned lord, and contended, that there was no comparison between the advantages and disadvantages of the measure. Indeed, he felt it to be of the utmost importance, and the most urgent necessity.—The bill was then read a second time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 23.

[EAST-INDIA BONDS BILL.] Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the East-India Bonds bill. On the question that the amendments of the committee be read a second time,

Mr. *Peter Moore* entered into a detailed statement of the affairs of the East-India company, in order to shew that its debts and embarrassments were the consequence of measures which had been forced upon the company, by the government and board of controul, for the effects of which, the company ought not to be responsible. It was in consequence of such measures, that the wars which had taken place in India, had embarrassed the company, that the participation on the part of the public had taken place but once, and contended, therefore, that the public had a right not only to make good to the proprietors their stock, to the amount of 12 millions, but also to discharge the whole of the floating debts of the company.

Mr. *Dundas* replied, that that was not the time for entering into a detailed examination of the India accounts. It was a most extraordinary doctrine to maintain, that the expence of wars undertaken for the defence of the company's territories should be defrayed by the public. As to what had been said respecting the participation on the part of the public, he should only answer, by referring the hon. gent. to the act, in which there was an express exception of times of war.

Lord *Folkestone* declared it to be his intention to resist the further progress of this bill, at least until the India accounts should be before the house, and the ground of his opposition was, that by the papers upon the table, the affairs of the company appeared to be in a dilapidated state.

Mr. *W. Smith* could not agree in the position of his hon. friend, that the public should be responsible for the sums to be borrowed under this bill, or for any other of the East-India company's debts; and unless it should be understood from an explicit protest, or resolution of that house, that, by sanctioning this measure, it did not make the public a guarantee for the debts to be incurred under it by the India company, he could not consent to the measure.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was surprized that any doubts could be entertained upon this subject, after the manner in which it had been discussed on a former night. Undoubtedly, by passing this bill, that house was no more bound to guarantee the debts contracted pursuant to its provisions, than it was bound to guarantee the debts of any private company or corporation, authorized by act of parliament to raise money for the purposes of its institution. The money, in this instance, was to be raised on the sole responsibility of the company, to which alone, and not to the public, the lender was to look for the repayment of the sums he advanced.

Mr. *Creevey* should support the opposition of his noble friend to the further progress of the measure, unless he should be given to understand that the third reading would not be pressed before the end of next week, by which time he understood the India papers would be before the house.

Mr. *Grant* argued against the supposition that the public guaranteed these bonds, in allowing them to be issued. He contended, that the exclusive charter of the East-India company was the only means of preserving India to this country. The contingencies on which a participation in the company's profits had been promised to the public, had been retarded and prevented by a state of war. They had been calculated to accrue upon a prospect of peace.

Dr. *Laurence* argued, that the fear of the eventual liability of parliament arose from the want of sufficient proofs of the validity of the company's security, which parliament was bound to ascertain, before it should give its sanction to the issue of the Bonds. After some further explanation, the amendments were agreed to.

Mr. *Whitbread* insisted that time should be allowed to make enquiry into the solvency of the company, before any farther proceedings on the bill.

Mr. *Dundas* had no objection to a delay a few days for the production of the counts now ordered; but he feared, a al ripping up of the company's affairs s intended.—The bill was then ordered be read a third time this day se'nnight.

[Irish Insurrection Bill.] On the otion for going into a committee on this l,

Mr. *Whitbread* said, he assented to the l's going into a committee, from the assu- nce he had received of the present alarm- g state of the country from others, besides se who now directed its government, d because he hoped to find it in a much s objectionable shape when it came out the committee. To the preamble in par- ular, he must object *primâ facie,* as not plicable to the state of the country now, mpared with its situation in 1796, when e bill originally passed.

Sir *J. Newport* spoke to the same effect. ne preamble was grounded on the circum- ances existing in Ireland, in 1796, which ere very opposite to the circumstances of e present time.

Sir *A. Wellesley* did intend to propose an teration of the preamble.

On the reading of the clause for enacting e capital punishment of persons convict- l of being present, aiding, abetting, and sisting, in the administration of unlawful aths, some discussion took place. Sir J. ewport, Mr. Whitbread, lord H. Petty, nd Mr. Grattan, were desirous the clause ould be so worded as not to involve inno- ent persons, accidentally present, in the oom where such unlawful oaths might e tendered, but without their knowledge r assistance, in a capital punishment: and herefore it was proposed to word the lause, "present, and knowingly and wilful- aiding," &c. Sir A. Wellesley, the At- orney-General, Mr. Simeon, the Chancel- or of the Exchequer, and Mr. Croker, ere of opinion, that the clause was word- d in the ordinary legal language of all in- ictments for similar crimes; and that it as impossible to find a man capitally guilty nder it, unless it should be proved, that, eside being present, he was knowingly and ilfully guilty of aiding, abetting, and assist- g, and that therefore, the change propo- ed would be only an unnecessary transla- on of the well-known and explicit language f the law, into that of common parlance. he clause was agreed to in its original rm.—Amongst the various amendments nd new clauses that were proposed, there as one suggested by sir J. Newport, on the clause which gave a power to the magistrates to arrest strangers in their several districts. The amendment proposed was, that a power should be given to the lord lieutenant, or the magistrates at the quarter sessions, to release the party arrested, on giving good security for his appearance, where nothing particular appeared to charge him with any act of criminality. It was contended, on the part of government, by col. Vereker and others, that the power might be vested in the lords lieutenants, who might be supposed to be possessed of all the information necessary to know whether the party ought to be detained or not; but that it ought not to be given to the magistrates, because their party divisions were so great that some of them would be glad to release a prisoner, because he was committed by a magistrate of the other party. On the other hand, it was argued by Mr. Whitbread, sir J. Newport, and Mr. Morris, that if such divisions amongst the magistrates did exist, the house should be more cautious how they gave up the liberty of the subject without sufficient guards; and that strangers, as they were denominated in the bill, could only be Irishmen coming from some other county, or perhaps from the next parish, or, it might be, from the next street, or the next door, as the word stranger was undefinable. A division took place, on which there was, for sir J. Newport's amendment, 18; against it, 27. The clause was then so far modified that the magistrates should be compelled to transmit to the lord lieutenant the story of the stranger, or other accused person, along with his accusation.—The other clauses of the bill were agreed to, without any material amendment.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 24.

[Minutes.] In a committee on the expiring laws bill, Mr. Rose moved a resolution for continuing to the 25th of March next, the act for suspending certain penalties in the woollen manufacture. Lord Milton urged the importance of coming to a final adjustment of the differences existing between the various classes of persons concerned in the woollen manufacture. With a view to accelerate this final adjustment he moved, as an amendment, that the duration of the Suspension act should be limited to four weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament. Mr. P. Moore stated, that an arrangement of the differences in the woollen manufactories had for upwards of five years engaged the attention of the house by its committees. All the parties were tired of dissention, and more desirous than ever to come to a final arrangement. Mr. Huskisson said, government was anxious to forward by all means in its power the final arrangement of the differences which had so long existed. After a few words from Mr. Rose, it was agreed that the chairman should report progress, and ask leave to sit again, with a view to consider in the interval how the speedy adjustment of the existing differences could be best provided for.—Mr. Sheridan presented several petitions from the Brewers, Distillers, and Publicans of Middlesex and Surrey, against the abuse of the powers exercised by the magistrates of those counties with respect to publicans' licences. The petitions were ordered to lie on the table. Mr. Sheridan gave notice, that he would next week submit a measure for the relief of the grievances complained of by the petitioners.

[IRISH INSURRECTION BILL.] Sir A. Wellesley moved the committal of the Irish Insurrection bill.

Sir *John Newport* proposed an amendment in the clause, enacting, that a serjeant or barrister at law should preside at each of the county meetings for trying offenders under the bill. The house divided: For the amendment, 29; against it, 53.

Sir *John Newport* stated, that gross abuses, as he knew from local information, had prevailed in the searching of houses, particularly with respect to females, who had in some cases been indecently outraged. He wished, therefore, for an amendment in the clause respecting the searching of houses after sun-set. The amendment which he would propose was, That the magistrate should make out a list of proper persons to be employed for this purpose, for the approbation of the quarter sessions, and that he should be responsible for the good behaviour of such persons in the discharge of their duty. If this could not be adopted, and he foresaw no objection to it from the chance that persons so approved of might not be present at the time they might be wanted, he would then propose that the magistrate should be bound in a penalty of 100*l.* to send in the names of the persons employed to the quarter sessions within 48 hours after they should have been engaged in such search, that he might, in this way, become in some respect responsible. A strong check was necessary on such a power as this, and unless this amendment, or something equivalent to it, was adopted, he would oppose the clause altogether, and divide the house on it.

Sir *A. Wellesley* and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* had no objection to the principle of the latter amendment, but wished it should be delayed till the report of the bill, that they might have time to consider whether it could be adopted in consistency with other necessary objects.

Mr. *Croker* proposed an amendment to the clause, substituting instead of the words, "and in case of refusal to enter by force," the following words, "and in case admittance shall be refused ten minutes after being demanded, then such magistrates and their officers, bailiffs, &c. shall be allowed to break into said dwelling by force."

Colonel *Vereker* disapproved of the words, "ten minutes;" he thought such amendments would go to fritter away the bill altogether.

Sir *S. Romilly* was astonished, that in the case of so serious a nature as forcible entry into the house of the king's subjects, a provision to give that subject a reasonable time to provide against that forcible entry by voluntarily admitting the officer, should be termed by any gentleman in that house an attempt to fritter away the bill. It was a clause not so much of relaxation as of common justice.

Colonel *Vereker* explained, and said that there was another objection to such precise mention of the time, that unless there was moonlight, or that the bailiffs had lights and matches, it could not be ascertained.

Colonel *Barry* said, that another objection was, that the majority of such officers were not individually worth a watch.

Dr. *Laurence* ridiculed such objections, and contended that the "ten minutes" should be distinctly specified.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* had no objection to the amendment, provided the words "a reasonable time" were put for the words "ten minutes," for if an entire village was to be searched, ten minutes waiting at the door of every house in that village would be an unconscionable length of time; he proposed, therefore, the substitution of the words "a reasonable time."

Mr. *Croker* acquiesced in the substitution proposed by the right hon. gentleman.

Mr. *Whitbread* and sir J. *Newport* commented forcibly on the vagueness of the terms suggested by the chancellor of the chequer, and expressed their surprise that e hon. gent. with whom the amendment d originated, could be so readily induced give up the principal point in it.

Mr. *Laing* instanced the definite time pressly limited in the riot act, and thought e present case as more deeply involving e rights of the subject, than the dispersion a lawless mob by force of arms; he ought the hon. gent. (Mr. Croker) had en indeed hasty in giving way to certain thorities.

Mr. *Croker* said, in justification of him- lf, that he was but a young member of arliament, and that it was natural for him bow to authority; besides, he thought at the right hon. baronet over the way pproved of the words "a reasonable time," ere sir J. Newport expressly signified his ssent]; however, he was himself inclined think the final words "ten minutes," etter than those last proposed, though he ould not wish to divide the committee pon them.

Mr. *Grattan* said that the committee were bout to invest an extraordinary power omewhere. It ought therefore to be done ith caution: but who were the persons to e invested with the power? perhaps some awless miscreant, some vagabond, or per- aps the discretion of their "reasonable me" was to be lodged in the bosom of any onvenient menial, some postilion, coach- an, hostler, or ploughboy, who under the anction of the law was to judge when it would be a reasonable time for him to rush nto the apartment of a female, while she was hastily throwing on her clothes, to open he door to this midnight visitor; this would give a wound that would be felt long; it would throw a general odium about the bill. f the character of the bill would be saved, ny thing admitting the possibility of such abuse should be sacrificed to it.

Mr. *J. C. Beresford* said, that a stranger who had heard the last twenty minutes conversation, would be apt to suppose that the Irish magistrates had a general propensity to break open doors and burst into ladies' bed-chambers. He vindicated the Irish magistracy, and said, that he did not speak there as a party-man, but as an Irishman.

Mr. *Abercrombie* was convinced, from what came within his own knowledge, of the necessity of great caution in the case now before the committee. He thought it much better to have the time ascertained by law.

The *Solicitor-General* thought that the committee was arguing wide of the case in point. The question was not about the principle of forcible entry, that was agreed to; the right of the domiciliary visit was admitted on all sides, and the question simply was, whether "a reasonable time" were words better fitted for the purpose had in view than the words "ten minutes?" he for his part thought they were, and put different cases, each of which he thought bore him out in his opinion; some of those cases might not be thought very probable; but, surely, any of them were more probable than that put by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Grattan), of the lady or the female in her bed-chamber. He did not, he confessed, feel so nicely on the subject as that right hon. gentleman.

Mr. *Grattan* said, that the learned gent. had told the committee what it ought to argue upon, and what it ought not to argue upon. It was good in that learned gent. to give the committee the aid of his instruction: but is the gentleman, said Mr. Grattan, quite sure of being himself altogether right? In the first place, all the other questions are not wholly gone by; for I may agree to the clause or its modification, or reject both, and afterwards agree to or dissent from the principle of the bill itself. Again, has the learned gent. been right in his statement of the question? He has argued on the propriety of vesting the magistrate with the discretion of judging of the "reasonable time;" but this is not the question. It is, whether you vest any commissioned ruffian with that discretion? Here, then, the learned gent. mistated what he was to argue upon; and then did he even argue fairly on that mistatement?—No; for he takes that as impossible which I myself have known to have taken place. He says, such ruffians as I describe could never have been officially employed, and have made their office the pretence of wanton outrage: but I have known such ruffians to have been employed, and such outrages to have been committed—[Hear! hear!]—that delicacy of the other sex has been grossly obtruded on and wantonly insulted—this was no light matter—there was more in that sentiment than a joke could do away—the honour of a female in any class—it was wrong to make it the subject of parliamentary jocularity.

Dr. *Laurence* and sir S. Romilly followed on the same side, both gentlemen stating, that their right hon. friend (Mr.

Grattan) had put the question in its true light. It was not investing the magistrate, but his menial bailiff, with a dangerous discretion.—Mr. Laing having proposed the amendment in its original form, Mr. Croker said, that as he had not withdrawn his amendment, he should not give it up. —The committee then divided,

For the "ten minutes," 30
For "a reasonable time,". 71
—
Majority 41

On the following clause, "Provided always, and be it further enacted, that when a verdict shall be given for the plaintiff in any action to be brought against any justice of the peace, peace-officer, or other person, for taking or imprisoning, or detaining any person, or for seizing arms, or entering houses under colour of any authority given by this act, and it shall appear to the judge or judges before whom the same shall be tried, that there was a probable cause for doing the act complained of in such action, and the judge or court shall certify the same on record, then and in that case the plaintiff shall not be entitled to more than 6*d.* damages, nor to any costs of suit,"

Mr. *Brand* moved that the whole clause be omitted, as grossly unjust and unconstitutional.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* admitted that the clause was not one which he could have wished to see introduced: but, when the necessity of the case was considered; when it was recollected that the state of Ireland required that very irksome and disagreeable duties should be imposed on the magistrates, which they would be unwilling to perform, and which, in fact, it would be dangerous for them to perform with the zeal and fidelity required, unless they were protected from the effects of unintentional errors into which, from appearances, they might be led; when, in short, it was considered that the very jurors in such actions of damages might be persons against whom it had been necessary for them to exercise the enactments of this act, and whose minds might, on that account, be inflamed against them; when all these things were considered, it was the opinion of those best acquainted with the state of Ireland, that the act must be imperfectly executed, unless the magistrates were secured by a clause like the present.

Sir *Arthur Pigott* said, he was decidedly of opinion, that the provision now objected to, would be a disgrace to the statute book. Were they, by this most extraordinary bill, to give extraordinary powers to magistrates, and then, after they had exceeded even the powers given them, to protect them from the verdict of a jury? If the right hon. gent. was afraid that the persons aggrieved might obtain a verdict while the country was in a state of irritation, why limit the time for seeking redress to six months? If, again, he was afraid of the inflammable state of the jurors' minds, and that they might even have been parties in the supposed transgression, the remedy was plain and easy—to change the venue to a more distant county, where no dissatisfaction or irritation of feelings had prevailed. It had been said, that a similar act had been intended to be proposed by the late ministry. He would only say for one, that he had never been consulted, nor had heard of such an intention, nor had he ever seen the present bill till yesterday. If the state of Ireland was such as the right hon. gent. represented, and that a jury could not be had there whose minds were not in an inflammatory state, why not take away the trial by jury entirely, at least suspend it, till the feelings of the people were restored to a greater degree of calmness and composure? It was a mockery to continue the trial by jury, and yet to deprive an injured person of the effect of a verdict after it had been given in his favour. It was said, that the judges of Ireland were fair, impartial, and upright. He should be sorry to doubt it. He believed, that they, in common with the judges in this part of the kingdom, with whom he was more intimately acquainted, possessed every honourable and upright feeling and quality. But this was a power not to be intrusted to any man. It was such a power as the law had refused to any judge, or any set of judges whatever.

The *Attorney-General* contended, that the enactment now objected to was not so novel as the hon. and learned baronet had supposed. He confessed that plaintiffs in the situation alluded to were to be deprived of the benefit of the common law; but was not this already the case in all revenue questions? Where an officer of the revenue was sued, nothing but the dry damage sustained by the injured party was awarded against him. Where it was a question of intention in revenue cases, and no intention could be shewn, the plaintiff could not recover; and it had been determined, in the ase of Sutton and Johnston, that the uestion of "probable cause" was a quesion for the judge. There the defendant ould have an acquittal, and of course his osts from the plaintiff; here the plaintiff as to have a nominal verdict, even although the judge was of opinion that the robable cause was with the defendant. The duties which magistrates would have o perform in the present state of Ireland, ere of a most invidious nature, and he hought that this was not too great an inemnity to allow them in the discharge of uch duties.

Mr. *Boyle* (solicitor-general for Scotand) contended that the hon. and learned ent. (sir A. Pigott) had gone too far in reating the proposed resolution as so great novelty, and as so grievous an infringement f the law and constitution of this country. f the hon. and learned gent. had consulted he statute book, he would have found that milar resolutions as to Ireland had been assed repeatedly before this time, nay hat at this moment such formed a part f the law of the land. If the hon. and earned gent. had found the enactment n question so very obnoxious, why did e not come forward in his official siuation, when he was attorney-general, nd move that it be expunged from the tatute book? He had no doubt that he hon. and learned person, when in office, greed with his friends in the ministry in hinking the clause in dispute essential o the well-being of Ireland. He (Mr. Boyle) recollected being in the house on he evening when the present bill was inroduced, and remembered perfectly well hat gentlemen on every side agreed n the necessity of the measure, except one on. gent., whom he now saw in his place, Mr. Sheridan,) who declared, he had no loubt most conscientiously, his resolution o oppose the bill in every stage.

Mr. *Whitbread* declared, that he had not eard a legal or constitutional sentiment utered on the subject, except what had fallen rom his hon. friend behind him, (sir A. Pigott). He had, indeed, heard somehing like an attempt at a legal defence of he measure, by shewing that such practices lso prevailed in revenue questions. But vould that render the power more agreeble to law or to the constitution? Was it ot known and acknowledged, that our revenue laws were infractions of our constituional liberties, and were only tolerated as cts of necessity, which, indeed, was the only attempt at a vindication of the present measure? The necessity of the revenue laws we must all be aware of, a great revenue could not otherwise be expected to be levied; but of the necessity of the present provision, he confessed he was by no means convinced. An hon. gent. (Mr. Boyle), had, however, treated the provision as part of the existing laws of this country, and had asked, why, if so obnoxious to his learned friend (sir A. Pigott), he had not moved to have it expunged from the statute book? A provision to the same effect he (Mr. Whitbread) admitted, did make part of a statute of the parliament of Ireland, which would expire on the 1st of August. It would have been too much however, he suspected, for his learned friend to have come forward here, and moved to have that enactment expunged. At all events, an enactment of the Irish parliament could not act as a precedent for that house, or afford any such argument for now adopting it, as if they had been re-enacting a former legislative measure of their own. There might be a general conviction of the necessity of the present act, and yet the clogging it with one clause similar to that now objected to, might render it so unpalatable that many gentlemen who, like himself, were not otherwise unfriendly to the measure, might rather wish to see Ireland take its chance than thus relinquish one of its dearest and most valuable rights. It was hardly possible, but that in the execution of such an act as the present, innocent persons should suffer wrong. Their country, however, would still be naturally dear to them, and they would cheer themselves with the hope that they had still a remedy left; that they had still a jury to protect them, and to redress the wrongs they had sustained. If the clause now objected to, however, should pass, they could have no such consolation. They might appeal to a jury; a jury might give them redress; but they might then find the judge interpose, and deprive them of that recompence for their wrongs to which they were justly entitled. He would ask, could a man in this situation have the same feelings towards his country as if no such clause had found its way into the present bill?

Sir *John Newport* related two cases in which the precipitancy of the magistrates had been the ruin of two worthy individuals; the one, that of a merchant who was taken upon suspicion; 100,000*l.* bail was offered for his appearance at the necessary time; this was refused; the man's business was ruined for want of his own presence to conduct it, and he became a bankrupt. He afterwards went out to America; he carried with him the disease of the mind which had thus been occasioned, became melancholy, his senses were deranged, and he made an attempt upon his life. Another person was apprehended in the county of Tipperary, because he was guilty of having a piece of French manuscript in his pocket, and by order of the sheriff he was flogged, because the sheriff in his extreme loyal zeal concluded that the manuscript must be seditious, or it would not have been written in French, a language which he did not understand. He therefore intreated gentlemen to look a little at the other side; to feel a little for the injured individual as well as for the erring magistrates.

Mr. *Windham* always considered the principle of the revenue laws a very deplorable departure from the general principles of British legislation, and could not readily be induced to think that we ought to adopt what must be in some instances an unjust exception, instead of what was an acknowledged, just, and liberal established rule. The case of Sutton and Johnston was a singular exception not extremely worthy of imitation.

Colonel *Vereker* was afraid this excellent bill was in danger of being frittered away.

The *Solicitor-General* said, that if this clause was omitted, all the preceding clauses might be cancelled also.

General *Loftus* spoke, from his own experience, in support of the clause.

Lord *H. Petty* declared, that in every principle of justice we were bound to administer relief to the injured individual, even though it should not be done at the expence of the magistrate.

Lord *Milton* reprobated severely the injustice of the measure: as a matter of policy even, it was to be considered, that such a measure would naturally irritate men's minds—when they felt that they had suffered damage, when they appealed to a court of justice, and a jury awarded them some compensation in damages, and yet it was not in the power of the jury to extend to the individual that justice to which they knew he was entitled. When he saw the verdict of the jury superseded by the decision of the judge, was that a way to reconcile the feelings of Irishmen?, was that a way to bind Ireland by friendly attachment to this country?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* maintained that the decision would be strengthened, the interest of individuals would be better secured, by the opinion of the Judge and Jury being both made public. He contended that the cases to which gentlemen alluded appeared to be what the law termed *damnum sine injuriâ;* and private interest must give way to public good.

Mr. *Windham* said, that if the magistrate was supposed to be innocent, that is, with respect to the *quo animo* with which he acted, and yet it was seen that an individual suffered materially, government or the country should reimburse the sufferer.

Mr. *Morris* said, that if the verdict of a jury was supposed to be erroneous, the constitution had provided a legal mode of redress to the party who supposed himself aggrieved, as he might move for a new trial, then for a second, and so on to a third; and, if three juries of the county were agreed as to the same chief point, however highly he respected the character and general conduct of the judges in England and in Ireland, he must say, that he should think the verdict of three distinct juries infinitely preferable to that of any individual who might oppose their decision, however highly venerable that individual might be seen in other respects.—The committee then divided upon this clause, and the numbers were: For the original clause, 75; for the amendment, 28; Majority 47.

Upon the period of "two years, and to the end of the next ensuing session of parliament," being proposed for the duration of the act,

Sir *John Newport* rose and deprecated such a period, as it implied the contemplation of a necessity which might cease long before parliament was in the habit of annually considering the Mutiny bill, and the reasons which induced that habit pleaded with still stronger force for the annual consideration of a measure of this nature, which would go to put Ireland out of the pale of the constitution. What, he would ask, would gentlemen say, if it were proposed for such, or indeed for any period, to put England in such a situation?

Colonel *Vereker* was an advocate for the clause; as was

General *Phipps*, who stated, that if England were in such a state as that of Ireland, or likely to be so, he believed that no English gentleman would be found to oppose the adoption of a measure similar to the present.

Mr. *Windham* thought that shortening

e duration of the bill would be a sort of edge to the Irish people of the reluctance th which parliament imposed such an act on them, while its present extended du- tion would directly indicate an indif- rence upon the subject. For, although e necessity for the bill might now be ful- evident, still no man could presume that e period objected to might not long sur- ve that necessity.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was de- dedly of opinion that the clause ought to ass in its present stage, because there was o probability that the necessity which cal- d for the bill would so soon cease; and also ecause it was desirable to prevent the agi- ation of a question of this nature so often s the right hon. baronet professed to wish, st such agitation might tend to aggravate e evil which the bill was meant to cure.

Mr. *Grattan* deprecated the continuance f the bill for so long a term as that propo- ed by the clause now in discussion, and arnestly intreated the house to comply vith the suggestion of his right hon. friend sir J. Newport). The right hon. the hancellor of the exchequer, he said, had rgued, that this bill would cease to operate s soon as the occasion for it should cease, nd that it could be no grievance where it was not in operation. He (Mr. G.) denied he fact. Would the house, without any roofs at its bar, or appointing any committee to enquire into the situation of Ire- and, and report on the necessity of the ase, proceed to pass a bill, abrogating in Ireland for three years, the rights of the constitution, merely because, at present, there was a manifest disposition in some places which called for vigilance and the strong hand of coercion? Was it no grievance to declare the power of the crown absolute and to authorize government to proclaim the whole or any part of the people of Ireland out of the king's peace, and liable to military execution or arbitrary transportation? But, supposing such a power vested in the hands of the most wise and humane chief governor that ever existed, was it no grievance for a free people to feel themselves placed in such a predicament for 3 whole years, without any examination into the necessity of such a measure? Would the people of England think it no grievance that parliament should declare the power of the crown absolute for 3 years, even under the most mild, humane, and benevolent monarch that ever existed? He had said, that he would vote for this bill, because he was sorry to say there existed some necessity for it. He knew it was extremely unpopular in Ireland, from the hundreds of letters he himself had received upon the subject; but still, under the existence of some necessity, he was ready to vote for the bill, and to take his own full share of the odium and unpopularity attached to it. This was a time in which every man should be prepared to sacrifice, not only some portion of his liberty, but of his popularity also, for the safety of his country: he was ready to sacrifice both, for the good of the state, because he would rather give up his situation as a representative of his country, than sacrifice public security at the shrine of popularity. He was assured by his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Elliot, the late secretary for Ireland), that there were in various parts of Ireland, secret nocturnal meetings of a dark and dangerous nature. This called for the bill, and therefore he would vote for it, even without the modification of the clause required by the right hon. baronet. But he most earnestly intreated of the house, and of the right hon. gentleman opposite to him, not to push this bill to an extent so unnecessary, which even the Irish parliament, at a period, and in a state of things much more generally alarming, only passed for one year, afterwards for two, and lastly, in the hour of its death, just before the union, perpetuated for seven years. The feeling he wished the house to impress by this bill upon the people of Ireland was, that it was a measure of necessity, which would cease with the cause, and subside with the disposition it was intended to correct; but he seriously apprehended, that its enactment for 3 years would tend to aggravate the mischiefs it was intended to correct, because, by evincing to the people of Ireland an indifference towards extending to them British privileges, a question might arise in their minds, whether to prefer the military government of France, or the suspended constitution of England. The question in Ireland now had nothing to do with religious conflict, or republican principle, but was simply this, whether Ireland should continue a portion of the British empire; or become not a portion of France—but absolutely nothing: for annihilation would be her fate under French conquest. He knew very well, France would have her spies in Ireland to create a French party, and to endeavour to foment a French connection, first by coquetting—but with a certain view to meretricious intercourse. This was the danger he most deprecated, and against the possibility of which he desired to caution that house, and to warn his countrymen. It was not merely by this bill, or any other measure of legal expediency, that this danger was to be avoided, but by that species of parental and friendly treatment which counsels while it restrains, and admonishes while it corrects. He would recommend the gentlemen of that country not at this crisis to content themselves with mere precaution, or rely upon measures of severity and irritation. He counselled them to go personally from hamlet to hamlet, from house to house—to canvass the people for their country, with the same zeal with which they canvassed votes for their elections; to open their eyes to the danger and ruinous consequence of French connexion; and to hold out to them the solemn assurance of redress of all their grievances, and the abolition of all invidious distinctions and disabilities on the score of religion. [Here a cry of no! no! no!] "Gentlemen who say no, continued Mr. Grattan, know nothing of the interests of Ireland, and don't understand their own. Believe me, in this hour of peril, the aid of the people of Ireland is of the utmost importance to the empire, and you stand in need of it all. It is of the last importance, then, that you canvass for it in the way most likely to secure it. I earnestly advise, that on the subject of Catholic emancipation, which I shall not discuss now, the minds and the hopes of that people may be set at rest, by the solemn assurance that their firm and loyal adherence to England in this last and most perilous struggle, shall be the price of their complete admission to all the rights of the British constitution, consistent with reason and justice. Nations are often the arbiters of their own fate, and you have it now in your power to secure that inviolable attachment of the Irish people with which you may reckon on your security; but without which, that security, I fear, would be problematical. I again earnestly intreat gentlemen connected with Ireland, to use every means in their power to excite amongst the people an attachment to the empire, and above all to that fundamental maxim of British policy, to have nothing to do with France. I shall conclude with giving my support to the bill; in deprecating however the long term of its proposed continuance. I know my conduct may in this case be unpopular amongst many of my countrymen, but I never will capitulate with popular error, though I shall ever respect popularity when the attendant on public virtue.

Mr. *J. C. Beresford* congratulated the house, the country, and the right hon. gent., on the sentiments which he had just uttered, and which he hoped and trusted would have a due impression in Ireland.

General *Loftus* concurred in this congratulation.

Lord *Howick* deprecated the idea, that any objection offered by himself and his friends to the details of this measure, proceeded from a disposition to oppose the principle of the measure itself. On the contrary, he was anxious to support the bill, with regard to the necessity for which no change whatever had taken place in his sentiments since his retirement from office. But, as to the bill itself, he declared that although a draft of it had been sent to him from Ireland, just previous to the change of administration, he had never read it until lately introduced by the right hon. baronet.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declared his satisfaction at the speech of the right hon. gent. which had excited so much admiration, but re-stated his reasons for proposing the enactment of the measure for two years, which nothing that he had heard could induce him to alter. If the bill was not popular in Ireland, that was to him a proof of its necessity.—The committee then divided: For the original clause, 68; against it, 21. After which the house resumed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 25.

[MINUTES.] The petition complaining of undue elections and returns for the county of Kilcardine, and for the boroughs of Oakhampton and East Grimstead, were discharged, as the petitioners had failed entering into the necessary recognizances.—Sir A. Wellesley moved for, and obtained leave to bring in, two bills; the one for allowing a certain number of men to volunteer from the Irish militia into the regiments of the line; the other for increasing the Irish militia to a certain extent, by ballot or by bounty. The bills were then brought up and read a first time.

[IRISH INSURRECTION BILL.] The report of this bill was brought up.

Sir *A. Wellesley* proposed an amendment, that, instead of the penalty of 100*l.* on magistrates for not sending notice within three days to the quarter sessions, of the persons puted by them to receive arms, the pe-ity should be but 20*l*. The reason of this pposed alteration was, that it had been esterday stated that 100*l*. would be much large a penalty, as many of the magis-ates in Ireland were not worth 100*l*. per num.

Sir *J. Newport* said, that he lamented to ar that the magistracy in Ireland was in ch a degraded situation, that 100*l*. should reckoned too severe a penalty, for a wilful glect of duty. He, for his part, thought e penalty was not too severe, and that it ould be necessary, in order to oblige them do their duty.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* consider-l, that the larger penalty would, instead of oducing any good effect, only tend to arm the magistrates, and prevent men om undertaking the duties of that situation.

Sir *J. Newport* thought it was a most se-ous consideration, to think what chance justice the people of Ireland had from agistrates that were not worth 100*l*. a ear; and still more, what security they ould have for the good conduct of those ersons which such magistrate should please depute.

Colonel *Vereker* considered that the pe-alty would be a severe hardship upon the agistrates, and that it might be incurred ithout any wilful neglect.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought at it would be better to take away the pe-alty altogether. The magistrates would till be liable to be proceeded against cri-ninally for any neglect of duty; and if any ndividual should suffer injury from such eglect, that person might have his action or damages.—After some farther conver-ation, it was agreed that the penalty should e taken away altogether.

Sir *J. Newport* then proposed a clause, hat when arms should be surrendered in onsequence of a district being proclaimed, he owners of those arms should receive hem back again when the district was re-tored to the king's peace, or else they might ue the district for the value of them. He tated that there were innumerable instan-es of persons entitled to bear arms, who ad registered them, and had yet been obli-ed to surrender those arms when the dis-rict was proclaimed, and could never get hem back again. This was often a loss of onsiderable importance. Among other entlemen who had so lost their arms, his ight hon. friend (Mr. Grattan) was one. rom his house there were taken pistols, and other arms, silver-mounted, and of considerable value, and they were never restored to him. If those seizures were made by magistrates themselves, there would be persons responsible for them: but when those seizures were made by any body who might be appointed by magistrates, such as had been described, persons from whom arms were taken had nobody to look to for restitution. He considered that all the arms so surrendered should be deposited in certain places in the county, and restored when the troubles were over.

Mr. *Foster* considered that it would be unsafe to convey those arms through a disturbed country, to such appointed places for keeping them, and did not know how actions could be brought against a district.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, although he had not disapproved at first of the principle of the clause, yet after what he had heard from his right hon. friend, he conceived it his duty to oppose it.—The clause was then negatived.

Sir J. *Newport* then proposed, as an amendment, that instead of two years being mentioned as the duration of it, it should be one year.

The *Speaker* observed, that the motion was not regular in that stage of the bill, as it would be an amendment upon an amendment.

Sir *J. Newport* then said, that he should propose it on the third reading of the bill, and he considered it of such importance, that unless some such amendment were agreed to, he might perhaps think it necessary to take the sense of the house upon the bill itself. As the bill had now been much altered by the various amendments, he moved that it should be printed in its amended form.

Sir *A. Wellesley* had no objection to the printing the amended bill, in order to give the fullest information to the members, but he would not pledge himself to postpone the third reading later than Monday, even if the bill should not be then printed.—The bill was ordered to be printed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday July 27.

[DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.] Lord *Holland* rose to ask, whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to make any communication to parliament on a circumstance which was at present the subject of much conversation, he meant the report of hostilities having actually commenced between this country and the United States of America? He should rejoice to hear that the report was untrue; and if that was the case, he was sure the noble lord on the opposite side (lord Hawkesbury) would be glad to have this opportunity afforded him of contradicting it; but if so great a calamity had really taken place, he trusted that his majesty's ministers would lose no time in laying before parliament the grounds of the dispute between the two countries. Indeed, he trusted that parliament would in this case insist upon having full information, and that so unfortunate an event had not occurred without ministers having done every thing in their power to avoid it.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, that the only answer he could give was, that he had no authority to make any communication at present on the subject to which the noble lord had alluded. That noble lord, however, did him no more than justice when he supposed that every thing had been done on the part of his majesty's ministers to avoid so unfortunate a result as hostilities between this country and the United States of America. No one could lament that event more than he would, if it should take place; but in that case he should certainly feel it his duty to lay before parliament, at as early a period as possible, every information which would be necessary for them to form an opinion on the subject. Their lordships, however, he was sure, must be sensible of the impropriety of any premature communication, and therefore would not expect any from him at this moment.

Lord *Holland* in explanation observed, that it was not his wish to urge his majesty's ministers to any premature communication. He was only anxious to take the first opportunity of expressing his sense of the calamity which was said to have occurred, and his hope that parliament would not separate without receiving full information respecting its cause.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 27, 1807.

[LONDON PORT IMPROVEMENT BILL.] On the reading of the order of the day, for the third reading of the London Port Improvement bill, which was for the advancing 30,000*l.* to the West-India dock company,

Mr. *W. Smith* rose and said, that he had the instruction of a very numerous class of traders in West-India produce, to oppose the bill; of the progress of which, to its present stage, he was wholly unaware, until informed by mere accident; nor could he have obtained a printed copy of the bill but through the kindness of an hon. friend near him, in order to be fully apprised of its object. The persons who instructed him to oppose the bill, and the list of 60 of whom he had in his pocket, would have come forward with a petition against it, but for the very advanced period of the session. They complained of very oppressive grievances and impediments to their trade, caused by the conduct of the dock company, and they desired only to register their protest against granting to the company, by this bill, the sum proposed, and thereby further confirming their monopoly, until they should redress the grievances complained of, and which the parties aggrieved were ready to state by petition.

Mr. Alderman *Shaw*, as a member of the dock company, declared that, in the course of his experience amongst them, he never witnessed the slightest disposition on the part of the company or their servants to inconvenience, much less to oppress or injure, any man; on the contrary it was their earnest wish, as well as their interest, to give facility and accommodation to every trader resorting to those docks, to the utmost of their power; and he was convinced they would, at any time, be ready, with the utmost cheerfulness and alacrity, to remove, upon representation, every cause of complaint to the utmost of their power. Besides, he begged leave to observe that the 30,000*l.* granted by this bill, was not for the private advantage of the company, but for public purposes; namely, for building a party-wall between the outward bound, and the homeward dock, and thereby the better to prevent depredations on the ship owners, and frauds on the revenue; to build offices for the accommodation of his majesty's officers of the customs there, and to erect barracks for the convenience of the troops it was found necessary to employ, in order to prevent depredation. He therefore hoped the house, feeling the necessity of those arrangements for the completion of the West-India docks, would not, without some obvious grounds, reject the bill.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* allowed that there were many complaints made of disappointment and impediment, such as alluded to by his hon. friend who opposed the bill, but they were such as he had no doubt the company would be ready to remove upon fair representation.

Mr. *Hibbert* supported the bill, defended e conduct of the company, and lamented at the hon. gent. who brought forward e objection had not himself more fre- ently visited the docks, and witnessed e alacrity and dispatch there evinced for blic accomodation, and that he had ard the story only from prejudiced per- ns, whose complaints arose from their wn irregularity, rather than from any ult of the company. If carts were crow- d there in such numbers as rendered it npossible for them to be loaded within e hours daily appropriated to business, was undoubtedly expensive and vexa- ous; but how were the company to blame? here were many, he believed, who did ot like to send so far for the produce, and ere averse to the docks on that account; nd others who disliked them on account of e death blow they had given to smug- ing, and to plunder upon the property West-India merchants, from the mo- ent they entered the river till they were eared at the custom-house, which existed efore those docks were erected: but the mportance of those docks to the public ould be better estimated by a calculation hich he could prove, namely, that be- ore the erection of those docks, the plunder f West-India produce upon the trade in ondon, amounted to half a million an- ually, besides the proportionate loss to he revenue. He trusted, therefore, the ouse would not, upon slight and unex- mined grounds, withhold the aid propo- ed by this bill from an object of such pub- ic importance.—The bill was then read a hird time, and passed.

[Foreign Treaties and Dispute with America.] Mr. *Whitbread* rose nd observed, that he had waited to the ast moment in the hope of seeing the ight hon. the foreign secretary, in his place, that he might put to him some ques- ions. He could not however, let the present occasion pass by without submitting these questions to the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer. It would be in the recollection of the house that the right hon. gent., whose absence he had alluded to, had on a former night, in reply to a question put by him, respecting the treaties or engagements with foreign powers, noticed in the speech at the commencement of the session, stated, that he had reason to believe, that he should be authorised to lay those treaties before the house, either the week before last, or last week at farthest. He wished to know, then, when this communication would be made to the house. It was not his intention, however, to press for the communication, unless it could be made without inconvenience to the public service; but it was natural, in the present state of the session, that he should feel considerable anxiety to have the treaties laid before the house as expeditiously as possible.—He had also another question to ask the right hon. gent., concerning the very alarming event, of which intelligence had been received, respecting the capture of an American frigate by a British vessel. This event was felt by him, and would be felt by every sober, and reflecting person in the nation, to be in the highest degree alarming. What he wished to ask was, whether any communication had been received by his majesty's government of the circumstances that had led to this transaction? Whether the officer concerned had acted upon instructions furnished to him by the government at home, or upon his own feeling of duty or propriety? And whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers, to make any communication to the house upon the subject?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in the absence of his right hon. friend, would answer the questions of the hon. gent. He assured the hon. member, that it was the intention of his right hon. friend to make the communication, he promised, to-morrow. At the same time he must observe, that his right hon. friend had not intimated, that he would lay a treaty or treaties before the house. The hon. member and the house would recollect, that, in what passed on the former night, his right hon. friend had stated only that the treaty alluded to depended upon a contingency, which contingency, if it should not take place, would render it unnecessary to produce the treaty to the house. With respect to the other question of the hon. gent, he should hope that there would be no necessity to make any communication upon the subject. What he should state at present was, tha as a member of his majesty's government, he was not in possession of all the circumstances of the case, and could not therefore make any distinct communication upon the subject. All he should say was, that if, upon receiving the necessary information, it should appear that there was any thing improper or unjustifiable in the conduct of the officer concerned, there certainly would be every wish on the part of his majesty's ministers to make the fullest reparation that the nature of the case would admit of. He was convinced the house would feel, that it would not be just to impute blame in any quarter before a knowledge of all the circumstances of the transaction should afford the means of a fair and impartial judgment.

Mr. *Whitbread* disclaimed any idea of imputing blame to any man, and was glad that he had asked the information, because the answer he had received from the right hon. gent. afforded him great consolation.

[MILITIA TRANSFER BILL.] On the question being put for the second reading of the Militia Transfer bill,

Sir *Robert Williams* rose to oppose the bill. He approved altogether of the system that had been produced last year by the late ministers, and he had expected that the hon. gentlemen opposite had become converts to its merits, and that they would have had the manliness to acknowledge the fact. He called, then, on all the independent gentlemen in that house, to support their own consistency by supporting that system, which they had last year so deliberately and solemnly sanctioned. He had always been a friend to enlistment for a limited period, and he was confirmed in his opinion by the success that had attended its adoption. That system had raised 22,000 men in one year, and would continue to produce more, because the measure would be improving daily and hourly, so as, in a short time, to give the country a disposeable force, adequate to every national purpose. The object of the hon. gentlemen opposite was to overturn a system that had proved so beneficial. They proposed to take from the militia, a force best calculated for defence, in order to add to the disposeable force, which was not now wanted.—As to the inspecting field officers appointed to the volunteers, he maintained that they were of no use to the volunteers, because they had no authority over them, and could not put any corps through a single manœuvre, without the order of the colonel. The withdrawing these inspecting field officers would save 40,000*l.* to the nation, but that was no consideration with the right hon. gentlemen opposite. The late administration had, by their measures respecting the volunteers, effected a saving of 300,000*l.* to the nation, without rendering that force less efficient. On all these grounds he felt it his duty to oppose the bill under discussion, in every stage, and should therefore move an amendment, "that the bill be read a second time this day three months."

Colonel *Stanley* also opposed the bill, because it would destroy the militia, and be oppressive to the country. The men that were to be taken from the militia, were to be replaced by the ballot. He did not approve of the measure, which held out encouragement to officers of militia to seek promotion in the line, by the number of men which they could influence to volunteer from the regiments. This would have a most injurious effect upon the militia, for which it was at present so difficult to procure proper subaltern officers. In the present critical circumstances of the country, he was very unwilling to oppose any measures that might be deemed necessary, but a sense of duty obliged him to oppose this measure in every stage. If, however, the bill should pass into a law he would not throw any impediment in the way of its operation. He trusted, that in such a case, a clause would be introduced to prevent the recruiting parties or commanding officers from tampering with the men. The militia was already in a declining state, and for his part he would much rather the noble lord had brought forward a proposition for annihilating the militia altogether, than for degrading it by making it subservient to the recruiting of the army.

Mr. *Willoughby* would give his support to the measure, because at this eventful period, when the states of the continent were over-run, and when we were threatened with the same fate that had befallen other nations, vigorous measures were absolutely necessary. This measure he considered efficacious, and from conversations which he had had with some militia officers, he was convinced, that if double the number proposed to be allowed to volunteer were necessary, they could be obtained readily. Here he could not but remark upon the neglect of the late ministers, who had deserted our brave allies, and lavished the force of the country by such expeditions as that to Egypt, which terminated in a disaster that tarnished the lustre of the British arms. Of the volunteers, a force so much decried by a right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Windham), whose talents he admired, but whose politics appeared to him to be too theoretical and speculative, he might truly say, that the spirit with which they had come forward had saved the country. He was of opinion that the specting field-officers and permanent ty, were necessary to make that force ef- ient. The hon. gent. concluded, by ex- essing a hope that those dissentions which d lately prevailed amongst them, would ase, and that there would be the same animity in the councils, which he was re there would be in the field.

Lord *Euston* spoke against the bill. He mitted that the army would gain by the eration of it in the first instance. But rliament was bound to look farther, and en he would ask what, would become of e ordinary recruiting? That source of pply for the army would be effectu- ly cut off by the effect of this measure. ie ballot, by raising bounties, would de- roy the regular recruiting. It was re- arkable too, that the plan of the noble rd departed from the precedents of vo- nteering from the militia into the line. ie volunteering in 1799 had not been fol- wed by a ballot. A similar volunteering om the militia had taken place in the urse of the present war, and had not en succeeded by the ballot. This con- tuted an essential difference between the esent and the former cases. Though he jected to the whole of the measure, he ght be induced perhaps to withdraw his position to it, if one or two points were be ceded to him. The first was, that proposition should be made, under y circumstances, to the men who should lunteer, to enlist for a longer term than at sanctioned by the system adopted last ssion. Another was, that the men who ould be raised by ballot to supply the ace of those who volunteered into the my, should not, in any case be called on volunteer into the line. If these points ere ceded, he might be induced to vote the bill.

Mr. *Lockhart* most heartily approved of e measure, because, as the noble lord io proposed it had stated, it would not erfere with the regular permanent re- iiting for the army. I was a temporary asure to meet a pressing exigency. This asure was not like that of the right hon. it. opposite (Mr. Windham), in its in- cy, but complete major at once. The diers it would give to the army, would of that description emphatically desig- ed by a right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke) a former night, *sui generis.* They would men not cajoled or entrapped in an in- tious moment; but men who had seen vice, and who only regretted, that the sphere in which they had moved was too narrow for their glory. It had been objected, that the measure was founded upon compulsion, but that argument would apply against all the militia laws. These laws had at first been unpalatable, and produced riots, but the good sense of the people had reconciled them to them. But if this measure were one of even greater compulsion, he would readily lend himself to its support, under all the circumstances of the country, when its inveterate foe was compelling state after state upon the continent to become subservient to his power, and would perhaps enroll them all against this country. The minister of this country ought to provide, by the energy of his measures, for its safety. That was the duty of any man, whoever he might be, that was minister, and the measures he might adopt for such a purpose would be cheerfully submitted to and supported by the people. A minister who should act in that manner with energy would stand upon the firmest ground, but he that should neglect the security of the country, by pursuing an opposite course, could not maintain himself for any time. They had seen it stated in one of the French bulletins, that the French soldiers ridiculed the Cossacks for their mode of warfare, by discharging arrows at the enemy, as European arms were not to be encountered by such weapons. This shewed the necessity of procuring a force suitable to the enemy it would have to contend with. That enemy employed compulsion for the most tyrannical purposes, and should we not resort to it to insure our preservation? The people, he was confident, would submit with alacrity to whatever should be necessary for that purpose. He could not believe that the militia officers, so brave, patriotic, and high-minded a class of men, would feel any reluctance to consent to this measure, seeing and knowing as they must do, that our fate depended, not upon what we might do six months hence, but what we shall do at present. Every feeling of public duty and private honour, a proper regard for our religion and property, as well as for every thing that can be valuable in civil or social life, must bind them to promote the measure. We should not blind ourselves to our situation. If the enemy should conquer this country, he would rob us of every thing we hold dear. He would realize what he told his army at Ulm, that he had 500 years of vengeance to inflict on

England. What he said then, he would no doubt realize, if he should succeed in his designs against this country. That enemy had never broken his word in any thing cruel, vengeful, or invasive. The long arrear of hate for the 500 years that Great Britain had rivalled and resisted the power of France, would be discharged with accumulated interest. If this were true, he was sure that militia officers would not feel either disgust or relaxation in consequence of a measure which was necessary to preserve the country from the dangers that threatened it. He was sure that there would be no objection to the measure, when it would be seen that it was become necessary. In the case of an individual who might not be willing to go from his family though balloted, a fund might be provided by private benevolence to cover him from the severity. He only threw out these hints, that means might be devised to obviate any cases of individual hardship that might occur; though he was afraid that the practical consequence of acting upon such a principle, might be injurious in another way, by interfering with the regular recruiting for the army.

Mr. *Calcraft* could not concur in the sentiments expressed by the hon. gentlemen, who had for the first time addressed the house that night, (Messrs. Willoughby and Lockhart) though he was anxious to concur in any measure that might be deemed necessary for the security of the country, in the critical situation in which it was placed. Before he could agree to the proposition of the noble lord, he must first look at the situation of our national force; at the pretext for the noble lord's plan, and at the plan itself. When he found that the force already on foot was, if properly organized, arranged and regulated, sufficient to save the country, he was anxious to spare his countrymen that compulsion, which the noble lord considered necessary. If he was persuaded that the existing force was sufficient for that purpose, he was justified in opposing the noble lord's measure. Before he proceeded in his argument, he should beg leave to make one or two observations upon the volunteer force. He was fully sensible of he zeal, the spirit and the due sense of the country's danger, with which the volunteers had come forward in its defence, but he could not sit silent and hear charges brought against his right hon. friends of the late administration, that they had by their measures diminished the volunteers. If gentlemen were but to examine the papers on the table, they would find that any diminution which the volunteer force might have undergone had not arisen out of the measures or regulations of the gentlemen with whom he acted, but was the natural consequence of the institution [a cry of no, no]. He begged gentlemen to examine the papers. In the year 1805, the volunteer force was upwards of 400,000; but, at the commencement of the year 1806, that force was reduced to 318,000; and this was before his hon. friends had come into office, before any regulations which they afterwards made existed, and therefore the charges so constantly urged against his hon. friends was not borne out by the documents. Every body must be aware that it was the nature of such an institution to be fluctuating, and it was evident from the documents on the table, that from the time when his hon. friends came into office to the latest return, the reduction of the volunteer force did not exceed 28,000. Any gentleman who looked to the fact, and compared that diminution with what had taken place in the antecedent year, must be sensible that there was no foundation whatever for the charge. As to the inspecting field-officers, both he and his hon. friends admitted, that it was necessary that there should be some organ between the volunteers and the government. But there was a complete staff in every district, who were nearly idle, and who, by performing this duty, might cause a considerable saving to the nation. It might be said, that the saving would be small; he contended, however, that the effect on the country, by attending to every necessary principle of economy, would be considerable. He asked too, why those inspecting officers had not been taken from the half-pay, rather than from amongst those that had quitted the service? It was somewhat remarkable, that of the 70 inspecting field-officers, only 16 were in the army. Did not that look like a desire to extend patronage? It certainly wore to him the strongest appearance of that which had so lately been the topic of mutual charge and recrimination in that house. As to the plan of the noble lord, which was to operate by filling up the places of the men who should volunteer from the militia by the ballot, what was that but a conscription to supply the army? If such a measure was necessary, it would be much better to employ the ballot to procure men for a more larged sphere of service, as in the case the army of reserve. This he should efer to raising the men for the militia, nd waiting till they should become desirous of a more enlarged sphere of service, hile the disposable force of the country as, in the mean time, squandered and ispersed. But what was to become of the ilitia during the process? It would be une next before the men raised for the ballot would be fully trained and effective, as e militia regiments are at present, so that e noble lord's measure would, without ny adequate necessity or object, paralyse hat important arm of the public force. To hew that there was no necessity for his, it would be sufficient to take a view f the force now existing applicable to efence. There were in Great Britain nd Ireland at present, of regular troops, 83,000: militia, 77,000; naval troops, eamen, and marines, which, by being employed round the coasts, were applicable o defensive purposes, 120,000; artillery, 20,000; amounting together to more than 400,000 men. There were, besides, 300,000 volunteers in Great Britain, which, with the sea fencibles, and the volunteers of Ireland, made an aggregate amounting to nearly one million of men in arms for the defence of the country, and afforded by our limited population. With such a force as that in arms, could they not provide for the security of the country without harassing the subject with a conscription or ballot? If they did not conceive that force sufficient, they were more apprehensive of the power of the French arms than he was disposed to be. The plan of the noble lord would, no doubt, procure a valuable supply for the army, but the militia was to be filled up by a ballot that would fall heavily upon a particular class, and the ballot always resolved itself into a bounty, so that it would thus become a heavy and oppressive tax upon a class least able to bear it. It was not just to procure the supply for the army from any particular class. For his part, he should much rather have the men raised by bounty from a public fund. When the volunteering from the militia had formerly been resorted to, it rested on totally different grounds. The noble lord had stated, as a ground for the measure, that the regular force of the country had been scattered and dispersed by the predecessors of the present administration. But that noble lord had not stated, that the present ministers were sending more troops in one expedition, at least in the two armaments they had been preparing, than all their predecessors had sent out. They certainly had collected more men and transports for their expedition, for which it was less difficult to find any thing than an object, or an officer to command. When the volunteering from the militia had taken place in 1799, there was a considerable foreign expedition in progress. Again, in the year 1805, there was some plausible pretext for the measure, though he had felt it his duty to oppose it at the time. The noble lord had stated, that it was not his intention to take any measure that would affect the militia, bu was it not galling to officers who had exerted themselves in making their men good soldiers, to have so constitutional a force for defence frittered away, at the moment when there was a probability of its being brought into action? It would be to mock them, to give them the name of militia, if they were to be converted into a supplying source to the army. If ever the day was to arrive, when British blood was to be shed upon British ground, it would be degrading and disgraceful to militia officers to be deprived of the opportunity of shewing their bravery and their skill in the defence of their country. The noble lord had also declared, that it was not his intention to alter or interfere with the system of his right hon. friend: but it was his intention to subvert it. The ballot would interfere with the regular recruiting, and a falling off in that would afford ground of charge against the system. The hon. gentlemen opposite viewed with an envious and malignant eye the immortal credit belonging to the system established by his right hon. friend. Had not that system procured more men than the additional force act and the ordinary recruiting in the same time? It had; and that was doing a great deal. He remembered the high bounties and the complicated and vexatious machinery of that bill: he remembered the ages and description of men obtained by it, and if the returns were to be analyzed, he believed that it would appear that no such numbers as appeared in the returns had been actually supplied to the army. The scheme of the noble lord was a covered attack by sap upon the system of his right hon. friend.—Having said thus much in opposition to the bill, he should add, that he was not as great an enemy as others to the ballot, as a mode of recruiting for the army, but it was only to be justified by a strong and imperious necessity. The defensive force marked out by the constitution should not be frittered away: and if any considerable addition were necessary to the disposable force of the country, the ballot ought rather to be applied to that purpose, than in the manner proposed in this bill.

Mr. *Cripps*, so far as his observation had extended, though he allowed that was rather a limited criterion, had found that desertion had not decreased in consequence of the late measures of military arrangement. He thought some extraordinary exertion in the way of recruiting was required in the present crisis. With respect to any general diminution in the attendance of volunteer corps, he was not competent to speak; but in the corps that he commanded, consisting of 400 men, there had been no falling off. He thought it a great defect in the arrangement of the late plan, with respect to the militia, that the ballot was altogether stopped, and that the vacancies occasioned by the retreat of those who had served their terms, were not filled up. He was of opinion, that the inspecting field-officers, though in some instances of use, need not be so numerous as they now were.

Colonel *Wood* said, it must be allowed, that the present crisis called for every possible exertion, in order to have not only ample means of defence at home, but also of powerful attack, if opportunity should offer. He agreed that our existing armed force was, in comparison with our population, beyond that of any other country. But when the despotic power of the present ruler of France had been unable to find recruits without resorting to conscription, he did not see why we should abstain from resorting to a measure of equal force for the defence of the freedom and happiness we enjoyed. The recruiting under the new system had been hitherto so successful, because it had no competition to struggle with; the militia ballot was totally suspended. In May it would revive, and when the five or six thousand men, who were then to retire, should come to be balloted for, the effect of the plan would be much less than it had been. It was not on measures of mere prospective success that the safety of the country could be allowed to rest. He trusted that the colonels of the militia regiments would universally promote the execution of this measure when it should be passed: for however it might be in general matter of commendable emulation in them, to vie with each other who should have the best regiment, that emulation must give way to the superior importance of the preservation of the country. It should be matter of pride to encourage the men to go into the line, and the colonels, who in such an exigency, would rather repress than encourage the general ardour, could look with little confidence to their men, and could be looked upon with little confidence by those men, if it should be necessary for them to go into action together on British ground. He did not think the Training act could be carried into effect in its present form. The line could not spare officers for the mass, neither could the militia. The volunteers he considered well officered in their own kind. If the continent should make a general peace on the terms dictated by Bonaparte, we should have to maintain the contest single-handed. In that case all our force should be called into action, and with a view to strengthen that force he voted for the bill.

Mr. *Bastard* knew of no contest between the militia colonels and the line, but who should have the best discipline; and, if occasion should arise, the best fighting battalions. The object of this bill was to depress the militia, and to raise the glory of the line upon its ruins. He should therefore oppose the bill, looking upon the militia as those most interested in the preservation of the land, consequently those most likely to fight for it, and best entitled to its favour and confidence. With respect to the consistency which gentlemen were called upon to shew, he had never known any consistency during the 15 years that he had sat in parliament, except in uniformly substituting one plan for another, according as every new government wished to supersede the plans of its predecessors. He therefore hoped gentlemen would be now consistent, and that they would persevere in rejecting a measure so much to be deprecated. He hoped that parliament would consider the necessity of making other exertions also, without which it would be impossible to go on in this contest. The weight of taxes, already so intolerable, could not be well increased. He hoped that every acre that was productive, would be taxed without exemption. He thought also, that means might be found in the country, of providing a supply of timber for the navy, now purchased so dearly from foreign nations. He trusted that a committee would be appointed to enquire, and report, not only what savings could be ade in our expenditure, but also what rther funds and resources could be called to action. Though he thought these re-ated drafts from the militia so many eath-blows, and though he was most nxious for adhering to its original consti-tion, yet if the bill should pass, he should o his duty by giving it his utmost sup-ort.

Mr. *Fuller* differed from the hon. gent. ho had last spoken. He considered that e practice which prevailed of late years, making the militia nearly the same as re-ılar regiments, hurt considerably the re-ruiting for the regular army, by causing a ompetition. When the militia was on e original plan, raised for only 3 years, nd serving principally in their own coun-es, then the balloted men often served, nd acquired military habits, which in-uced them afterwards to enter into the egular army; but when that old practice as changed, and they were marched out f their counties, and kept on the footing f regular regiments, then the men who ere balloted no longer served, but ob-ained substitutes, at large bounties, which njured materially the regular army, by the ompetition which it gave rise to.

Lord *Binning* maintained the propriety f our having different descriptions of roops, particularly with a view to home efence. But as the power of making ef-ective attack was among the most power-ul means of defence, and as our regular rmy was the only offensive force that we ad in addition to our navy, he thought an ncrease of the line most necessary in this momentous crisis. The noble lord took a comparative view of the effects of the measures of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) for recruiting the army, and the Additional Force Act, and contended that this atter would have been equally productive f allowed a fair trial. Considering the state of Europe, and of the British empire, menaced with all the rage of the conqueror; the state of Ireland too, for though he counted much upon the loyalty of the Catholics of Ireland, and was convinced that they would repel with indignation the seducing appeals of the bishop of Quimper, yet he could not help thinking that Ireland was vulnerable, and therefore to be watched with peculiar care, and guarded with an ample force:—under all these circumstances the exigency was obvious, and this was the best means of providing for it.

Mr. *Whitbread* began by saying that he was anxious to express his sentiments of the bill before it went into a committee, because he had not yet heard that made out which ought to have been proved in the first instance, namely the necessity of the case. He had heard nothing to convince him that such emergency as had been stated existed at present, and until he was convinced of that, he could not assent to the bill in its outset. And here he could not help making one observation, that in the whole course of those wars so protracted, when that house was so often and so solemnly told by Mr. Pitt, that not an hour was to be lost, that the wisdom of the country must at once and for ever resolve upon the best means of bringing forth its strength, and that after all those warnings, and consultations, and measures proposed, agreed to, and acted upon, that still we were now as we were at first; that from the year 1793 to 1807, nothing had yet been effectually done in the way of determining upon some satisfactory mode of national defence. This was extraordinary, but it was not unaccountable, for upon a review of all those different plans and schemes, it did appear that they were calculated to act only on great emergencies. They were provided against incidental events, and therefore were not of that permanent nature necessary to the progressive improvement of a wise and comprehensive system of military defence; therefore it was, that the plans of that statesman, as to the defence of the country, were not found to answer. The Additional Force Act, considered as a measure of security, entirely failed. And, now, what were they about to do? merely to provide, as it was said, against an emergency. But then, the present could not be said to be one of Mr. Pitt's emergencies. The French emperor was not now at Boulogne. Things were not yet brought to the mere cast of the die. The fate of the empire was not yet brought to the issue of a single battle; the country was not called on by any existing circumstances, to play the bad game of sacrificing the future to the present. As to the French emperor, he would here take leave to observe upon the idle and childish way in which many persons were pleased to indulge when speaking of that person; words did not win battles. It was by deeds, and deeds of energy, we were to maintain ourselves and oppose him; but what was the deed of energy that the country was now called upon to perform, and who were those who now called upon the country, who now told the country that a moment was not to be lost? The men who, in the midst of all that emergency, put an abrupt stop to every possible means of answering that emergency, by dissolving the parliament, so far admitting the necessity of extraordinary levies; but he denied that necessity. He was now, as formerly, fully satisfied that there was, in the existing forces, ample means of defence, provided that force was well administered. He would put it fairly to any military man, if 168,000 men were not a sufficient establishment for the national defence, even in cases of the last emergency?—The noble lord had said much upon the necessity of ministers having at their command a large disposable force. He could not at all agree with the noble lord as to that necessity. He was at the same time fully aware that there were many of his majesty's present ministers, who thought the enemy assailable in certain points, and that the means of this country could not be better applied than in expeditions to those places. But he was not of that opinion. A good deal had been said, too, about the necessity of having a sufficient disposable force to send to Ireland; and yet he knew not how to reconcile that with the measures that were now pursuing with respect to the defence of that part of the united kingdom. For, if report was true, ministers were at that time withdrawing from Ireland the forces which it had been pretended, in introducing that bill, it was necessary to keep there. Why were ministers in so violent a hurry to pass the Irish insurrection act, if that country was so tranquil that they could draw off the greater portion of its military strength without any apprehension whatever? This looked like tampering with Ireland. They were told that there was the most urgent necessity for dispatch in passing the insurrection bill into a law, for that the other would expire on the 1st of August. Why, what was intended to be conveyed by this affectation of alarm? Were they to be told at the same time, that Ireland would be lost if it was a day without an insurrection act, and yet hear of the troops being withdrawn from it, while the necessity of sending troops into Ireland had been pleaded as an additional argument in favour of the noble lord's bill? Or why, if such danger was apprehended with respect to Ireland, by the delay of passing the insurrection bill, why dissolve the parliament and thereby increase the danger so much apprehended? But, as to the emergency so much talked of, he did not look upon it as so pressing. The French emperor would take some time to pass from the present scene of his conquests to Paris; he would take some time in preparing to direct his immediate operations against this country, and some considerable time must, in the nature of things, elapse between the commencement of those operations and the final attempt to bring them to an issue. The first period could not possibly be before the autumn; the next would extend at least till winter; and the final attempt would not be before at least a year had passed by: twelve months must first elapse, and at the end of that period, in what state would they find the force of the country? just at that moment the effects of the noble lord's bill would have operated, so far as to have, by that time, disorganized the defencible force, and the ballot, at that time, would not have been completed. Let the house, then, mark the injustice of the bill as affecting the militia. The militia might at that moment, be brought into action, when the country would inconsiderately, but very naturally, entertain precisely the same sentiments of its character and promise that it now so jutly did; and what must be the result might be easily foreseen by any man who knew how ill calculated a set of raw recruits must be to supply the place of an experienced and disciplined soldiery. He had seen the first draught that had been made from a militia regiment in Kent, and an hon. gent. over against him had been present at the same time: he confidently appealed to that hon. gent., if he ever witnessed such a shameless exhibition of drunkenness, idleness and dissoluteness, as upon that occasion. The defective situation in which these men were found on the subsequent expedition to Holland, was too well known to require any comment from him. He had been further assured by a general officer, who was very capable of forming a correct judgment on the fact, that after their return from that unfortunate service, it would take nine months to make these men fit for any other. —The evils and hardships of the measure now before the house would be felt most sensibly in recruiting the militia after the draft. The militia was in effect made up of substitutes, and those who now should be balloted and could not serve, must of course find substitutes, whatever price they might cost. The conscription enforced roughout France was spoken of as worthy being imitated here. If it was, let us me to it manfully, and let us not prac- e it indirectly, but more partially and pressively, by beating up the militia, and en allowing it to feed till it filled itself, order to devour it. He must say he d a better opinion of the army of reserve an of the measure now before the house. it even that measure justified in the ecution, the objections he had felt, d made to it, while passing through the use. He had, notwithstanding the disap- obation he had felt and expressed, contri- ted most zealously and actively in car- ing that measure into effect; and he is sure every member would enforce this, any other measure, with equal zeal, let eir private sentiments of it be what they ght. He again enforced the folly of ha- ng recourse to temporary expedients, to e destruction of lasting resources. The esent expedient was a kind of fungus, ringing up and perishing as soon as it was ucked. The existing force was sufficient r all the exigencies of the time, even ough the great door, which was about to ve been opened for engaging the Irish atholics to enlist, appeared to be irrevo- bly shut, [a cry of no! no!] at least ile the right hon. gent. opposite should main in power. The system which his ght hon. friend had introduced to supersede d remedy that system of expedients that d so long and so injuriously prevailed, as founded on fundamental principles the wisest policy, and on human nature self. The substitutes serving in the mili- a, were now entitled to look forward for eir discharge at the end of the war. To gage these men for 21 years, would be to- lly to alter the principle of his right hon. end's plan, and to destroy the confidence aced in it. The noble lord's present an, supposing there was an immediate igency, and that this plan would supply at exigency, would not go one moment yond it. It would exhaust itself, and stroy the general means of recruiting the my. It was objected to his right hon. end's plan, that, of those it had procured, great number were boys. It was urged answer to this, that the plan it had su- rseded, had procured a great number of d men, who were counted, though evi- ntly approaching fast to a period when ey would be no longer fit for service. e entrance of so many boys was to his nd a proof that the plan of his right hon. friend had made the condition of a soldier agreeable to parents and friends. For boys must be supposed to be under the controul of their parents and friends, and could not be supposed to enter so generally without their approbation. It should besides be considered, that these boys did not begin to count their first period of service, till they reached the age of 18. Their parents parted with them cheerfully, because it was not a parting for life, as it was before, at the very outset. His right hon. friend's plan would, if persevered in, correct all the vices that had hitherto pervaded our military system. He had a high opinion of the volunteers, but he must altogether condemn and deprecate the opinion uttered by some, that this part of our force might be relied on for our whole defence. No man could seriously hold such an opinion, and express it for the purpose of courting popularity, with an intention to withdraw it, in the event of the exigency arising; it was a dangerous as well as an unwise and uncandid expedient. Those who would attempt to expose the fallacy of the idea would be accused of disparaging the volunteers, while it would be endangering the ruin of the country to suffer it to pass unexposed. The volunteer force was at first 415,000 men. It then declined to 350,000, and afterwards to 300,000, without any observation on the decline from the other side. It was now 289,000, and he was convinced as effective at that number as the whole original 400,000. But this last reduction, though the smallest in proportion of time, was unjustly charged as matter of crime upon his right hon. friend, and those who acted with him.—He hoped the Training act would be carried into effect in addition to all the other expedients. Without some measure of that general nature it was impossible that our regulars, our militia, our volunteers, or even our navy, could secure us. He recommended the pursuit of all measures that could lead to the restoration of peace. Nothing would tend more to the strength and security of the empire than the true sentiment of cordial union and co-operation through all orders of the people. I have always, said the hon. gent., thought that your best strength would be peace among yourselves; peace with your dependencies, and above all, peace in Ireland—peace with the Irish Catholic; and that would do more for you than all your measures for new levies and new conscripts. You talk of strengthening the resources of the empire, while you are hurrying through the house Insurrection acts against the most vital part of the empire. The Irish Catholic is excluded from your militia [a loud cry of no! no! from the ministerial benches]. I do not say that he may not enter into your militia regiments; but I do say that the obstacles you have put in his way amount to a comparative exclusion. I have now but one observation to make, and that is, to express my earnest hope that his majesty's ministers do not think so desperately of our situation, as not to be willing and anxious on all occasions to embrace the first opportunity of accepting any overtures that may offer for peace with the emperor of France. There never was, I believe, in the history of empires, an epoch in which peace was not the most desireable object, in which it was not wise to try for it, and madness wantonly to evade it; in saying thus much, I hope I shall not be understood as wishing to listen to any accommodation that could compromise the dignity of this great empire. The wish next my heart has always been a peace with France; and I have always deprecated the war of words I have heard too often within these walls, directed against an enemy who is not by words to be resisted. Mr. Pitt always prefaced the statements of any new plan of defence or taxation which he had to propose, with inflated accounts of the pride and arrogance, the relentless hatred and jealousy of a cruel and implacable foe;—all this being abuse, amounting to nothing more than that Buonaparte was a formidable enemy, and that if you did not kill him, he would kill you. As yet, however, such predictions have been generally falsified. When Buonaparte came down to his menaced shores, he said that it was the only thing left him to try, and that though the chances were 100 to one against him, he would be obliged to try it. He now will have the means of trial. We, I am confident, shall not be deficient on our part. In such an extremity I shall not fear the issue; but, at the same time, I shall live in hope of what may be more conducive to our happiness—an honourable peace between the two nations.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* said, he thought the arguments of the hon. gent. who had just sat down most extraordinary, for he had admitted that the common enemy of this country had conquered the whole of the continent of Europe, and that he was now about to concentrate and direct his whole attention to the attack of this country; and yet he had strenuously contended that there was no urgency which called on the house and on ministers to adopt the measure now proposed for the defence of the country. He begged the house would recollect that his majesty's present ministers had been called on by several members of that house to know if they did not mean to bring forward some measure to this effect; and he had been informed just now, for he happened not to be in the house on the day on which it happened, that the hon. gent. who spoke last had been of the number of those who put that question. He, for one of those ministers, would say, that such a measure had been under their serious consideration from the first moment they came into office; but they had been desirous not to act with any degree of precipitation; first, because they wished to see what effects might result from the plan of the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Windham), and to convince him and the public that it was not their intention to overturn and do away every thing which had been adopted on this head by their predecessors in office; and, secondly, because they could not possibly foresee the disastrous events which had lately taken place on the continent; and from a hope and expectation that they would not have happened, had flattered themselves the war might have been so much longer protracted, that such a measure would not be so immediately and indispensably necessary as recent unfortunate events had rendered otherwise. It was impossible for his majesty's present ministers to have protracted the late warfare; but, perhaps, if assistance had some months before been afforded, there might have been a chance of that event having been produced; as it was, there remained only a choice of evils; and he believed that the choice now made was that of the least of those which now presented themselves. The ruler of the French had now made peace with all those powers on the continent with which he had been engaged in war, and we had to contend with his whole force, concentrated and directed against this country. In fact, the greatest part of the continent of Europe were against us; and surely the house would not hesitate to say, that this was such an exigency as called for a very considerable augmentation of our force? As that was granted, the next question was, whether it was not necessary have part of it a disposeable force? A eat mistake seemed to have been made several gentlemen who had spoken on this ead, and who had seemed to consider a disoseable force only in the light of a force to e used in foreign offensive operations. They emed to forget that we had many possesons abroad which must require troops to efend them. Since the present war broke ut, we had gained the Cape, and possesons in South America; a part of our force as detached to Alexandria and other laces, which required, and would require, oops for the purpose of keeping them, he ould not say in perpetuity, but in order o purchase what the hon. gent. who spoke ast had so warmly expressed himself derous of, an honourable peace. He was ne of those who so far concurred in opiion with the hon. gent. that peace was alays desirable; but he begged the house to ecollect, that in order to obtain that on air and honourable terms, it would be neessary to shew the enemy that we were repared, at all points, to carry on the var; and that nothing would ultimately roduce that desirable event more successully, than being able to shew him that we vere in a state to cope with him, not only t home, but in every quarter of the globe where we had foreign possessions. Those ossessions had many of them devolved on is majesty's present ministers, from plans and operations originating with their predeessors in office; though he did not menion this with a view of giving any opinion on the propriety or otherwise of those plans, but merely to shew that the country was at this time so situated, as to require a much larger disposable force than it had a twelvemonth ago. This being the case, which he thought would scarcely be denied, the question was, what was the best mode that could be devised or adopted, of obtaining a large force of that description in a short time? He thought there could be but one opinion, that the measure of his noble friend, now under the consideration of the house, was best adapted to this purpose; for it gave immediately a very large addition to our army, of troops already disciplined, and which would be able to act with the regular army, either at home or abroad for defensive purposes. With respect to what had been said, that it was intended to debase and degrade the character of the militia, he was certain that no such idea had ever entered into the heads of his majesty's present ministers; so far from it, he for one, had always thought with the hon. member behind him (col. Wood), that it was giving the militia an opportunity of defending the country on a more extended scale, and would shew that their officers had not only made them soldiers to the eye, but to the heart also, and that they were emulous and zealous to defend their country, not only at home, but in every quarter where their services might be deemed necessary. The hon. gent. who spoke last had said that he would not, in arguing this measure, touch upon any other matters which were not immediately connected with it, and he had almost kept his word. He had, however, in some degree, departed from it, in referring to the case of the people of Ireland, which he thought was not immediately connected with this measure, and which was not, in his opinion, very fair and candid, when he knew that the late ministers did not mean to have acted on the plan of any further extension of indulgences or conciliation than merely the bill which had been brought into the house, had they remained in office. He hoped, therefore, the house would see the necessity of as speedily as possible adopting a measure which was, on all hands, allowed to be necessary, and which the present bill was calculated to effect in the easiest and most speedy mode.

Mr. *Addington* said, that if the question now to be considered was an ordinary one, and if he did not concur with a gent. who had spoken last but one (Mr. Whitbread) in thinking that the decision of the house might prove of vital importance, and that perhaps even the preservation of our independence might depend on the measures now to be adopted, he should not have obtruded himself on the notice of the house; but in this crisis of unexampled difficulty and contingent dangers, which most seemed to admit, though differing materially as to the means of averting them, he hoped it would not be thought unbecoming in him to submit to the consideration of the house such observations as the most mature reflection had suggested to him.—In one point, and indeed in more than one, he cordially concurred with his right hon. friend opposite to him, (Mr. Yorke,) that one false step taken at this time, might prove irretrievable; that the interval between the present moment and the next meeting of parliament might be big with events, in which the national welfare might be deeply involved; and that the utmost caution and circumspection were necessary in deciding on such measures as might be now submitted to parliament. It had been therefore matter of great satisfaction to him to find, that ministers had, however reluctantly, acceded to the proposition made from this side of the house, to defer the second reading of this bill till that day. The interval thus given, he, in common with every other member, had turned to the best account he could, by weighing all the arguments for or against this measure; and he had even indulged the delusive hope that his noble friend opposite to him, (lord Castlereagh,) would have reconsidered his own proposition, and would have come down to the house prepared to substitute in its room, one as simple, and infinitely more efficient; one better adapted to the circumstances in which the country was placed; one equally practicable, and more certain in its results; and free from the weighty and insuperable objections that attached to the measure now under discussion. To his mind, this would have been an inexpressible relief, proportioned to the reluctance that he felt in appearing to oppose government on such a subject, and at such a moment, when he knew the value of unanimity in that house; to which unanimity he for one could not contribute but at the expence of every feeling, of every conscientious opinion, of every sentiment of public duty, and indeed without compromising the safety of the empire itself.—It would soon appear that his disapprobation of this measure rested on grounds not only different from, but absolutely opposite to, those which had been stated by his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) on the bench above him. Hitherto he had always appeared particularly alive, almost to an extreme, to the dangers to be apprehended from the formidable power of France; and had, on former occasions been the foremost in recommending the adoption of new exertions, to meet new emergencies. And yet now he could contemplate those dangers, magnified to a degree that might disquiet the stoutest heart; he could look with a steady eye on those dangers, increased out of all proportion to those of any former period, and could gravely recommend to parliament and to the country, to be content to do nothing—to rest with their arms before them—and to depend exclusively for our security on the operation of those measures, which he, when a minister, had prevailed on parliament to adopt. Of the efficacy, the value, the wisdom of that great measure, the new military system, Mr. A. said, that his right hon. friend would never expect to hear any doubt expressed by him: he ever should think, in full confidence of its successful result, that by it he had built an eternal monument of fame for himself, and had laid the foundation of the future security of the country. He had been one of those who had expressed themselves most sanguine as to its immediate good effects, and still thought, that if proper measures had been taken at an earlier period for the promulgation of the new regulations, as to this moment they had not, its success would have been apparent much sooner, and to a much greater extent. But what had the right hon. projector of it always said on this subject? Why, that it would take not only months, but years, to bring it to any thing like perfection.—If, therefore, his right hon. friend at all agreed with him as to the magnitude, or the proximity of the danger with which we are threatened, his own recorded opinions of the tardy progress of his own plans, afforded a complete answer to the objections which he now made to the adoption of some auxiliary measures, which would, at least, afford a temporary resource till his own might answer all the purposes for which it was designed. That ballot, in every shape, must more or less effect its operation, he did not mean to deny. This could only be temporary; every one would know the cause of it; and he was warranted in believing that it would be inconsiderable. Because, during the operation of that great and most efficient measure (as he believed he now might be allowed to call it), the Army of Reserve bill, it was a fact that the regular recruiting had not diminished more than one fourteenth, as was demonstrated by documents laid on the table of that house. There was good reason therefore to hope, that the effect upon it would be trifling.—It would be already evident to his noble friend, that he entirely concurred with ministers as to the indispensable necessity of adopting new and vigorous measures, which the state of affairs, and the feelings of the country demanded at their hands.—He applauded government for its wisdom in persisting in the military system, which they had found shaped to their hands, whatever were their declared opinions of it, and in avoiding the danger of unhinging our whole military

tablishment by attempting to rescind
. They had done more; they were not
ly giving it fair play, but, as he knew,
d lately taken some very active steps
give it an accelerated impulse. How
r these were the most judicious that
ould have been selected for that purpose, he
ould not stop now to enquire; he was
re they were well meant, and was confi-
ent that they would prove considerably
ficient.—He would now come nearer to
e question under the immediate consi-
eration of the house: which was a propo-
tion of the noble lord's to raise 38,000
en, of which 28,000 were to be dispose-
le force. It might be convenient to the
ouse to look at this principally in three
oints of view. First, whether its disad-
antages might not be greater than any ad-
antages that were likely to accrue from
? Secondly, whether any advantages at
l were to be expected from it, or if any,
what extent? And thirdly, whether
ther measures infinitely preferable might
ot be resorted to, for the attainment of
e object in view, which he had already
dmitted to be a most important one? On
ach of these points, he hoped that the
ouse would indulge him with making ob-
ervations; assuring gentlemen, that as he
as not in the habit, so he never felt dis-
osed to trespass longer on their patience,
han was absolutely necessary to his view
f any subject, and that he should abstain,
s far as possible, from renewing those ar-
uments which had already been more ably
rged, on a previous discussion of this sub-
ect.—He would begin with stating, that
e had now, according to the last returns,
militia, English, Scots, and Irish, amount-
ng to 77,000 men; as fine a body of men
s the world could exhibit, and as efficient
s any that had not actually been engaged
n regular service. It would be recollected,
hat this force did not consist of new levies,
f raw recruits, but had now been embo-
ied above four years; and that therefore,
hat was of immense importance, a mutual
onfidence might be supposed to exist be-
ween officers and men. They constituted
formidable part of our domestic strength,
mounting in fact to very little short of one
alf of it. This force his noble friend pro-
osed to unsettle (to use his own expres-
ion) for a time, by allowing the large pro-
ortion of 28,000 men to volunteer from it
into the line. Was this sort of gentle
oncussion all the inconvenience that pro-
ised to result from such an attempt?
Was it possible to look back on the mischievous consequences that had ever resulted from those tamperings with our constitutional force, and not tremble at the renewal of them? Without detaining the house by going back to what had occurred in the war before last, he would only advert to what had passed since the present militia was raised in 1803. One argument in favour of raising it to such an amount, and one which he hoped would not be hastily lost sight of was, that whilst the necessities of the state were obliging us to increase our regular army to such an extent, it might be prudent that our constitutional force should bear a proper proportion to it. A militia therefore of 90,000 men was raised; and such was the confidence and spirit prevailing at that time, that in a few months it was completely officered, and in less than a year in the highest state of discipline. Scarcely however had this fine fabric attained this degree of perfection, than it began to totter. In 1804, a change of government took place, and the first measure of the new administration was, the Additional Force bill, one great principle of which was to suffer this force to decay, in numbers equal to the supplementary militia. What was the consequence? In the course of one year, the numbers of course fell off from the casualties not having been filled up, and a vast number of officers sent in their resignations, partly from disgust, partly from finding that their services were in a short time not likely to be wanted. And it is curious to remark, that this injurious result of the first measure, namely, a defalcation of five hundred officers, was made a principal argument in the subsequent year, for allowing 17,000 militia to volunteer into the line. For this he had voted, as it was evident that the men could be of no use where they were without officers to command them. With this experience before our eyes, we are now called upon to resort again to this violation of faith towards the militia, and not only to supply the numbers so volunteering, but to add 10,000 to their numbers. We began at the wrong end; instead of thus extinguishing all inducements for gentlemen to come forward, we should begin by endeavouring to revive confidence. We knocked down with one hand, and then raised with the other; but he feared that the blow would be so stunning as to afford no hope of placing this establishment on its legs again. And suppose the highly pro-

bable case, of a great resignation of officers, and of the militia furnishing but few volunteers, while you are adding 38,000 men to their numbers. They would be totally useless, and must either be disbanded again, or these new levies must be allowed by a new act to volunteer also into the line. The measure was full of absurdities, as well as of risk.—The disadvantages were likely to be such as no possible advantage could compensate; and we should endanger the ruin and annihilation of this branch of service, when we were most likely to stand in need of it. The other dangers of such an experiment had been before fully stated by his right hon. relation near him (Mr. Bathurst). These were, the shock that would be given to the militia, if the measure was successful, from which it would take a long time to recover; its total inefficiency for many months, by reason of the diminution of the strength of the companies; to which he would also add, that the whole of what remained would be rendered useless for near a twelvemonth to come, by the necessity of employing all the non-commissioned officers to drill the recruits as they came in from the different counties.—He proceeded to the next consideration, of no less importance. Were any advantages at all likely to accrue from it, or to any extent? His right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) had called it a mere commutation of service, but he could not travel so fast with him as to admit its claim even to that degree of recommendation. Out of doors, it had been called "Robbing Peter to pay Paul." Nor was that accurate, because it was evident that unless Peter consented to be robbed, Paul could not possibly be paid.—This, then, he would take as his thesis; and he could not but admire the confidence with which his noble friend anticipated the success of this plan. He was sure that past practice did not warrant this confidence, as he would shew that recent experience did warrant his doubts. Look only at the results of the act of 1805, by which the then minister proposed to procure from the militia seventeen thousand volunteers. Did he procure that number? All turned upon the answer to that question. No; he did not: he got about fifteen thousand. Why, then he entreated the house to consider what we were about to do. From the same body, not merely the same description of force, but from an aggregate of the same identical individuals, we were now to be confident of obtaining 28,000 volunteers, every man of whom refused to stir on the former occasion. In 1807, 28,000 individuals were to shew great alacrity to do that, which in 1805, to a man they refused to do. This was extravagant: the act of parliament, though it gave the power, could not create the will. He was aware that it might be said that the former act imposed restrictions and regulations, which were not to be granted under the present one. To which he should answer, that those restrictions were introduced to silence the complaints of a large proportion of the most respectable of the militia officers. If, therefore, they were withheld now, though you may get a few men, the other evil would be aggravated, namely, the danger of driving such officers out of your service.—He was far from meaning, or wishing to overstate these points. They were not random opinions, but reasons given for them. These his noble friend might controvert, if he had the means of doing so—he believed he could not. The house had heard the opinions of two or three respectable militia officers within these walls; out of doors he had met with but one opinion amongst them. They were placed in a most awkward and invidious situation, and might naturally feel some reluctance in avowing their objections, and in deprecating the adoption of the measure, when they were told, not as heretofore, that their men were wanted for foreign offensive operation, but that the safety of the empire required the sacrifice.—This was indeed, for obvious reasons, a cruel mortification to them. There could be no possible doubt of what their view of this project must be; of a project, which, in his contemplation of it, amounted exactly to this: that we were called upon to take this sorry and sickly expedient, this exhausted, worn out, threadbare remnant of a system, faulty and vicious in itself, as the substantive foundation of a measure by which we were to be enabled to maintain our national independence. If we were really reduced so low, which he utterly denied, it was time to abandon all hopes of a successful issue to the great contest in which we are engaged—"Oremus pacem, et dextras tendamus inermes."—Let it not be supposed that such was his view of our situation, feeling confident that, if our strength was wisely called forth and applied, we might, under Providence, treat the threats of our implacable adversary with defiance.—On the third point, he should not detain the house at any length, as it had been fully and ably expatiated upon by his hon. relation on a rmer occasion. In fact we had now three stinct plans before the house; for the netive proposition of the late secretary of ate could hardly be entitled to that denoination. The noble lord proposes to alw 28,000 militia to volunteer into the ue, and then to resort to ballot to raise ,000 new militia. His right hon. friend opsite to him, (Mr. Yorke,) approves of the st part of this plan, but suggests that the llot should be resorted to, to create an my of reserve. His right hon. relation bjects to the volunteering altogether, and ecommends that the revival of he army reserve should be resorted to in the first stance, and suggests other auxiliary meaures for adding effectually and expeditious- to your military force. In every part of is last proposition he most cordially conurred. In one point all three agreed, amely, on the necessity of resorting to allot in one way or other. His noble iend had on all occasions done ample astice to the unexampled efficiency of the rmy of Reserve bill, which was natural, e having been an assistant adviser of it, nd its able advocate in that house.—But seemed to be now out of favour with the oble lord. And yet he need not be reninded, that in one month it had raised 5,000 men; in two, 25,000; and in about our months, very little short of 40,000 nen; he knew the causes that had obstruced its complete success, namely, the preious ballot for 90,000 militia, and the alling forth 400,000 volunteers who were ntitled to exemption from it. He would ecollect that it was only suspended by the dministration that created it, and that it was their fixed intention to resort to it gain, in case of any new emergency, after sufficient respite from ballot. The mahinery was all ready; the force to be raied by it would be preferable, inasmuch as t was more disposeable; and it would be ree from the objection of even unsettling he militia, but what he should call the danger of annihilating it. As to the emergency, it now presented itself. This measure had been called an expedient; he would maintain that it was a principle; not indeed constantly, but occasionally operative, and when called into action, certain of success. This it was now proposed to revive to a certain extent. In addition to it, to raise 12 or 15 battalions by giving one step in rank. It would be recollected that the government that was dissolved in 1804, had proposed to raise 20 battalions in this way, which was overruled. But one-fifth of this rejected plan had been adopted, and actually raised as many men in three months as the whole Additional Force bill had done in one year and three quarters. These two measures, then, might raise from 40 to 50 thousand men. Both had been tried, and both had been found successful.—There were two other points, namely, the Volunteer Service and the Training bill, on which he would wish to touch, were he not fearful of abusing the indulgence of the house. With regard to the latter, he had never discovered the necessity of its superseding the Levy en Masse bill, on which one step had been taken, viz. the enrollment, and laid on the table of the house. The principle of both was admirable, namely, that of making our whole effective population military, by rotation. It was almost a sheet-anchor of our safety, as it afforded inexhaustible means of supplying our army in case of invasion.—He had looked at it lately in the capacity of a deputy lieutenant, and believed that without some alteration, it would be found impracticable. As to the volunteers, he rejoiced that they were to be restored to their old establishment. On the re-appointment of inspecting field-officers, there was much difference of opinion, even amongst those most favourable to the system. He approved of it; his own observation fully justified the opinion that he entertained of their value. He had seen none that had not honourably executed the duty intrusted to them. But there were abuses both in this establishment and in permanent duty, which he severely condemned, namely, the field-officers ordering the six inspections, during the summer months, and corps going on permanent duty, from one city to another, not ten miles distant —they should go at least thirty miles—should be assembled in brigade, under the commanding officer of the district, and at a reduced expence, and should be all directed to learn the light-infantry exercise. —With these impressions and convictions even his noble friend would allow, if he believed him sincere, that it was impossible for him to support this measure, indeed impossible for him to abstain from resisting it. Other gentlemen who felt equal reluctance with himself in opposing any measure of government at such a moment, would agree with him, that this was not a time to be complimenting away the safety of the country. Had only a little been proposed to be done, without a concomitant greater evil, it should have had his support, at the same time that he would have urged his majesty's ministers to greater exertions. But this was doing worse than nothing. At an early period of the present war, it was matter of complaint (now universally admitted to be a most unfounded one), that the government of that day, which was unceasingly employed in calling forth all the energies of the country, that they had not done enough, and when the danger was comparatively trifling. He had not forgot an unanswered statement by his noble friend opposite to him, made six months before the dissolution of that government, that we had at that time 700,000 men in arms, and in the eighth month of the war. Had we that number now? Had we any thing like it?—we ought, therefore, not only to make up that deficiency but to go infinitely beyond it. And yet, says a right hon. gent. "do nothing." His answer should be, "leave nothing undone."—"Think nothing gained, till nought remains," nor consider the country safe, till all her means are brought into action. Did gentlemen recollect what was the enemy with which we had to contend? unfortunately we had but one, and that almost the whole of Europe, under subjection to, or under the controul of our formidable and irreconcileable adversary. Since the period to which he had been adverting, we had seen that mighty conqueror, for so he must call him, advancing with rapid strides to universal dominion; in successive years marching straight forward to his object whatever it might be, looking neither to the right or the left, unchecked by difficulties, unappalled by dangers, always proportioning his means to his views, and, though bravely opposed, always successful and triumphant; in the midst of his conquests ever looking to England as the ultimate object of his ambitious views, and making his conquests on the continent the instruments and the means of accomplishing our ruin. In 1804, Holland was only the ally; she might now be considered as an integral part of France. Spain was then neutral, now her naval force was thrown into the scale; happily, indeed, immensely crippled by our splendid naval achievements. We might have other enemies—we might have them in a quarter to which at present he dared only advert.—To look at this approaching storm without anxiety, would be worse than madness—without hope, if proper efforts were made to meet it, would be worse than folly. Of the latter, however, he for one should feel but little indeed, if he saw good reason to believe that our rulers were inadequately impressed with the former. How far the measure now proposed was calculated to authorize that persuasion, it would be for the house and the country to determine. With the anxious forebodings that pressed on his mind, in case the house and parliament should adopt this proposition, he had no option left him but to resist it, with a view to the adoption of others more vigorous and less objectionable, to which he could give his conscientious support.

Lord *Henry Petty* was glad that his right hon. friend who spoke last had been heard before him, though he was anxious to have addressed the house at the time he rose, in order to repel a charge brought by the right hon. gent. opposite, against the late ministers. He had said that they had abandoned the intention of doing any thing in favour of Ireland. They certainly had done no such thing, but had with anxiety reserved to themselves a power to make representations on this subject. What the right hon. gent. said was contradicted, even by the garbled documents which had been surreptitiously published. With regard to the present measure, he was anxious to support any thing which could have the effect of a permanent addition to our force. The consideration then was, whether this was a measure calculated for that purpose. His hon. friend (Mr. Whitbread) had entered upon the consideration of the amount of our force compared with our population, and had certainly taken the just view of the subject. He had included in his calculation some who were not properly part of our military force. But, however, without these, our force, compared with our population, was as great, if not greater, than that of any other country. We had about 400,000 men in our army, and having besides 30,000 foreigners; we had 150,000 in the regular army, 20,000 artillery-men, between 70, and 80,000 militia, and 130,000 in the navy. These, with from 370 to 380,000 volunteers, formed nearly 2-17ths of our population capable of bearing arms. In one of the most military monarchies of Europe, where there was little commerce and few manufactures, he meant Prussia, the proportion of those actually armed, out of those capable of bearing arms, had been 2-17ths. For any permanent force, more n this, could not be found. This was a st essential view of the subject, for if re was a moment when we ought to be culiarly cautious with respect to military asures, it was when we had already ad- nced to the natural limits by which we ght to be bounded in ordinary cases. n that ground the present measure was to considered.—The danger he considered arising from two sources; first, the ge- ral danger from the state of the conti- nt; and secondly, the particular danger invasion arising out of it. This view of e danger would furnish us with principles try the propriety of the measure. Now, e ought to be cautious about altering the isting force; and certainly when a plan, nfessedly of a temporary nature, was ought forward, it ought only to have a mporary effect on former establishments. ow, in these respects, the plan was ex- emely imperfect, for it went to unsettle e great existing principles of defence.— would have been expected, if any part f our force was to have been destroyed, it ould not have been the militia. If there as a time when that service ought to have en improved and encouraged, not anni- lated, this was the moment. If it was od for any thing, it was for the defence of e country. At the moment, however, hen the attention of ministers ought to be irected to the protection of the country self, the measure they proposed was one hich went to disorganize this very force. This he conceived to be a most extraordi- ary step, in what could only be a tempo- ary measure of defence. The officers of he militia made many sacrifices for the ublic advantage. Should even this mea- ure pass into a law, he was convinced they would so far forget the degradation and in- ults offered to themselves, as to exert their tmost endeavours in seeing that the act be arried into proper effect. But it was im- ossible that government could again ex- ect to find gentlemen of landed property rom these counties, step forward as militia officers. There was always a deficiency in the militia in this respect; there was so at the present moment; and the measure now roposed must go greatly to increase it, and o deprive this force of great part of the haracter it now enjoyed. He agreed with an hon. gent. who had spoken early in the lebate, that there was a great difference etween the calling on the voluntary services of the militia in the year 1799 and at the present moment. Then an increase was wanted in the disposable force of the country; of course, in extending their services, they benefited the country, which had then no occasion for their protection at home, while those by whose desire they volunteered, shewed that they esteemed their services as valuable. Now, however, the danger threatened this country, and instead of looking for assistance from this legitimate constitutional force, the government, by asking them to volunteer into the regular army, clearly informed them that as militia men, they were of no use even in the very service for which they had been raised. The plan of the noble lord seemed, so far as the militia was concerned, to carry in it the seeds of its own destruction. The noble lord in opening his plan had told the house, that there were a number of the militia within six months of the period of expiry of their service, and that there was little doubt of the whole of them enlisting to the regular army. This he thought highly unlikely. By doing so, they could receive only 10*l.* of bounty; whereas, by lying by, and waiting the operation of the ballot, they might receive from 50*l.* to 60*l.* in the first instance, and then the additional 10*l.* for extending their service. He objected to the measure still more, however, because it went to destroy the plan of his right hon. friend, from which, as had been expressed by the hon. gent. below him, he was of opinion, if allowed to take its fair course, his right hon. friend must derive immortal honour. The documents on the table shewed, that if experience was not a cheat and fact a liar, that the plan of his right hon. friend had completely succeeded. The right hon. gentlemen opposite seemed highly pleased when his hon. friend near him, (Mr. Whitbread) stated, that the plan of his right hon. friend, if it had not done more, had done as much as the Additional Force act, and the regular recruiting, at the same time. These hon. gentlemen seemed now to think this nothing, but they were not always of such an opinion. They had formerly represented the Additional Force act, as in itself a measure of great efficiency, while, at the same time, as they contended, it did not at all interfere in the regular recruiting. Their language, however, was now greatly changed, and they allowed no credit to the plan of his right hon. friend, although it had proved itself superior to the Additional Force act, and the ordinary recruiting combined. He disapproved of compulsory service, which resolved into ballot, as raising up a competition against the regular recruiting, which it could not stand, and which must always drive it out of the market. He thought that voluntary service should be carried as far as it would go, and that the situation of the soldier should be rendered as comfortable as possible, as an inducement for him to enter. He desired gentlemen to recollect that this was not an emergency of a week, or of a month, or of a year, but one which would in all probability last for some time. If the house or the country therefore were content with a temporary remedy, they deceived themselves. He did not see that the plan of the noble lord could do any good. Between the two he preferred that of the army of reserve, on this principle, that if they were to resort to a mode of compulsory service in the line of the regular recruiting, that mode would do least mischief, as it interfered with no other portion of our defensive force, but allowed every thing to remain settled and undisturbed. On the subject of making a diversion in favour of our allies, the right hon. gent. had tauntingly said, that if such a thing had been thought of at an early period of the campaign by the late ministers, it might have been possible to have protracted the war. He hoped, however, gentlemen would recollect, that as, on the one hand, it might have been possible to protract the war by sending a British force to the assistance of our allies, so, on the other hand, it was equally possible, without benifiting our allies by such protracted warfare, that a considerable loss in British valour, British blood, and British lives, might have been the consequence. The first expedition under lord Cathcart was not attended with any great success, not from any want of courage, skill, or bravery in that gallant officer or his troops, but from what other cause he should not say. He hoped the second expedition under the command of his lordship would be more successful. The right hon. gent. had said, that it was well known that the late ministers were to do nothing for the Catholics of Ireland, but that they would have been glad to have remained in place at the expence of sacrificing every measure of conciliation towards them. This the noble lord denied. He had thought, that if any thing was more notorious than another, it was this, that they had refused to enter into any pledge not to advise his majesty to such acts as they might think to be for the interest of that body, and of the kingdom of Ireland in general. If there was any thing more notorious than another, it was this, that the late ministers had other measures besides the Catholic Officers bill to propose for the good of that body. If ministers really wished to provide effectually for the defence of the country, they would speedily, he knew they must, sooner or later, do something to repair the lost condition of Ireland.

Lord *Henniker* expressed his utmost confidence in the alacrity of the militia to render all possible service to their country; and he was sure that that constitutional force would conform with the utmost cheerfulness to such arrangements as the government might think proper to adopt for strengthening the national arm, and affording due measures of defence and security to the empire.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* felt that the present was a question of the utmost moment; and was therefore not surprized at the various opinions which had been offered in respect to the best mode of accomplishing the great purpose which was the object of the bill. Gentlemen on both sides agreed, that the present moment was one of considerable difficulty, and required, of course, more than ordinary exertion to meet the exigencies of the occasion; they acknowledged that the energy and resources of the country, should be brought forth as speedily and effectually as possible. The only difference then was, as to the mode of accomplishing the great object. For his part, he was willing to confess, that he considered the militia force as of a most efficient description; and while it approached the nearest to the regular army, was the most constitutional force we possessed. One great reason which made the transfer of the militia into the line desirable was, that whenever a peace should be concluded, the militia must be disbanded. He would ask gentlemen, whether, under the present circumstances of Europe, such a peace would reasonably be looked for, as would enable the country to dispense with such a large portion of its military establishment, as the militia constituted? He thought the house must agree with him, that we could not spare such a number of men from our means of defence; and it must be obvious to all, that there was no other way of obviating the difficulty, and preserving such a force to the country, than by permitting it in time of war to volunteer into the line. This was an effectual nedy, and the deficiency thus occasioned the militia would speedily be made good the proposed ballot. The right hon. nt. then entered into a long detail, in der to shew the inefficiency of the mili- y plan of the late ministers, and conclu- d by a strong recommendation of una- mity in opposing the common enemy.

Mr. *Windham* entered at large upon the mparative merits of the bill now before house, the plan of the present ministers, which this was a part; and that military stem which he had brought forward, and hich parliament had adopted last year. ne leading objection which he had to the esent measure, and to the whole system which it formed a part, was, that it was ly of a temporary nature, and therefore applicable to the present condition of this untry, which required a military system a permanent nature. For want of at- nding to this distinction, we had fallen into any, and he was apprehensive we should ll into still more errors, and he feared me of them might prove fatal unless we lopted a permanent system: nothing else ould serve us; for the evil against which e were to provide was of a permanent na- re. The militia officers had been made e mere vehicle for recruiting; and now, hen the very moment had arrived at which ey expected to be called into actual ser- ce, in order to display that discipline and alour which they had been the means of stering and exciting, their troops were be taken from them and drafted into the egular army. Was not this more degra- ing to the militia than any thing which had een done to the volunteers, as alleged by e hon. gent. opposite? The right hon. ent. defended at considerable length his wn training act and recruiting system; hich he maintained, from the returns on he table, had answered every purpose, for hich they were intended. If his system had een allowed to take its own course, we hould have avoided the ruinous consequen- es to our militia now resorted to, of filling p the standing army from that source. He enied that the late administration had ut an end to the Additional Force act; the act was, it had put an end to itself. The ques- ion now was, shall we break up a solid sys- em for the sake of gaining a temporary dvantage?—Where was the emergency hich rendered such an injurious measure ecessary?—A word or two now as to the olunteers. There was no system which wed its existence to zeal alone, that could long maintain any thing like a constant number. Take away their zeal, take away the impression of the moment, by which alone zeal could be excited, and they would dwindle in point of numbers, as well as sink into complete inattention and indifference. He would still maintain, that the volunteers under the present system, could never be made to display to advantage that spirit and energy which individually, no doubt, the greatest part of them possessed. Even with the assistance of the sinister attempts of the hon. gentlemen opposite, their physical strength and moral courage could never be brought into action in a way to tell as they ought to do. Before he concluded, he could not help remarking to the house, as one characteristic of the system which he had been concerned in, that there was not a job in it from one end to the other. He should certainly have been as happy as the hon. gent. to have provided for old, worn out, and meritorious officers, by recommending them to appointments under the volunteer system. He claimed as merit to himself, that such was his feeling; but he claimed likewise as merit, that he had, in compliance with what he thought his public duty, suppressed the institution (the inspecting field-officers), by which opportunities would have been afforded him for that purpose. The hon. gent. looked to a far better fortune. They restored the means of their own patronage and hoped at the same time to be applauded for what they had done. He charged the opposite side of the house with having not only taken advantage, when they came into office, of the cry of "no popery," but of having turned the cry of "no volunteers" also to some advantage. When the general election came on, they appealed to the volunteers, telling them they had been degraded and insulted by their predecessors; but now was the time to shew their loyalty, by voting for ministers and their friends, and they would, in return, restore them to their former splendour.

Mr. *Bathurst* thought that there was no ground for supposing that the present measure would completely counteract the operation of the plan of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham); occasions would frequently occur in which it would be necessary to make an exertion for procuring a considerable accession of force; but such emergencies could only produce a temporary obstruction to the measure, and would by no means subvert it, as had been maintained. He, however, could not approve of the present plan, and in particular objected to it on the ground that while it called for a supply of force from the militia, it proposed to fill up the deficiency created by an immediate ballot. He thought that the proceeding implied an opinion in those who proposed it, that the militia was not a proper force for home defence, for it was for home defence only the present measure could be thought necessary, as the country already possessed a sufficient force for foreign service.

Lord *Castlereagh* could not forbear making a few observations even at that late hour of the night. He lamented to meet with such opposition from different quarters, and on such different grounds. Some did not think the emergency so urgent as others, and therefore were for adopting no measure at all. Some were for making greater, others less drafts from the militia; while others again deprecated the touching it altogether. The militia was allowed to be in a higher state of perfection, and to be more complete in officers, than at any former period for these 14 years. Why, then, did it not furnish more facilities than at any former moment towards the object which it was now so necessary to attend to and to accomplish? Our military force was now more scattered abroad than at any former period: it was therefore more necessary to feed and compact that force than before. He did not flatter himself with a nearer prospect of peace than the gentlemen on the other side: but this he felt, that our military system should be adapted to both situations, and partake of either prospect. When so calculated, it might be framed and kept up at a smaller expence. As to the right hon. gent. who spoke last but one, he seemed to lose sight altogether of the dangers which he formerly dreaded from France. His apprehensions on that score seemed wholly to have vanished, and all his faculties seemed now to be absorbed in the admiration of his own military plan, which he seemed to think had succeeded beyond his most sanguine dreams. Still, however, all that happy result was yet to come. We were to look for it at the distance of two years; and in the interim, it seems, were to expect that Bonaparte would become grey, and be no longer anxious for any thing but peace; and then we should be able to defend the country without any measure like that he had the honour to propose. Such, however, was not the opinion of that great man (Mr. Fox), who was now no more, and whose extraordinary talents added such authority to any opinion he expressed. He thought it necessary our military force should be raised to the utmost pitch, and such as should surpass the proudest periods of our military renown. Let us compare, however, the dangers of the country, even at that day, with what they now were, and how would they appear increased? when the powers of the continent were so much less able to assist us, and when we had an enemy to contend with, so much more confident of victory and flushed with new triumphs. Besides, our disposable force under these aggravated difficulties was rendered less available by the late administration, who had scattered it in so many directions, and who had made no preparation whatever towards averting these dangers. On the 24th of January last, the moment when they should have been preparing for some active enterprise to open the campaign, they dismissed from the public service every transport that was not absolutely necessary for the ordinary routine business of the Channel service, and nothing was left for offensive operations. Whatever expedition, therefore, it might have been prudent to undertake, not a shadow of preparation was left to support it. By the former administration, not a single exertion was made to rescue Prussia; she was suffered to perish before our eyes. Such was the situation in which they had left the present ministers, with nothing to inherit from them but weakness, difficulties, and distress.

Dr. *Laurence* expressed his surprise, that, after his majesty's ministers had deprecated all personal allusions, the noble lord should have made charges of a nature similar to that with which he concluded his speech, and should have taken the opportunity of making so uncandid an attack, when all the members of the late administration had spoken in the debate. Whatever was to be regretted in the distribution of the public force by the late government, he contended was the necessary result of the impolitic measures of their predecessors. He also remarked, that before they could be justly censured for any of their measures, they ought to be permitted to disclose the general plan, of which those measures were perhaps only parts. He did not pretend to have a knowledge of what l passed in their councils, but this much, vever, he could say, that he understood late administration had an expedition contemplation, that would have been rthy of them and of the country, and ich the present ministers would not dare look at.

Mr. *Windham* stated, that the late mi- ters had left to their successors a much ater number of transports than had been eived from them. If the noble lord ught the late ministers had failed to do eir duty in any particular, he wished him bring the matter before the house, when ey might have an opportunity of vindica- g their conduct.—The question was then lled for, when a division took place,

For the second reading of the bill . .	187
Against it	90
Majority	97

hilst strangers were excluded from the llery, the bill was read a second time, ad ordered to be committed.

[Irish Insurrection Bill.] Upon e gallery being re-opened, we found

Mr. *Brand* opposing the Irish Insurrec- on bill, most particularly on the ground at he could not think it advisable to con- de to the hands of any man, however re- ectable, the power of overturning the de- sion of a jury.

Mr. *Whitbread* proposed to restore the ause inflicting a penalty on magistrates ho shall omit to give a return of those ho act under them in cases where any sub- ct may think himself injured, either in erson, property, or family. This was not dmissible, consistent with the forms of the ouse, unless an engrossed clause were eady for that purpose.

Mr. *W. Smith* proposed that in conse- uence of the lateness of the hour (nearly alf-past four o'clock), the further proceed- ng on the 3d reading should be postponed ll to-morrow. Upon this, a division took lace; we could not learn the numbers, ut the motion was lost by a considerable ajority.—By this time the clause was en- rossed; upon the question, that it stand art of the bill, there was another division early the same as on the last question.

Sir *J. Newport* then moved the alteration f the duration of the bill from two years to ne; upon this a third division took place: or the motion 28; against it 112. A ng debate next ensued on the question that e bill do now pass.

Mr. *J. W. Ward* expressed strong doubts as to the propriety of agreeing to the bill, after every attempt to amend it had been rejected. He was particularly astonished that the house had negatived the amendment on the duration of the bill, and asked what the people of this country would think, were the Mutiny bill to be passed for more than one year, though it was doubtless as necessary as this bill could possibly be? He, however, acknowledged that the great weight of the authority (Mr. Grattan's) which the house had heard in support of the bill, induced him reluctantly to vote for its passing into a law.

Lord *Milton* was decidedly against the bill, and was determined to oppose the motion for passing it.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he could not agree to the bill in any shape; but most particularly the amendments, which would make it in some degree palatable, were rejected. If, said he, the time of reading the bill a third time had afforded me the best possible opportunity of delivering my sentiments on it at such length as I chose, I should not have profited by the advantage. I certainly did wish, and mean, to have selected the fittest occasion for giving fully my reasons for the abhorrence I feel for its principle, and the contempt I entertain for its provisions; but circumstances have since embarrassed my judgment, and I will state them shortly and sincerely. When I find the principle of the bill admitted on the plea of necessity by all those to whose judgement and information I am bound to pay the utmost deference, when I find I cannot oppose their acquiescence without arraying my knowledge of the fact of the real situation and temper of Ireland against their superior means of information, I feel the presumption and hazard of taking upon myself the responsibility of an earnest endeavour to persuade the house to reject a measure which I am almost single in regarding as the worst, the foulest, and the foolishest measure that ever solicited the sanction of parliament; but still more am I influenced by observing in my attendance on the committee, where I avow to have shunned taking any part, washing my hands, and absolving my conscience from meddling with, or tampering in any attempt to mend that which is so hateful in principle that it is perhaps best that it should carry with it all its unequal proportion of deformity. I say, I cannot but have been induced to forego my first determination, by observing that so many efforts at modification, moved by most respectable characters, and supported by the most unanswerable arguments, have been rejected and reprobated by insulting majorities.

Mr. *Grattan* re-stated, that he had been informed that there were held in Ireland treasonable meetings, for the purpose of organizing a force to assist the French. The bill was to put down the French interest in Ireland, not to oppress the Irish nation. He did not mean to accuse his countrymen of treason or disaffection; but he was certain, that there was a French party in Ireland; it was against them, and not against Irishmen, that the operation of the bill was directed; and sooner than run a risk of losing the constitution altogether, he would take upon himself his full share, in common with his majesty's ministers, of the responsibility which would attach to the measure.—The house then divided on the motion that the bill do now pass. The numbers were, Ayes 106; Noes 8; Majority 98. Adjourned at half-past 6 on Tuesday morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 28.

[MINUTES.] Lord Hawkesbury brought down a Message from the King, announcing that his majesty had entered into subsidiary engagements with the king of Sweden; that his majesty's minister at the court of Prussia had advanced 100,000*l.* to the Prussian government; and that his majesty had furnished arms for the Prussian army, to the amount of 200,000*l.* more. (See the message in the proceedings of the house of commons.) His lordship moved, that the message be taken into consideration to-morrow. This motion gave rise to a short conversation. Lord Holland and lord Lauderdale expressed their surprise that so short a time was afforded, and thought that parliament could not be expected to give their approbation to the arrangements with Sweden, until the treaty was produced. Lord Hawkesbury remarked, that all that would be proposed by the address to-morrow, would be to return thanks to his majesty for his gracious communication. His majesty's ministers certainly did not mean to call on their lordships to approve the stipulations, the conditions of which were not yet known to them. Lord Lauderdale said, that at least the amount of the subsidies ought to have been mentioned in the message; that was a species of information which he understood was usually given in messages of this kind. In the message relative to the loan to the emperor of Germany last war, the amount of that loan was expressed. The message was fixed for consideration to-morrow.—Lord Hawkesbury delivered another message from his majesty, (see the house of commons,) recommending it to parliament to make provision for such measures as might be necessary to meet any emergencies during the present crisis. In reply to a question from lord Holland, lord Hawkesbury said, that it was merely the usual message delivered at the close of every session, in order to form the foundation of a vote of credit. This message was also ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 28.

[MINUTES.] Mr. alderman Shaw offered a petition from W. Spurrier, who had been ordered to attend the house, to answer as to the detention of the Poole writ. The petition went to excuse the conduct of the petitioner, who prayed the indulgence of the house. The Speaker suggested, that it was informal to receive a petition from an individual ordered to attend in his person. The individual would have an opportunity to offer his excuse in the course of his examination at the bar.—A new writ was ordered for the county of Kinross, in the room of Mr. Adam, who, having been elected for Kincardineshire also, had made his election to serve for the latter.—Mr. secretary Canning presented at the bar a copy of the treaty of amity, enterred into between his majesty and the king of Prussia. The right hon. secretary stated that this treaty had been framed at Memel on the 28th of January; but the ratification of the king of Prussia had not arrived for many months after, and the events that had since occurred had entirely superseded the provisions agreed upon.

[KING'S MESSAGE RELATIVE TO ENGAGEMENTS WITH SWEDEN, &c.] Mr. Secretary *Canning* brought up a message from the king, which was read from the chair as follows: "G. R. His majesty "thinks it proper to acquaint the house "of commons, that he has entered into "certain subsidiary engagements with the "king of Sweden, copies of which, as soon "as the ratifications shall have been ex"changed, his majesty will direct to be ommunicated to the house.—His maesty also thinks proper to acquaint the ouse of commons, that his majesty's minister to the king of Prussia has, in consequence of authority from his masty, and of the urgency of affairs upon he continent, advanced to the Prussian government the sum of 100,000*l.* sterling; and that his majesty has, in the course of the campaign, furnished to the Prussian government supplies of arms and other military stores to an amount not exceeding in the whole the sum of 200,000*l.* sterling; and his majesty rusts that the house will enable him to make good the same."

Mr. Secretary *Canning* said, that in mong that his majesty's most gracious mesge be referred to the committee of sup, it might perhaps be agreeable to the ntlemen on the opposite side of the use, that he should shortly state the nare of the treaties mentioned in the mesge. The one was a subsidiary treaty th the king of Sweden, by which we d agreed to pay for the furnishing a furer contingent of men for the defence of vedish Pomerania and of Stralsund. The mber before employed for those purses, for which this country paid, was ,000 men, and it was proposed to make addition of 4,000, which were to be id for at the same rate as the others ere. This was not, however, the conngent to which he had alluded on a forer day. It would be recollected that a estion had been put to him by an hon. nt. some time ago relative to treaes with the northern powers, and he had en mentioned that there were contingenes which were not then finally settled, hich prevented the necessary communitions on that subject being made. Those ntingencies were certain subsidiary treaes which his majesty's ministers had enred upon with the king of Prussia, and hich the unfortunate circumstances that ad put an end to the war on the continent, ad prevented from being brought to a conusion. Had they taken place, the 00,000*l.* paid to the king of Prussia would ave been included—and something less an 200,000*l.* in arms and ammunition rnished by his majesty's government to e king of Prussia would have been inclued in the sum to have been granted; but s those treaties, from the circumstances efore alluded to, had not been concluded, is majesty had ordered them to be laid before parliament, that the money might be provided for by them. He moved, therefore, that his majesty's message be referred to the committee of supply.—Ordered.

[King's Message respecting a Vote of Credit.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* brought up another message from the king, which was read from the chair as follows: "G. R. His majesty, relying "on the uniform loyalty and zeal of "his faithful commons, and considering "that it may be of the utmost impor"tance at this arduous crisis, to provide "for such emergencies as may arise, re"commends it to this house, to make "provision for enabling his majesty to "take all such measures as the exigen"cies of affairs may require, in order "to counteract and defeat the intentions "and plans of his enemies, and to pro"vide for the safety of his majesty's do"minions, and to maintain the honour "of his crown."—This message was also referred to the committee of supply.

[Complaint respecting the Poole Writ.] On the motion of Mr. Jeffery, the house went into the further consideration of the Complaint of the delay in the delivery of the Poole writ.

Mr. Jonathan Brundrett was called in, and on examination stated, that he received the writ on the morning of the 30th of April, and delivered it to Mr. James Weston, at two o'clock on the same day in Fenchurch-street, in the presence of an old gentleman, who, he afterwards found, was Mr. Spurrier. He recognized Mr. Spurrier when he went to Poole to ascertain the delivery of the writ. He arrived in Poole on Monday, the 18th of May, and saw Mr. Spurrier, who told him the writ had been delivered. He was satisfied on hearing that it was delivered, relying on Mr. Spurrier's veracity.

Mr. William Spurrier was then called in. Being very deaf, the clerk was ordered to stand by him and repeat the questions that were put. Being desired by the Speaker to address his answers to him, he said that he could not see him [a laugh].—On examination, stated he had received the writ on the 30th of April last. He delivered the writ on the 17th of May, where he was satisfied the sheriff received it. His ignorance was the sole cause of his holding over the writ so long. No person at Poole knew of his having the writ. The sheriff of Poole is his relation, his wife's brother. He knew of no enquiry after the writ till the Saturday before he delivered it. He never knew that the writ was cried at Poole. He knew of a person who was not of age at the time he received the writ, and who was of age at the time when he delivered it. This person could not have voted if he had delivered the writ immediately. This person was no relation of his, neither was any of the candidates. He thought that person would have voted for Mr. Garland, but he voted for sir R. Bickerton. He was in London, and took the writ to take care of it, knowing it would be in safe hands. He did not deliver it, because like a bill of exchange drawn at forty days sight, he did not think it right to deliver it till the period when it should be obligatory to make the return [a laugh]. He paid 30 guineas for the writ; it was what he was asked to pay: he was not repaid, nor did he expect to be. He knew from the beginning, that he was to pay money for the writ, but he did not know how much. He was prepared to pay what should be asked of him. On a question from the chancellor of the exchequer, he admitted that he had heard there were to have been other candidates, besides those who stood. On being questioned who, he answered sir Home Popham. His (Mr. Spurrier's) son also was expected to have been a candidate [a laugh]. He admitted that he knew of a person who arrived with the most urgent expedition from Ireland, and voted for Mr. Garland. On a question from Mr. Jones, he admitted that his principal reason for getting possession of the writ was, that his son intended to have been a candidate. He did not look for a receipt of the writ, because he relied on the sheriff's honourable character. Neither the sheriff nor any other person in Poole, knew that he had had the writ, till the proceedings on the present investigation had been the means of letting them into the fact.—Mr. Spurrier having been then ordered to withdraw,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it had been universally admitted, that some remedy was necessary in the present practice of issuing writs. A remedy was to be proposed by an hon. gent. on the other side (Mr. Barham). Every gentleman would lend his aid to render this remedy more perfect, and when it should have received the concurrence of the other branches of the legislature, he hoped it would be effectual. With respect to the present case, he did not think it would be right to press hard upon the individual. But as it was evident that the obtaining and delaying of the writ, had arisen from some motives not perfectly correct, he thought some animadversion should take place, though he was of opinion that any punishment the house should think proper to inflict, ought to cease, as soon as an opportunity to terminate it should be afforded by petition from the individual.

The *Speaker* suggested that the first proceeding ought to be a resolution, that Mr. William Spurrier, in unduly detaining the writ for the last election for members to serve in parliament for the county of the town of Poole for 17 days, had been guilty of a breach of the privileges of that house. The question being put on this resolution,

Lord *H. Petty* felt it was quite impossible to refuse his assent to the resolution, but from the universality of similar practices, of which some instances little short of that now before the house had been communicated to him very recently, he thought the individual now under the animadversion of the house ought to be discharged as soon after his committal as possible. He urged the propriety of adopting a general remedy for the abuse; such a remedy was essential to the honour and character of the house, in preference to severity in a particular instance.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, an hon. gent. on the other side had proposed to introduce a general remedial measure, which he was sure every gentleman would be ready to support. He intended to move, that Mr. Spurrier be committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms; and though it was not parliamentary to speak of an understanding to that effect, he was sure, that as soon as a proper submission should be made, the house would give the relief required.

Mr. *Barham* urged the propriety of a general remedy, and, with a view to obtain some information calculated to promote that object, proposed to call in and examine the messenger of the great seal as to the general proceedings about the issue of writs.

Mr. *Rose* objected to the examination of the messenger of the great seal, who could speak to nothing beyond the practice of his office. The messenger of the great seal was particularly instructed to take no fees but those that custom had established (perhaps without right); five guineas for a writ for a borough, and twice as much for writ for a county or city. The principal medy for the abuses complained of was provide for the immediate delivery of writ to the sheriff. — It was then olved, that W. Spurrier was guilty a breach of the privileges of the use, and he was ordered to be committed to the custody of the serjeant at ms.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* took occion to state, that the committal of Mr. undrett to Newgate on a former night, s grounded on his unqualified refusal to swer questions. This was an offence, thout the immediate punishment and rrection of which, the house could not oceed in any of the investigations and eniries essential to its constitution. The ture of the case enquired into, depended on the facts that should be disclosed d discovered, and admitted of quite a ferent course of proceeding.

Mr. *Jeffery* stated, that the messenger of e great seal, and the other persons ordered attend at the bar, were not at all implited in the criminal part of the transacon. He therefore moved, that the order r their attendance be discharged.

Mr. *Barham* then moved, that the dety messenger of the crown be called to e bar. This was opposed by sir John nclair, and the gallery was cleared for a vision, but, after some discussion, the otion was withdrawn.

[MILITIA TRANSFER BILL.] The house ving resolved itself into a committee of e whole house, on the Militia Transfer ll,

Lord *Milton* rose. The emergency to ll for a measure so oppressive as this, was ot, he said, made out. If the French eets had been victorious, then indeed ere might have been a ground for some rong compulsory measure. The militia as the constitutional force of the country, nd ought not to be thus tampered with and egraded, especially when the object at pres nt was not to procure a force for foreign serce, but for the defence of the country. It as impossible now to look for conquests on e continent, or to expect to stop the proess of Bonaparte. At the first establishent of the militia the service was in a eat measure of a personal nature. Now, owever, it was merely a tax on the couny, and a tax which, by the operation of e ballot, would be most partially and most njustly levied. It was levied entirely on e landed property, and not on the whole, but on a part of it. Peers were exempted, and clergymen and infants, and lands in mortmain. And on this account he would always object to the militia, except so far as they formed a garrison for our homes. It ought also to be considered whether the families of those who volunteered in this manner, were to be chargeable to the parishes, in the same manner, as if they had still continued in the militia. Whether they were or not, the present measure was equally objectionable. If they should be entitled to the relief, then this would be imposing a most grievous burthen upon the parishes, which would be charged both with their families and with the families of those who were to replace them. If their families were not to be provided for, it was a most cruel injustice to the men, and to those families which might thus be left destitute. But he had another strong objection to this measure. It had been clearly made out that it interfered very materially with the military plan of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), a plan which the present ministers seemed to wish to subvert by a side wind. This plan had been highly successful for the time it had been in operation, as appeared from the returns on the table. He knew it had been successful in the country, and had the approbation of those who were to carry it into execution. It was said that there was an emergency, and that we must make a sudden exertion; but the danger was, that by these continued exertions the country would be exhausted when the most pressing occasion arrived. Emergencies might thus be said to have arrived after the battle of Austerlitz; after that of Auerstadt, and that of Friedland. But the population of the country must be prepared for a long protracted war, which it could not be with these continual paralysing efforts, resting principally on the landed property. There was no vigour in the present measure, but if there was, he should doubt of its propriety; for by these exertions we must exhaust ourselves before we had run half our race. The plan of his right hon. friend below, was exactly calculated for our present situation; for it was intended to meet a long protracted war, and had every appearance of being sufficient to answer that important purpose. That plan would be rising in its efficacy every day. The present measure would be constantly decreasing in its effects, and not only do little good itself, but prevent the other plan from having its proper influence.

For these reasons he had voted against the measure: but, however, after the decision of the house, he would not at present oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair; but he had thought it incumbent upon him to state his reasons for his former vote, and the grounds on which he thought the present measure not only useless but mischievous.

Sir *Thomas Turton* declared that he would rather wish to augment than diminish the militia. But he had strong objections to the system of ballot, on account of the malignity with which it operated. The ballot might fall upon a man of no property, or it might fall upon him (sir T. Turton). As to the chances, they were on an equality. But for 20 guineas he could procure a substitute, and this was nothing to him; but it might be every thing to the other, and therefore it was that the tax was grossly unequal. He thought the late ministers deserving of great praise for having suspended the ballot, and he really wished that some means might be found, by which the expence of this measure should be more equalized.—Indeed, he entirely approved of what the late ministers had done with regard to the continent, with one exception, and that was, that they had not promptly assisted our allies after the battle of Eylau, for then there appeared a prospect of stopping the career of the French, when they had received this check from the Russians. If he had had any influence over the councils of his majesty, he certainly would have advised that a strong force should have been sent to the continent on that occasion. He had always disapproved of sending expeditions to the continent to save Europe; for if Europe was not able to save itself, it was impossible that it could be done by Great Britain. We, therefore, ought to reserve our forces instead of sending them on these foolish expeditions. But now, whether we should be at peace or not, we must always be armed, perhaps for a century. Since we must then be armed, in God's name, let us have the force as constitutional as we can. He would cheerfully consent, however, to give ministers the force they wanted for the line, if they thought it useful for harassing the enemy, provided it could be done without the evils arising from the inequality of the ballot. The principle of the army of reserve, however, which had been so much insisted upon by those who themselves formed a sort of political reserve in that house, he thought even more objectionable than that now proposed to be adopted. It was true, more men were procured by the Reserve act; but at the same time it occasioned a great deal more hardship and oppression. He expressed his approbation of the volunteer system properly conducted. This ought to be encouraged by paying the volunteers for their loss of time. He thought some inspecting field-officers necessary, and observed that the expence of the whole was small in comparison with the benefit. He denied, however, that the numbers of the volunteers were so great as they were stated. He concluded by saying, that he should have no objection to the measure, provided the inequality of the ballot could be remedied.

Colonel *Wood* had hoped, that in the present situation of the country, all party considerations would have been laid aside; and expressed his astonishment at the sentiments that had been promulgated on this subject. With great reluctance he gave his consent to the deterioration of that most constitutional force, the militia; but when he reflected on the present state of Europe, it was impossible for him to withhold it. He thought, that the plan of his noble friend was the only one that could give the desireable force. A right hon. gent. had last night said, that we had nothing to apprehend, because Bonaparte and his army were at such a distance; but in six months they might be on the opposite shores. He then entered into the best mode of defence in case of invasion, and recommended strongly the erection of Martello towers, and the fortifications of our arsenals and dockyards, which were now unable to resist a siege of a fortnight or three weeks. He should give the present question his decided support.

Mr. *Davies Giddy*, although he could not approve, in every point, of the plan of the late right hon. secretary of state for the war department, yet thought that, if suffered to proceed, it would be very productive, and he regretted that the noble lord's plan would interfere with it. Still, however, it appeared that some sort of compulsion was necessary to provide a large military force, but he did not altogether see the utility of the volunteering from the militia, and expressed his preference of a ballot directly for the army. As a majority of the house, however, had determined in favour of the noble lord's plan, he should cheerfully acquiesce in that determination.

Sir *G. Warrender* repeated his former ar-
nents on this subject, and contended
't the disposable force now existing was
ply sufficient. His grand objection to
noble lord's plan was, that it applied a
nporary remedy to a permanent evil,
ile the plan of his right hon. friend
posed a permanent remedy to a perma-
nt evil. If a proper object for expedi-
ns presented itself, he was far from dis-
proving of them, provided they were
perly conducted. When the French
re driven out of Italy, and an expedition
s sent to the Helder, which at first pro-
sed to be successful, he thought that a
od ground existed for the volunteering
the militia into the line at that time.
t now there was no opportunity for any
at expedition, and therefore he thought
s measure of very little use, while it
asioned a great deal of mischief. But
er the decision already come to, he
uld not expect to succeed in any oppo-
on he might now give to it. It ought
be considered however, that the regi-
ents were far removed from their respec-
e counties, and that a great deal of diffi-
lty would attend the collecting of the
cruits. If the measure should pass into
aw, he should undoubtedly do his endea-
ur to give it effect. Notwithstanding,
wever, the partiality he felt for the gen-
men on his side (the opposition side)—
artiality of which he certainly had no
ason to be ashamed—he assured the gen-
men on the other side, that he would have
posed this measure though it had come
om those whom he thought much better
titled to his confidence.

Mr. *Babington* was of opinion that our
gular force ought to be much augmented;
d though he approved of this measure so
r as it went, yet he thought that the
dition of 36,000 men was much too
nall. It was not enough to have a force
rge enough to meet the enemy at the
set. We ought to have a reserve in
se we lost one or two battles. He
s surprized that so little stress had been
id upon the training of the population of
e country; as the population of our
emy was military, it was necessary
at ours should be military also. The
tual enforcement of some measure for
aining the people, would have the effect
bringing many recruits into the line.
is had happened in the case of the Army
Reserve act, for at that time many had
tered that service from the idea that the
Defence act was about to be enforced; for they reasoned in this way, that if they must serve, it was as well to do it in one way as in another." He concluded by declaring his assent to the measure.

Lord *Cochrane* thought the unequal operation of the ballot the most serious objection to the plan of the noble lord. At the same time, he entirely approved of permitting the militia to volunteer into the line: the present emergency called for a large disposable force, and he thought the best way of getting that force was the one proposed.

Colonel *Bagwell* did not think the numerical force of the line would be so much increased as seemed to be anticipated.

Mr. *Windham* rose, not for the purpose of going at length into the consideration of the bill, but because some very important points relating to this subject had been mistated. The gentlemen on the other side seemed to confine their attention to one or two points only, of the measures which he had brought forward; but there were others, such as the Training act, which they had abstained from speaking of altogether. If the noble lord (Castlereagh) only found fault with some particular points of his bill, he would allow that, like all other bills of a general nature, it was capable of improvement, but he would not allow that there was more to be corrected or supplied than in other bills of this nature. He was ready to join the noble lord, or any other gentleman, in correcting whatever part of his bill might require correction. When he had brought forward the Training act, it was his opinion that it would constitute a great reservoir to feed and supply the regular army. He could not conceive what title the plan of the noble lord had to be called a grand measure, even to meet an emergency. What was it more than the difference between 36,000 men raised for the militia, and the number which the former plan would have raised? He thought that it had very little claim indeed to the character of a grand measure. He did not, however, wish to press that consideration farther at present, as there would be another opportunity of discussing the merits of the bill. Nor was it his wish now to answer at any length the objection which had been thrown out against the conduct of the late administration in the remission of fines to the different parishes. He should barely state, that the question on that point was, whether or not those fines could be levied without injustice? It was not stating the matter correctly to say, that by this means, parishes that had made no exertion, and had incurred no expence, were placed exactly on a footing with those who had made exertion. The fact was most notorious, that there were many parishes that used every exertion which the law allowed, and could by no possibility obtain the men, while others obtained the men by exertions which were not allowed by the law. The question then was, whether those latter parishes should have an advantage over those who had done every thing which they could legally do, without being able to procure any men. The difference between the present bill and the one he had the honour to propose, appeared to him to be exactly hat difference which was described by his noble friend (lord Milton), when he described it as the difference between a present and a permanent measure. He denied that any measure of his had produced the diminution in the number of volunteers which had been stated.

General *Tarleton*, said that the measures of the right hon. gent. had certainly contributed very much to dispirit the volunteers, as he himself had witnessed in the different districts with which he was best acquainted. He could not agree with the opinion of those who stated that the inspecting field-officers were of no use, and that their duty could be sufficiently discharged by the general officers of the district. The district which he commanded, comprised seven English counties, and 3 Welch ones, and 170 volunteer corps: it would be absolutely impossible that one general of a district should superintend so many corps who were widely dispersed over his district. He was therefore very glad that such power was lodged in the inspecting field-officers. He considered that the improving the nature of the volunteer force would supersede the necessity of the Training act, and many other oppressive measures to which the people must otherwise be subject. He thought most highly of the militia force, and had a much better opinion of them than of the second battalions. He considered that the militia regiments possessed in a high degree the health and stamina of the country; and if the English and Irish militia would readily interchange their services. he considered that there would be no occasion for the present measure. It was merely because he did not find the superior officers of the militia ready to make this interchange, that he thought it advisable to draft from the militia. He was surprized that gentlemen on the other side of the house should not perceive an emergency which called for extraordinary measures, when the first general of the age had collected such an immense army, and was now more completely at leisure than he was at any former period, to direct his entire attention to the subjugation of this country. He had seen many of the second battalions, and from the number of boys among them, he considered that they were much inferior to the militia regiments as they were at present.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* observed, that the county of Leicester, to which an hon. gent. (Mr. Babington) belonged, who had taken a part in this debate, had employed means contrary to law to raise men by crimps and excessive bounties. Knowing, as he did, the hardships imposed upon individuals by the different mode of applying the ballot, he still considered, that the army of reserve plan was an easier and cheaper means of raising men, than the plan proposed by the noble lord. He expressed doubt whether the supplemental militia could be raised to the full extent proposed by the measure, whilst there was a certain proportion of the former supplemental militia at present serving in the militia.

Lord *Castlereagh* replied, that the objection was a legal, not a political one, but declared it to be his opinion, that after the supplemental militia had been reduced or incorporated with the original militia, it was perfectly competent to his majesty and the legislature to call out the amount of supplemental militia proposed.

The house then resolved itself into a committee on the bill, in which the various blanks were filled up, after much discussion, conformably to the general outline of the plan opened by the noble framer. When the bill had been gone through,

Lord *Castlereagh* rose to propose a clause which should have for its object, to allow the militia an option either to enter into the army for the term of 7 years, or for life. He by no means conceived that the plan of the right hon. gent. (Mr Windham) held out those superior inducements which gentlemen on the other side appeared to imagine. He could state one circumstance that strongly inclined him to think that it did not. When it was judged necessary to encourage men to volunteer from the militia for the expedition to Holland, the terms iven, were ten guineas bounty to every an who volunteered for general service r five years in Europe. At the same me, lord Cornwallis, who was then lord eutenant of Ireland, thought it would be etter to try whether he could not get the en to volunteer from the Irish militia for eneral service for life. For this purpose, he roposed 10 guineas to those who enlisted or five years; and 12 guineas to those who hould enlist for life, and yet out of 9,000 who enlisted, there were only about 250 who did not prefer the additional two guineas with the condition of serving for life. This was a strong fact against the measures of the right hon. gent. He thought that the gentlemen on the other side, ought to be very glad that such an opportunity was fforded of immediately comparing the efect of the two systems. One great object which induced him to bring in the clause, was the serious mischief which would result from discharging such a large proportion of an army in the same year, as they would become entitled to their discharge nearly at the same time.

Mr. *W. Smith* had one general objection against offering the option proposed in the clause, because it would materially interfere with the system now in existence. The necessity of bringing up such a clause was a strong argument against the measure of the noble lord.

The *Secretary at War*, in confirmation of the argument of his noble friend, stated that the force that would be raised within the present year by this measure, and by the ordinary recruiting, would amount to 48,000 men; and if so large a proportion of our military force were to be entitled to their discharge at the end of seven years, it might be productive of much mischief.

Mr. *Littleton* should give a decided negative to this clause, thus surreptitiously introduced into the bill without notice, to subvert the system at present in force. Why had the clause not been produced at first on the face of the bill?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, to correct the mistake of the hon. gent., reminded the committee, that his noble friend had, in the first instance, stated his intention to bring forward this clause in the committee. The reason why they had not introduced the clause on the face of the bill was, that his noble friend wished to take the sense of the house on the general principle of his measure on the second reading of the bill, without endangering its adoption, if there should be any general objection to such a clause. For the same reason, he chose to take the sense of the committee on the clause, which, if rejected, would not affect the general measure. This enlistment was to be only of a temporary nature, and therefore, to allow the option would not be to depart from the uniform permanent mode of recruiting. On their own principle, the gentlemen opposite ought to agree to the clause, because, though their system was at first to apply to all men serving in the army who had served 21 years, they had been deterred from acting upon it, when they found that the number to be discharged amounted to 6,000. To be consistent therefore, they who were afraid to discharge 6,000 then serving, but not raised under the provisions of their system, should not object to giving an option that would have the effect of preventing the whole of so large a force as 23,000 men, not raised under their plan, from being entitled to their discharge at the same time.

Lord *G. Cavendish* argued against the clause, and contended, that it would be nugatory, because for the same bounty any man must prefer the limited to the unlimited period of service.

Mr. *Babington* felt rather jealous of any measure that went to disturb that which had already been laid down for limited service, and from which it was most natural to expect the most beneficial result.—A long conversation then took place on the merits of the clause, between lords Castlereagh and Milton, general Phipps, Mr. T. Jones, Mr. Ward, general Tarleton, Mr. Giddy, the Secretary at War, and Mr. Lockhart. Afterwards a division took place: For the Clause, 73; Against it, 10; Majority, 63. The house being resumed, Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report, which was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 29.

[KING'S MESSAGES RELATING TO SWEDEN AND PRUSSIA.] Lord *Hawkesbury* moved the order of the day, for taking into consideration the gracious communications which he had yesterday the honour of delivering to the house. In moving an address of thanks to his majesty for these communications, he only followed in form the usual proceeding of the house; and as to the object and matter of the first of them, he did not anticipate any material objection. It simply announced, that a treaty had been entered into with his Swedish majesty to subsidize a certain number of Swedish troops to be employed on a particular service, and which treaty rested on the basis of the former one: the only difference being, that instead of 14,000 men for which the former treaty stipulated, the present treaty made an addition of 4000 men to the former, making in the whole 18,000 men; the addition to be on the same terms as the number of troops originally stipulated. With respect to what regarded Prussia, there could scarcely be any difference of opinion; as the urgency of his Prussian majesty's affairs appeared to require it. Some advances of money had been made to relieve him. In addition to the 80,000*l.* advanced by the late administration, his majesty's present government had made a further addition of 100,000*l.*; the other assistance in arms, ammunition, &c. amounted to 200,000*l.* These were the sums to be made good; and the object of the address he was about to move was, that their lordships do concur in making good the sums. His lordship concluded with moving and reading an address to that effect.

Lord *Holland* would not object to the address; but, at the same time, he could not help observing, that he was at a loss to conceive the grounds upon which ministers proceeded in making this second treaty, if they saw that his Swedish majesty was unable to carry the first into execution. No doubt his Swedish majesty would have done every thing in his power to fulfil his engagement.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* felt very anxious to be informed, if the papers upon the table contained every thing which his majesty's ministers had done towards procuring continental co-operation, and more intimately cementing our continental connections and alliances. If they had done no more, how could they justify the language which they put into his majesty's speech, at the close of the last session? A pompous paragraph was there introduced, which held forth to the country the assurance, that ministers had been employed in drawing closer the ties that connected us with our allies, and in preparing the means of co-operation and concert, by which alone a rational hope could be entertained of resisting the ambition of the enemy, and of finally procuring a solid and safe peace. Surely, what appeared from the papers now upon the table, could contribute little or nothing towards the accomplishment of that object. With what views then could ministers have introduced into the king's speech, this big promise of doing a great deal, while in effect they had done nothing, except with the invidious one of endeavouring insidiously to contrast their own conduct with that of their predecessors in office?

Lord *Hawkesbury* thanked the noble lord for having afforded him this opportunity of explanation. The passage in the speech to which the noble lord had alluded promised no more than his majesty's ministers had been prepared to perform. Their propositions to the continental powers were not confined to what appeared in the papers now before their lordships, but embraced offers of much greater magnitude in case of further and more extensive co-operation. But they still kept pace with the efforts which those powers were likely to make, and with the degree of effect with which it was probable they might be attended. Unfortunately, however, the hopes of this more effectual and successful co-operation were now at an end; and no more pecuniary advances had been made to our allies than those referred to in his majesty's message.

Lord *Holland* here took occasion to inveigh against the principle of holding out to foreign powers the temptation of subsidies, in order to excite them to take a part in the war. He himself had witnessed the mischievous effects of that principle, and it was one which he should ever reprobate and resist, as influencing the conduct of this country, with respect to its continental connections. The attempt prematurely to plunge other powers into hostilities had made the most unfavourable impression abroad. Such allurements on our part seemed to make the subjects of the sovereigns in alliance with us imagine that their governments bartered their blood for British gold, and so far that idea went to destroy the moral energy by which they might wield the physical strength which we were so ready to purchase from them. He should ever set his face therefore against the throwing out of such enticements, and he had seriously to regret that we had too long and too often acted upon that principle.

Lord *Mulgrave* was astonished to hear the noble lord indulge in such observations, and impute to his majesty's government motives and views which had never guided their conduct. Where was the proof that s majesty's present ministers ever held ut subsidies as allurements and enticeents to draw other powers into the war ; nd what opinion must the noble lord enrtain of those powers of the continent, ho, while their crowns, their dominions, eir honour, their independence, every ing dear and sacred to such personges, were threatened with utter ruin, ould still remain unalarmed and inert, and e prompted into action only by the influnce of British subsidies ? Such a supposion was too absurd to be seriously attendd to ; and as to the system of the late adninistration, to which the noble lord so ondly referred, and seemed so anxious to ring under discussion, he could fairly say, hat the inertness and folly of that adminiistration, had formed the heaviest obstale with which the present government had o struggle. They had never prepared ny one practical means by which our ales could be assisted, or that could inspire hem with the hopes of contending successully with the common enemy. Their neasures were adopted without foresight, onducted without energy, and, consequenty, had produced no effect. The question vas then put on the address, and agreed to *em. diss.*

[Irish Insurrection Bill.] Lord *Hawkesbury* moved the order of the day or the second reading of this bill. He felt t to be a measure of great importance, and t was natural to expect he should adduce ome reasons for its adoption. Measures of a similar nature had often been resorted o by the parliament of Ireland, the necesity of which had grown out of the French evolution, and the principles which the auhors of it had attempted to disseminate hroughout every country. Associations nad at different times been entered into in hat part of the empire, in which oaths were administered, and engagements entered into, for the worst of purposes. To counteract these practices, a bill of the nature of the present was first introduced. If such practices were dangerous then, how much more so must they be in the present state of Europe and of the empire, and when the fate of Ireland was more closely linked than ever with the fate of this country, and of the continent ? He could not, under such circumstances, foresee that any material objections would be made to the bill, not only because it was brought forward in a milder shape than that in which the parliament of Ireland had passed it, but because it was known to have been in the contemplation of the late administration to bring forward a measure, little different from that which was now proposed, and with which, of course, the noble lords on the other side would not be much disposed to quarrel. In that hope, he should move that the bill be now read a second time.

Lord *Holland* rose, not to oppose the principle of the bill, or perhaps even its provisions, though there were some of them which he wished to see amended, but to give it an assent, which, however, was wrung from him with sorrow, and only by the gripe of an extreme and lamentable necessity. He felt it to be a necessity not only painful to his feelings, but degrading to his character as a member of that house. How long was the imperial parliament to continue to legislate for Ireland in the spirit of this measure, that is, in defiance of the best principles of the constitution, in the blessings of which we cannot allow that unfortunate country to participate? Were these the promises—are these the fruits of the union? But, if he was compelled to submit to the humiliation and the hardship of assenting to such a measure, the causes at least should be enquired into, which produced the dire necessity upon which alone it was attempted to be justified. These causes chiefly appeared to be, the disabilities that hung upon the Catholics in that distracted country, the pressure of the tithes, and the efforts that were systematically made to keep alive religious animosities between the Catholics and the Protestants in Ireland. On each of these causes, the noble lord descanted. He was well acquainted with the character of Irishmen, and no character did he ever see more conspicuously marked by benevolence, generosity, and courage : what, then, was it that created in that country those inextinguishable discontents which called so often for the enactment of measures like the present ? It must be something of a nature the most imperious, when it urged men to forego the blessings of civilized society itself, and the advantages of a constitution such as this country boasted of and was blessed with. That was the source of the evil which we were bound to explore ; and if it was duly explored, the remedy must soon be discovered. The fact was, the great majority of the people of Ireland were deprived of the full enjoyment of the constitution, and they felt themselves injured and degraded by the suspicions which gave rise to that deprivation. Englishmen loved and admired the constitution, because they enjoyed all its benefits; could it then be fairly expected that the people of Ireland should equally love and admire that constitution, from the full enjoyment of the benefits of which they were debarred? No, it was not in the nature of things; it was not in the composition of the human heart: indulge them in that fair enjoyment, and their murmurs would be appeased and silenced. As to the tithes, he was happy to think that ministers meditated some measure of relief, and if so, they so far should have his most cordial support. Would that they might also be brought to discountenance the means by which religious animosities were fomented in Ireland, where, by the principles instilled by the catechisms taught in the charter schools, the infant mind of the Protestant was poisoned with prejudices against the Catholic. Yet those who encourage that system of education, accuse the Catholic of uncharitableness and intolerance—the early vices which they themselves must be conscious they are indulging against those very persons to whom they impute. But was not that the height of uncharitableness? Was it not a refinement of tyranny, a tyranny that fell short of that which characterized that most accomplished of tyrants, Tiberius? In all that he had said, however, with respect to the exclusion of the Catholics from what he considered their rights, let him not be misunderstood to suppose, that it ought to be a motive on their part for disaffection, much less for forming a connection with another country. He could not blame them, under that exclusion, for loving the constitution a little less than the people of this country; but although their rights might be diminished, they would assuredly obtain no rights whatever, by connecting themselves with another country; they would obtain nothing but a government by the sword.

The Earl of *Limerick* was sorry to hear the language and the sentiments that fell from the noble lord, for they could be productive of no good. Why eternally introduce the claims of the Catholics? why insinuate that they had reason not to love the constitution, and that at a moment when they enjoyed almost every thing the constitution could bestow? If the noble lord wised to trace the cause of the discontents in Ireland, he perhaps might find them in this country, and trace them to such speeches as he himself had just made. He might also trace their object to the principles avowed by the leaders of the late rebellion in that country, who avowed themselves to have other objects in view than Catholic emancipation, or parliamentary reform. Against the operation of such principles it was that measures like the present must be adopted; and perhaps the more frequent enforcement of them might have prevented the spreading of disorders, and the mischiefs that sprung from them. He admired much the personal character of the noble duke who was lately at the head of the Irish government; but had that noble person allowed the county of Mayo to be proclaimed during the excesses of the Threshers, the contagion would not have spread into the adjoining counties, and many persons would have escaped from the sword of justice, who, on account of that injudicious lenity, had fallen under it. So little was the real state of Ireland understood, and consequently so ill adapted the means employed to govern it!

The Duke of *Bedford* felt himself called upon to answer so serious a charge as that which the noble earl had made against him, and which amounted to nothing less than that the blood of the unfortunate people who lost their lives in consequence of the late disturbances in Ireland must rest upon his head. In reply to this, he begged leave to state, that shortly after his arrival in Ireland, he received an application, not from the county of Mayo, but from the magistrates of the county of Sligo, to proclaim martial law there; but after every attention he could give to the subject, and after taking the best counsel he could procure, he thought so severe a measure unnecessary, and therefore resisted the application. He was satisfied in his own conscience, that his intentions were good. He had acted according to the best of his judgment, and he left it to the country to decide upon his conduct.

The Earl of *Limerick*, in explanation, observed, that he had never said that the blood of the people who had suffered was on the head of the noble duke. He had only stated his opinion, that if this law had been applied on the first appearance of the disturbances, the extension of the insurrection would have been prevented.

Lord *Kingston* contended, that the magistrates in the county of Sligo were the real promoters of the disturbances. The

nduct of many of them was such, as to
sgrace the magistracy; and some of them
ther deserved to be hanged than to be
ade magistrates. Indeed, he knew one
e of them, who had the halter round his
ck, during the rebellion: and if such
re the heads, how could the people be
ought to respect them?

The Earl of *Hardwicke* was inimical to
e practice of proclaiming districts where
could possibly be avoided. With re-
ect to the bill, its necessity had been so
rcibly urged to him by persons possessing
competent knowledge of the state of Ire-
nd, that he could not object to it.

Lord *Carleton* deprecated the tendency of
at line of argument which the noble lord
the opposite bench (lord Holland) had
ought proper to pursue, because he
ought that argument calculated to justify
e disturbances which had so long agita-
d Ireland. With regard to the state-
ents of the noble lords who had lately
esided over the government of Ireland,
could not admit that they should ope-
te against this bill. For although those
ble lords, in the circumstances which
ose during their respective administra-
ons, saw no necessity for acting on the
v which this bill proposed to re-enact, it
d not therefore follow that the bill was
necessary.

The Earl of *Hardwicke*, in explanation,
ated, that this bill was much more obnox-
us to him than the existing law, because
this bill the responsibility of those who
ere to execute the law was in a great mea-
re done away in consequence of the in-
oduction of new clauses.

The Earl of *Selkirk* declared, that it was
th the utmost reluctance he could give
s assent to any such measure as that be-
re the house; but being convinced of its
ecessity, he could not refuse to vote for
e bill. He was convinced of the import-
ce of conciliatory measures in Ireland,
d he fully concurred in the opinion that
thing was more rare, than that a general
irit of disaffection should prevail in any
untry, except through the faults of the
vernment. In Ireland, particularly, it
as evident that the prevailing disaffection
d proceeded from a long train of mis-
anagement: but this had been so long
ntinued, and its effects had become so
veterate, that it was impossible to remove
e evil at once. Conciliatory measures
ight do much with the help of time, but
eir effect could only be gradual and progressive. In the mean time, we knew that a violent spirit of disaffection was widely diffused, and against the immediate pressure of this danger it was absolutely necessary to guard. Where the people were affectionately disposed towards their rulers, the slightest exertion of authority might be sufficient to maintain the execution of the law: but if we should attempt to apply the same principles of conduct to a country, where so opposite a spirit prevailed as in Ireland, the most fatal effects might ensue. Experiencing, however, the excessive danger to which we were now exposed from the disaffection of Ireland, it was of the utmost importance not to rest satisfied with the measures of severity, to which we were compelled by the immediate pressure of danger, but to look forward, and take effectual measures for obtaining a radical and fundamental cure of the evil. The objections against the measure of Catholic emancipation he was convinced were groundless, and that the danger apprehended from putting power into the hands of the Catholics was imaginary. We now, indeed, saw the Catholics a formidable political party, closely combined among themselves; but if religious distinctions had never been made a ground of civil disabilities, that combination would never have existed. If civil disabilities were imposed on every man whose name began with a P, we should immediately force the P's to become a party, they would coalesce to obtain relief, and if violently opposed, they too would become violent and dangerous. If the Catholics were placed as to every civil privilege, on the same footing as other subjects, we should soon hear as little of the Catholics as a political party, as we hear of the faction of the P's. The only plausible argument to the contrary was founded on the ambition of the Romish clergy. Undoubtedly, it must be expected that they, like every other body of dissenting clergy, would cast a longing eye on the rich benefices of the established church. But there would be little to fear from the ambition of the Roman Catholic clergy, if the laity did not make a common cause with them. The true way, therefore, to disarm this danger, was to grant to the Roman Catholic laity all their separate objects. If the civil disabilities of the Catholics were repealed, there would be no longer any community of interest between their clergy and their laity. To understand the situation of Ireland, let us bring

the case home to ourselves; let us suppose that the invasion of the enemy should be successful, that our estates were to be parcelled out to French generals, that the property of every Englishman were to be abandoned as fair plunder to the French soldiery, that such of our gentry and yeomanry as should survive the ruin of their country, were forced to labour for their bread, beneath the contumelious taunts of a set of insolent foreigners, could any one believe that the people of England would soon be reconciled to their new masters, and would not eagerly grasp at any opportunity of throwing off the yoke? A long course of time might obliterate the memory of those galling circumstances, and, aided by a mild and conciliating policy, might blend the conquerors and the conquered into one people. But, if instead of a wise and conciliating policy, the intruders, giving way to their native insolence, should treat their subjects with contumely, abolish all their favourite institutions, insult their religion, and attempt to force an odious superstition upon them, seize every opportunity of marking contempt for their language and manners, and crown the whole by numerous instances of personal insult and oppression, would it be surprizing, if ages should elapse before the English nation were reconciled to their conquerors? And if such would be the feelings of Englishmen, could we wonder that the proscriptions of queen Elizabeth and James I., of Cromwell and of king William, should still excite indignation in the minds of the Irish? Among these causes of disaffection, religion had acquired an apparent consequence which did not naturally belong to it, as it had become the badge of national distinction, and the bond of union among men, sympathizing in the same indignant feelings. But religious intolerance was so far from being the main and original cause of Irish disaffection, that, in the native dialect of the Irish, there was not a word to express the distinction of Protestant and Roman Catholic, except the national appellation of an Englishman and an Irishman. Till we were prepared to grant the demands of the Catholics, partial concessions, yielded to importunity, would only serve to keep up a spirit of restlessness, and fan the flame of discontent. The expectations which some have entertained from the measure which was brought forward by the late administration, seemed to be most extravagant. The Catholics themselves disclaimed that measure, and yet we had heard noble lords speak as if it were at once to render the Irish a united people. With respect to the general question of Catholic Emancipation, the noble earl expressed his regret that the prevailing prejudices of this country were still so strong, that there was little probability that it could now be carried. These prejudices, however, were evidently on the decline. Notwithstanding all the attempts that had lately been made to raise a cry of No Popery, that cry had had but a very partial success; and when this was compared with the events of the year 1780, it afforded decisive proof of a progress in the public mind. That progress would assuredly go on, and the time might be anticipated, when it would be as little in the power of any minister to resist the measure of Catholic emancipation, as it would now be to carry it. The Roman Catholics might safely trust their cause to the effects of this progress in the public mind: and those could not be considered as their real friends, who should force on any premature attempt to carry through the measure before circumstances were ripe for it.—The bill was then read a second time.

[AMERICAN INDEMNITY BILL.] The following is a copy of the Preamble moved by lord Holland on the report of the American Indemnity bill. (see page 806.) "Whereas, by an act of parliament made in the 12th year of his late majesty king Charles II, intitled "An act for the encouraging and increasing of trade and navigation;" It is, among other things, enacted, "That no goods or commodities, "whatsoever, of the growth, produce, or "manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, "or any part thereof, be imported into "England, Ireland, or Wales, Islands of "Guernsey and Jersey, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, in any other ship or "ships, vessel or vessels whatsoever, but "in such as do truly and without fraud belong only to the people of England or "Ireland, dominion of Wales, or town of "Berwick upon Tweed, or of the lands, "islands, plantations, or territories, in Asia, "Africa, or America, to his majesty belonging, as the proprietors and right owners thereof."—And whereas by an act of parliament made in the 12th year of his late majesty king Charles II. intitled, "A subsidy granted to the king, of Tonnage and Poundage, and other sums of money payable upon merchandize exported and imported," it is declared, that "No rates can be imposed on merchandize imported or exported by subjects or aliens, but by common consent in parliament."—And ereas in the preamble of an act of par- ment made in the reign of their late ma- sties king William and queen Mary; in- led, "An act declaring the Rights and Li- rties of the Subject, and settling the Suc- ssion of the Crown," it is among other ings declared, "That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of parliament, is illegal, and that levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretence of prerogative without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal." And pursuance of the same, it is declared d enacted in the said act, "That all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and shall so be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration, and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come."—And hereas the navigation and commerce be- ween the people of this kingdom and the eople of the united states of America, ave, or ought to have, been carried on ac- ording to law, and the customs and duties rising from the same, have, or ought to ave been regulated and collected, under ne authority of sundry acts of parliament nade in his present majesty's reign; the ast of which made in the 47th of his reign, id cease and determine on the first of une last. And whereas, on the 27th of pril last, his majesty was advised to pro- ogue the parliament then sitting and two ays thereafter, without any reason or ne- essity, to dissolve the same by his royal pro- lamation, before any act had passed for le- alizing the commerce and navigation be- ween the people of this kingdom and the eople of the united states of America; af- er the expiration of the said act, or for au- horizing the collection of the duties and ustoms arising therefrom after the expira- ion of the same: and whereas, it would have een of material inconvenience to his ma- sty's government and to the people of this kingdom, if in consequence of the said abrupt, uncalled for, and unprecedented dissolution of parliament, without any provision for the continuance of the said commerce and navigation, or for the collection of the said duties, the said commerce and navigation had been actually interrupted, or the payment of the said duties actually suspended, and therefore in the circumstances to which this kingdom had been reduced by the said abrupt dissolution of parliament, it was expedient to continue the same, though contrary to law and inconsistent with the provisions of sundry acts of parliament hereinbefore recited. And whereas, it is expedient in order to prevent so dangerous a practice from being drawn into example, that, notwithstanding the said violations of law, particularly of the act of Charles II, commonly called the Navigation Act, of the act made in the 12th year of the same reign, for conferring tonnage and poundage on that monarch, and of the act made in the first of William and Mary, commonly called the Bill of Rights, a bill of indemnity now be passed in favour of all persons, who, since the first of June, have been concerned in the said illicit commerce and navigation between this kingdom and the said united states of America, or in the collection of the said illicit duties and customs arising therefrom, or who, being bound to prevent such illicit practices, have tolerated or connived at the same."

[Protests against the American Indemnity Bill.] The following Protests were entered against the American Indemnity bill:

"Dissentient; 1st, Because it ought to be shewn on behalf of those whom it is proposed to indemnify for a violation of the law, not only that their act was necessary to preserve the public from injury, but that this necessity was not induced by their fault. In the case on which the house has decided, the necessity was created by his majesty's ministers themselves, who advised the dissolution of the last parliament, when the consequence must evidently be, that the trade and interest of the public would suffer material injury, or that the power of the crown must be exerted against law, and in manifest derogation of the common liberty.—2d, Because, if on the one hand, the principle of the constitution requires that the power of dissolution should reside in the crown, it is not less true, on the other, that the power of parliament over the public purse, and the right of the two houses, exclusively to advise his majesty in the making, repealing, suspending and altering of laws, is the proper constitutional check upon this prerogative. But if it be admitted that a dissolution of parliament is in itself sufficient to justify the continuing beyond the term fixed by parliament, and by the sole authority of the crown, the operation of any legislative provision, and particularly of an act of Supply, the power of the purse, and the legislative functions of both houses, would be virtually transferred to the crown, and all the securities which the constitution has provided for the due administration of his majesty's affairs, and for the property and liberty of the whole nation, would be utterly invalidated and destroyed.—3d, Because at the time of the late dissolution all the measures recommended by government having been adopted, all the supplies granted, and no difference existing between the two houses, or between his majesty and his parliament, it is evident that there was no urgent political and public necessity which could warrant the exposing government to an alternative so serious and important as that which is the subject of the present proceeding."—CARYSFORT for the two first reasons: "And moreover, because the pretences alledged for the dissolution of parliament, viz. the dismissal of the late administration, the discussions which arose upon it, and the causes which led to it were not, in my judgement, sufficient to justify those who advised so unusual an exercise of prerogative, together with a consequent breach of the law and an acknowledged invasion of the rights of the subject.—The notion that either on the bare removal of a ministry, or in consequence of motions purporting to criminate the advisers of the crown, parliament may and ought to be dissolved, has a direct tendency to subvert the freedom of debate, to break the independent spirit of the commons house of parliament, and to render that branch of the legislature the subservient organ of the minister of the day.—Nor can any just plea for an extraordinary exercise of prerogative and manifest violation of law be founded on the measures projected by the late administration in favour of Roman Catholics and other dissenters; measures always reconcileable to the true principles of wisdom and justice, and now not only imperiously called for by the exigencies of the times, but absolutely necessary to the safety of the united empire. VASSALL HOLLAND, ROSSLYN."

"Dissentient; 1st, Because the amendment to the preamble moved upon the report was rejected by the house.—2d, Because though a bill of Indemnity unquestionably implies that the law has been violated, and though it was admitted in debate, that nothing but necessity can possibly justify the violation of law; yet the frequency and facility with which bills of indemnity have of late years been granted, the sacred nature of the law which has in this instance been transgressed, and the circumstances which gave rise to the necessity, seemed to me to call for some more solemn declaration of the constitutional principles, which by such transgressions of the law are manifestly violated, than a simple recital of the necessity of the violation, and an immediate and unqualified indemnity for it, without reference to the events which produced that necessity, or to the peculiar nature of the illegal measure itself.—3d, Because the principles which have in this instance been violated are so sacred and fundamental in our constitution, that at all seasons and upon all occasions, even if the ground of necessity were incontrovertibly proved, it would become the dignity of the house of lords, and would be consistent with that jealous and independent spirit, which, where the privileges of the subject are concerned, should always characterize a British parliament, scrupulously and anxiously to record, in the instrument of indulgence itself, their sense of those invaluable rights; the infringement of which nothing but an over-ruling necessity had or could have induced them to overlook.—The right by which the subject is exempted from all taxes not granted by common consent of parliament, has at all times been deemed by sound constitutional lawyers, and has frequently been recognized by parliament itself, to be coeval with the frame and constitution of the kingdom, and has repeatedly and solemnly been declared and secured by charters of our princes and acts of our legislature.—By the great charter of our liberties, in the reign of king John, no aid or scutage can be levied on the kingdom without the consent of the common council of the nation. By the statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, in the reign of Edward I. First, no tallage or aid can be levied by the ing without consent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and as in the frequent remonstrances of the parliaments of Edward III. * the jealous attachment of our ancestors to this fundamental maxim of our constitution is recorded, so in the impeachment, condemnation and punishment of the lord Latimer, which took place at the close of that reign †, their determination to enforce it is strongly exemplified: and at subsequent and later periods of our history the endeavours of our forefathers were uniformly, but more particularly in the petition of rights in 1627, and in the acts of Charles II.‡ recited in the rejected preamble, directed to the solemn recognition and perpetual security of this inestimable privilege. And finally, in that solemn act of the legislature, commonly called the Bill of Rights ||, the levying money without consent of parliament, and the dispensing with laws, both which practices have in this instance occurred, are declared and enacted to be illegal.—It seemed, therefore, to me no light or trivial matter, no ordinary or indifferent proceeding, to indemnify persons for the violation of such fundamental maxims of the constitution, and prudence required a solemn and studious declaration of the great delicacy and importance of the transaction, a precaution which the frequency of such bills, and the repeated, though, perhaps, unpremeditated exertions of such illegal authority of late years, have in my judgement rendered indispensably necessary.

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* 34 Edw. I. stat. 4.

VASSALL HOLLAND."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 29.

[SIERRA LEONE COMPANY'S BILL.] On the motion for the third reading of this bill,

Mr. *Dent* rose, and observed, that the grants made by parliament to the company had been claimed for the purpose of introducing civilization into Africa. The company, however, had failed in their projects. The sums granted them amounted in all to about 109,000*l.* This sum, as they had not executed the purpose for which it was granted, ought now to be refunded; for he did not think that parliament should be made to pay for the fanciful notions of any set of men.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that when gentlemen spoke of the sums of money that had been voted to the Sierra Leone company, they should consider that a great proportion of those sums were paid to support those men whom government must otherwise have been at the expense of supporting. The first class of those men were the blacks, who had served with the British army in the contest with America, and after that contest had been sent into Nova Scotia. Having sent a memorial to the government, complaining of the coldness of the climate to which they were sent, the government applied to the Sierra Leone company, to admit them into a colony much more congenial to their constitutions than the climate of Nova Scotia was. The company then accepted, in the first place, of nearly 1000 Nova-Scotia blacks, which government must, otherwise, have been at the expence of maintaining. Afterwards, when it became an object of policy to expel the Maroons from the island of Jamaica, government again applied to the company to take them, and they most unwillingly accepted of 5 or 6 hundred of these men. Those 1500 men, who otherwise would have been chargeable to the government, had been maintained by the company for a considerable number of years; and he hoped that it would be taken into the account, when the aids were mentioned which the company had received from government. The reason of the failure of the company in its principal objects was the continuance of the slave trade, which they had on the best ground calculated would have been abolished many years ago. Still, however, in the end, he trusted this colony would produce the happiest effects in the civilization of mankind. Like all other colonies, it had great difficulties to encounter in its outset; but he trusted it had taken deep root, and would be the means of civilizing a considerable portion of Africa. These higher objects ought not to be lost sight of. Those who thought most highly of the West-India colonies ought to be the best friends of this settlement, for they must be convinced that this country owed a great debt to Africa.

Mr. *Eden* allowed that the object of the company had in a great measure failed;

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* 13 Edw. III. Rot. Parl. § 5. c. 13; 14 Edw. III. stat. 1. cap. 21; 14 Edw. III. stat. 2. cap. 1; 17 Edw. III. Rot. Parl. § 28; 21 Edw. III. Rot. Parl. § 11, 16; 25 Edw. III. Rot. Parl. § 12; 36 Edw. III. Rot. Parl. § 18; 36 Edw. III. cap. 11. † 50 Edw. III. Rot. Parl. § 20, 28. ‡ 3 Car. I. cap. 2; 16 Car. I. cap. 8; 12 Car. II. cap. 4. || 1 Gul. et Mar. sess. 2. cap. 2.

but the question was, what was the cheapest mode of maintaining the Nova-Scotians and Maroons which must be a charge on government? It would be cheaper to maintain them where they were than to remove them to any other place. He rested his assent to the bill on that ground, for he did not expect much from the project of civilization.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, that if his hon. friend would consider the real circumstances of the case, he must be convinced, that if the projects of the company for promoting civilization had not been more extensive, it was because the views under which they were formed had been defeated, by parliament not having sooner effected the abolition of the slave trade, and he thought it was highly unreasonable to talk of calling on the company for a reimbursement of the sums advanced to them, without at the same time giving them credit for the maintenance of the Maroons and Nova-Scotians, entirely defrayed by them, and which otherwise must have been defrayed from the public purse.

Mr. *Fuller* said, that he always conceived the sums of money advanced by government to the Sierra Leone company as done entirely with a view to conciliate the support of a certain description of gentlemen within these walls, and he thought it impossible for the committee of finance to overlook so flagrant a waste of the public money, without recommending that the reimbursement should be made by the company, which he thought should be done amongst the wealthy bankers and merchants who composed that company.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that unless the company had taken the Nova-Scotians and Maroons, the country must have paid 26,000*l.* annually for their maintenance. If, therefore, the money received by the company was to be refunded, they would be entitled to come with their bill for the maintenance of these people.

Lord *H. Petty* supported the same principle, and considered the government bound to continue its protection to the black inhabitants of Sierra Leone, whom it would be the most cruel injustice to abandon, after the fidelity and attachment they had manifested to the British government.

Mr. *H. Thornton* said, that he wished the house to understand in what sense he considered the undertaking at Sierra Leone to have answered, and in what sense not to have answered; since it was important that just sentiments should be entertained in respect to the great subject of African civilization. The company had been instituted at a period, as they had imagined, of profound peace, and strong hopes had been entertained of an early abolition of the slave trade. In both these points they had been remarkably disappointed. Another great cause, however, of the disappointment of their original plans, had been the introduction of a very great and untoward body of Nova-Scotians into this colony, by whom a completely new character had been given to the undertaking. No less than 11 or 1200 colonists being received into the settlement, it had become the primary duty to provide for their maintenance and well-being, and a most heavy charge had been the consequence. The idea of establishing a considerable trade with the interior, which was one part of the original intention, had, partly through the causes which he had mentioned, and partly through a war with the natives, been relinquished; the idea of profit to the proprietors, if entertained by any of them, had vanished; the hope of making great and early progress in civilizing the surrounding natives had also been disappointed; still, however, he had the satisfaction of saying, that both the Nova-Scotians and the Maroons, amounting to 11 or 1200, had gradually improved in character, and that there now, therefore, existed a body of colonists on the coast of Africa, speaking the English language, attached to the English people, advancing in civilization and morals, and increasing in numbers, from whom, undoubtedly, and from whose children, this country might hope to derive substantial advantages. Some foundation at least had been laid, on which the government might build if they should think proper, and if circumstances should favour. The colony, as he thought, in whatever sense it might be said to have failed, had afforded proof of the practicability of civilizing Africa. What were the great impediments to the improvements of a country? Either something, first, in the climate; or, secondly, in the soil; or, thirdly, in the character of the inhabitants. The climate of Sierra Leone had now been shewn by experience to be about as good as that of other tropical countries. The soil had proved in many parts of it highly favourable to tropical produce. A very good and a new species of coffee had been found naturally to grow there, and most other articles, cultivated in the West Indies, were indigenous. Natives also had been willing to work as free labourers, and at reasonable rates. In no one of these respects was there any insuperable obstacle to civilization. This country, moreover, was expressly bound to take charge of the Maroons, and to bear the expence of providing for them, by the terms on which the Sierra Leone company had received them, and the Nova-Scotians had also some claim to consideration. Sierra Leone, indeed, now assumed nearly the same character as various other African forts to which parliament had been used to grant from 20,000*l*. to 30,000*l*. per annum. It would be, therefore, for the government to consider how many and which of the several forts they would maintain, and he believed that they would find many circumstances to favour the maintenance among others of the Sierra Leone settlement. He had himself long wished to see this colony transferred to government, having been very unwilling to come annually to parliament for the grant of a sum, of which he, as one of the directors, was to be the dispenser, and of which some gentlemen were every year questioning the propriety. The grant was now about to cease, and it would be for the parliament and the government to act hereafter as might, under all the circumstances, appear expedient.—The bill was then passed.

[COMPLAINT RESPECTING THE POOLE WRIT.] Colonel *Wood* presented a petition on behalf of W. Spurrier, who was committed into the custody of the serjeant at arms, for his conduct on the subject of the Poole Writ; stating that he had been guilty of a breach of the privilege of the house, and thereby incurred its serious displeasure; and being now fully sensible of his misconduct, most humbly begged pardon for it, and he threw himself on the mercy of the house, humbly hoping that this his contrition might be accepted, and that the house would forgive him, &c. The petition being read, colonel Wood moved, that the petitioner be brought to the bar to-morrow, in order to be discharged.

The *Secretary at War* called the attention of the house to the case. The petitioner had kept possession of the writ for 17 days. His son was at first a candidate, and then another in his interest, so that he had very interested motives on this occasion. He acted with a view of turning the election in favour of his family. He had no wish to prevent the lenity of the house being extended to this gentleman, but this was a very bad example. He trusted some provision would be made to prevent a recurrence of the offence.

Mr. *Fuller* agreed in the sentiments of the right hon. baronet.

Mr. *W. Smith* thought this case more serious in its nature than that of Mr. Brundrett; the one being a mere agent, the other a sort of principal in misconduct. This gentleman stated, that he paid 30 guineas for having the writ, and that his object was only to keep it in safe custody. It was impossible to credit this assertion. There had hardly ever been so bad a case as this before the house, upon a subject of this nature, although there was one about 40 years ago something like it. He wished a stop to be put to such practices in future. He would not oppose any lenity which gentlemen wished to shew in this instance, but the case was really a serious one.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* admitted the offence of the petitioner to be serious, but he could not help wishing that the hon. gent. who spoke last had expressed his disapprobation of it when the case of Mr. Brundrett was before the house, when nothing but lenity was talked of on that side of the house. He had no objection to a parliamentary enactment to prevent such practices in future, but he saw no particular reason for being rigorous in this case.

Mr. *Rose* said, he should certainly feel himself disposed to inflict a more severe degree of punishment both on Brundrett and Spurrier, had he not been well assured that a bill was about to be brought into parliament, that would prevent such shameful and abusive practices. It should be enacted, that as soon as the clerk of the crown had made out the writs, they should be immediately transmitted by post to the different sheriffs, under a certain penalty.

Lord *H. Petty* thought the house justified in the lenity it shewed on the last occasion when the subject was discussed, nor had he any objection to the lenity now proposed. He wished the house to proceed to the immediate adoption of some measure to prevent this mischief in future.

Mr. *Barham* admitted the impropriety of the practice in which this petitioner was concerned; but reminded the house that too many of its own members were intimately acquainted with, if not implicated in something of the same kind; but he wished the house to stand well with the public, which it would never do by wreaking its vengeance on an individual, for doing only that which was well known to attach to others, and had so long passed unnoticed. If the house wished to continue in possession of the public confidence, and without it the country could not be saved, it would not be rigorous upon an individual for that sort of conduct which although reprobated in the house, was too often practised out of it. If members wished to be strict in this business, let them begin with themselves. He made these general observations from his feelings, without reference to any individual: of Mr. Spurrier he knew nothing; had never spoken to him, but he loved an impartial administration of justice.

Mr. *Pole Carew* cautioned the house as to attempts to remedy this evil, and reminded it of the fate of former efforts of that kind.

Mr. *Bingham* expressed himself extremely glad at the lenity of the punishment that was inflicted on the prisoner, and the more especially, when he considered the character of that high tribunal before whom the prisoner stood; they were both the judges and the jury in the case, and they acted worthy of their high character in administering justice with mercy.

Mr. *Lushington* moved an amendment, that instead of the petitioner being brought up to-morrow, he should be brought up tomorrow se'nnight.

Mr. *S. Thornton* thought this case the most extraordinary he had heard of in the course of the 24 years he had sat in parliament. He should vote for the amendment.

Mr. *Windham* thought rigour the less necessary in this case, as the house was about to provide a remedy against this evil occurring in future: for the great object of punishment was the prevention of crimes.

Mr. *Wilberforce* was disposed to vote for the more severe punishment, on account of the answer which the petitioner gave to the house yesterday; but on account of his age and infirmity, he should not oppose any lenity which might be proposed to be shewn to him.

Mr. *Lockhart* thought the house had been somewhat remiss in not promulgating the law upon this subject, and was therefore disposed to be lenient in the present instance.—The house then divided. For the original motion 45; for the amendment 29; majority 16.

[VACCINE INOCULATION: — REWARD TO DR. JENNER.] The house having resolved itself into a committee of supply,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose to call the attention of the committee to the Report of the Royal College of Physicians, respecting the mode discovered by Dr. Jenner, of preventing the small-pox, the severest infliction, as a disease, to which mankind was subject. Whatever might have been the origin of the discovery, it had never been known, before that gentleman made it public, that the Vaccine disease could be communicated by inoculation. If that discovery should prevent the small-pox, it was hardly possible to characterize its value in terms too strong. When the committee considered the advantages that had already resulted from it, and that would in future result from it, when the prejudice that existed against it should subside, he was sure the committee would not consider the proposition he meant to make extravagant, but liberal and just to the individual. Nothing was so difficult as to fix upon any standard, whereby to measure what should be the grant of that house upon such an occasion. The subject had been under the consideration of parliament some years since, but then there had not been time to satisfy the house of the value of the discovery, and therefore only 10,000*l.* had been voted to Dr. Jenner, instead of 20,000*l.* which his friends had proposed. The enquiry that had been recently made, was perfectly satisfactory to his mind, and consequently he proposed to move a grant of 10,000*l.* which, with the sum already granted to Dr. Jenner, would amount to the sum originally proposed by his friends to be voted to him. It was unnecessary for him to urge any more arguments in support of his proposition, to those who had read the Report. If they assumed, that the inoculation for the small-pox was a benefit to mankind, they might then be able to estimate how much greater a benefit this discovery was, which, as appeared by the report, was a certain security against the small-pox. It appeared, that of those who had that disease naturally, one in six died, whilst of those inoculated for that disease, only one in 300 died. But of 164,381 cases of persons vaccinated, only three had died, which made the mortality only one in 54,741. It would be impossible after that statement, to represent more favourably the advantages of the discovery. And when the deaths and all the cases of inconvenience that had occurred, in that number of cases were aken together, they amounted to 179 only out of the 164,381, which was an infinitely smaller proportion than the actual mortality by the inoculation for the small-pox. But it was not this country alone that was benefited by the discovery, the whole world participated in the advantages resulting from it. An objection might be made to the utility of the discovery, because it tended to increase population, but he should prefer the principles of practical humanity, in preserving life where it existed, to the encouragement of those checks mentioned by Mr. Malthus, whereby population might be kept down. If they were to go into a calculation of the number of lives that had been saved by the discovery, and the expence to the public pared by the diminution of the number of persons in the hospitals, they might have a mean of estimating the advantages of this important discovery. On all these grounds, he would move the committee, "That a sum, not exceeding 10,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to be paid to doctor Edward Jenner, as a further reward for promulgating his discovery of the Vaccine Inoculation, by which a mild, efficacious, and not contagious mode of superseding that dreadful malady the Small-Pox is established; and that the same be issued and paid without any fee or other deduction whatsoever."

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* declared it was with extreme regret he opposed the motion. He entertained for Dr. Jenner the most sincere respect, yet he could not think that this was a period for disposing of 10,000*l.* where it appeared by the Report of the college of physicians, which shewed that in 50 or 60 instances, at least, the plan had not succeeded, that, at the least, it was not infallible. The late period of the session, when so many members were necessarily out of town, was also a sufficient reason with him for withholding his approbation to the proposed motion. It had been said that Dr. Jenner had discovered the invention for which a reward was now sought to be conferred. He begged, however, to state that a similar practice had been entertained in Dorsetshire since the year 1777.

Lord *H. Petty* contended, that infallibility ought not to be made the test of great discoveries, which ought rather to be estimated by general averages. He was disposed to go farther than the right hon. chancellor of the exchequer, though he should not take upon him to make any specific proposition to the committee. There was no standard, whereby a great public discovery could be estimated, that would not enhance the value of Dr. Jenner's discovery, if tried by it. If considered with reference to the national benefits resulting from it—to the advantages that he might have derived from his discovery, if he had not published it to the world—to the effect it had in raising the fame, the honour, and the character of the country—there was no standard for estimating the merit of any public discovery under which Dr. Jenner would not have a peculiar claim upon the gratitude and liberality of the house. It appeared by the Report, that the deaths by the small-pox had increased since the discovery; and though he should not wish to use any compulsion, or to interfere with the liberty that all persons should have, to act as they thought most adviseable for their own health, or for that of their family, still he was of opinion, that persons who preferred the inoculation for the small-pox, should not be allowed to endanger the health of others. Such persons, in his opinion, ought to be confined to their houses whilst affected by the disease, and not suffered to spread infection through the community. If any proof were wanted of the value of the discovery, it would be found in the ready reception which it had met with from all nations, even the least enlightened of Asia, where prejudices were most deeply rooted. It was highly gratifying too to witness the zeal with which the gentlemen of the medical profession, not only in the metropolis, but in all parts of the country, had promoted the interests of humanity, by adopting and acting upon this important discovery.

General *Tarleton* bore testimony to the value of the discovery, from the number of the military whose lives had been saved by it. It was, besides, an important circumstance, that the troops on recovery might leave their barracks, and others succeed them without any danger of infection. Military men were said to be most fond of praising great conquerors, but, in his opinion, this gentleman who saved the lives of millions, was entitled to more praise than the most successful conqueror.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* concurred entirely with the noble lord, in the whole of what he had advanced, but most particularly so in the necessity there was for the adoption of some legislative measure, to prevent persons from bringing intentionally infectious diseases into large and populous cities and towns, which must be the case in again introducing the inoculation for the small-pox. He had been informed it was the practice of the Small-pox Hospital, to inoculate out-patients, and that those persons, so inoculated, were obliged to pass from their several lodgings and places of abode, two or three times a week, in order to be examined at the hospital, than which nothing could, in his mind, be more calculated to disseminate infection, and to spread the ravages of that dreadful and malignant disorder. He hoped, therefore, some legislative measure would soon be adopted on that subject. As to the motion now under the consideration of the committee, it had his hearty concurrence.

Mr. *Hawkins Browne* said, he believed his hon. friend was not correct in what he had stated as to the Small-pox Hospital. He was not prepared at the moment to speak decisively on the subject, but he believed, though it had formerly been the practice of the Small-pox Hospital to inoculate out-door patients, they had not done so lately. He was one of the governors of that hospital, and he knew they were very favourable to the practice of vaccination. If, however, what had been stated by his hon. friend were true, it would certainly deserve the consideration of the house to put a stop to such injurious proceedings. He thought, however, there had not been sufficient notice taken of one point, viz. that this mode of inoculation was not subject to infection, and that therefore it was not liable to the serious objections made against inoculation for the small-pox. When this subject was formerly before the house, he had voted for the smaller sum; but he did not mean thereby to confine himself to it, in case the discovery should be found to be attended with those advantages which had since been found to result from it; and he had no doubt in his mind, but if the then chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Pitt) were now alive, and in that high office, he would now vote for the additional sum, though he also had then opposed it. He could wish this motion to be amended by the insertion of the words, "that this mode of inoculation was not liable to infection."

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* said, in answer to the last hon. gent. that he could assure the committee he was correct in what he had stated as to the Small-pox Hospital, which he shewed by a statement of their own, by which it appeared they had inoculated 2245 persons in a year. In having done this, he meant no imputation on them; on the contrary, he believed, as his hon. friend who spoke last had very truly mentioned, that the governors and professors were favourable to vaccination, and he hoped they would themselves put an end to the practice of inoculating out-patients, and thereby prevent the necessity of any legislative measure as to them.

Mr. *Morris* said, the great merit of this discovery was, that it exterminated the disease, whereas all other modes of inoculation increased it, by being liable to infection, and it had been indisputably proved, that since inoculation there had been more deaths than before it. He thought the sum proposed was too small. Dr. Jenner had dedicated his whole time to it, and had he not succeeded, his name would have been a bye-word among the people, and among those of his own profession in particular. He thought that he deserved from the country which he had so much benefited, a sum of money that would enable him to live in a state of ease, affluence, and independence, for the remainder of his days. He should therefore propose, as an amendment, that instead of the words 10,000*l.* those of 20,000*l.* be inserted. He assured the house, that though he had spoken warmly on the subject, he was not at all acquainted with Dr. Jenner, nor any of his immediate connexions, but was actuated by a thorough conviction in his own mind that the doctor was fully entitled to this additional remuneration. The hon. and learned gent. concluded by moving his amendment.

Sir *John Sebright* most cordially seconded the motion.

Mr. *Herbert* spoke in favour of the amendment. He said, he thought, in such a case as this, the house should have regard to what had been done in former cases of original discoveries. In that of the discovery of the longitude, they had offered 20,000*l.*, and he was of opinion, that for a more extensive and more advantageous discovery, they should not think of voting a lesser sum.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, he was one of those who, on a former occasion, had voted for the lesser sum, because he wished, as far as they were compatible, to act at the same time on the principles of liberality and economy. An hon. gent. had said, that this differed from all other discoveries, because it came out at once matured and ripe for practice; this he believed to be truly correct, for a medical friend of his had assured him, that he had received a particular account of this discovery from Dr. Jenner 10 years before he made it known to the public; which shewed that he had not suffered himself to be hurried on by any private advantage, but had wisely deferred bringing it forward till it was in a state which was susceptible of immediate and general practice. If he had brought it out for his own private advantage, he might unquestionably have made a fortune by it; but he was above such self-interested considerations, and, from the first publication of it, he was always desirous to instruct every practitioner how to proceed with the best prospect of success. Dr. Jenner himself had never experienced any failure in his practice, though others had; but that was not to be wondered at, when it was considered what vast numbers of apothecaries and other practitioners there were throughout the country, and how very different and unequal their abilities in the profession. Dr. Jenner had thrown the discovery at once before the public, which had rapidly been conveyed to all countries, and, from the simplicity and perspicuity of the process recommended by him, in the short space of ten years, it had been spread to all parts of the habitable globe. It had made its way, and was universally adopted in Turkey, in the East Indies, and the immensely extensive territories of China; in all which it had met with the most unexampled success, and had saved the lives of millions of people in those various populous countries. If Dr. Jenner had acted thus generously and thrown himself on the liberality of the public, he ought to be rewarded; and that such reward might be commensurate to his merit, he should be for the larger sum, and support the amendment; but, if it should meet the approbation of the committee, he owned he would rather prefer a farther amendment of his own, and propose, that an annuity of 1000*l.* should be voted, in addition to the sum of 10,000*l.* in the original motion of that evening. His reason for this was, that in consequence of this discovery having become so universally known and adopted, Dr. Jenner had become a person of great fame and character abroad. No man was so much or so speedily enquired for by foreigners, on their arrival in this country; no man more sought after. He was, of course, under the necessity of being accessible to them; and it was impossible to be so, without incurring considerable expence. This annuity, in addition to the sum originally moved for this evening, would enable him to enjoy, through life, his country's grateful sense of the benefits derived from his labours and his talents. He had, by dedicating so much of his time to divulging his discovery in the most extensive way, lost his practice at Gloucester and at Cheltenham; and he begged gentlemen to recollect, that when this subject was formerly before the house, it had been said that Dr. Jenner would be able to compensate himself by his practice; but the contrary had actually been the fact, and he had made the practice so universally and so clearly known, that he was frequently less consulted in town than many others. Dr. Jenner generally attended his (Mr. Wilberforce's) children; but on one or two occasions, when there was thought a necessity of applying for medical assistance, and Dr. Jenner was not immediately in the way, he had instantly sent to another person, without any apprehension of his not being completely acquainted with the whole system. Under these circumstances, he would vote for the larger sum, but should prefer his own plan of an annuity.

Mr. *Windham* approved highly of the system of vaccination. Although no country could give too much as a reward for such a benefit, yet there ought to be limits. In the present case, it was the misfortune of the inventor, that the extent and value of his discovery was so great, because the magnitude of that extent and value rendered it difficult to determine how much he merited. He should vote for the larger sum of 20,000*l.* and principally from taking a view of the subject totally neglected by those who had spoken before him. These right hon. members had forgotten that the tendency of the vaccine inoculation was to exterminate the small-pox completely, and thus to free mankind from the most dreadful scourge inflicted by the hand of Heaven.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought it material to state, that an annuity could not be voted without the previous form of a committee of the whole house, or without a message from his majesty. Under every consideration of the subject, he thought the sum originally proposed was just what ought to be voted. He commended the care taken by the Speaker to disseminate the conviction of the established authenticity of this discovery, by causing an extraordinary number of copies of the report of the college of physicians to be printed, and to be judiciously distributed through the country. He again defended the originally proposed vote, as most reasonable and proper.

Mr. *W. Smith* thought, that in order to constitute the grant or reward, the expences Dr. Jenner had been at ought to be previously paid. Dr. Jenner could prove, that he had expended more than the original sum voted to him, in propagating the discovery, before the vote had passed. He cited from a Madrid gazette of October last, an account of the honours done to a medical person, sent to communicate the vaccine inoculation in all the foreign possessions of Spain, upon his return from his mission. He cited reports from various parts of the world, stating the success of vaccination, particularly in our Indian possessions. He trusted that under these circumstances, the larger reward would be voted.

Mr. *Whitbread* maintained the propriety of voting the larger sum. He was the more particularly interested in recommending this discovery to remuneration, as it had contributed infinitely to the relief of the poor, in whose cause he was now particularly engaged. If this opportunity of conferring an adequate reward should be passed by, it would never return.

Mr. *Fuller* also supported the enlarged motion. He thought something ought to be done, to prevent inoculation for the small-pox, otherwise the discovery would not have its full effect.

After a few words in support of the larger grant, from Mr. Baring, Mr. Rose jun. and sir C. Pole, the house divided: For the larger grant 60; For the smaller 47; Majority 13.

[Poor Relief Bill.] Mr. *Whitbread* moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the Poor's Relief bill.—On the clause relating to Settlement, a conversation took place between Mr. Morris, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Calvert, Mr. D. Giddy, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Pole Carew, Mr. Rose, Mr. S. Bourne, and the Solicitor-General.

Mr. *S. Bourne* proposed that the blank should be filled up with the words "ten years," instead of "five."

Mr. *Whitbread* was willing to admit the introduction of "seven years."—A division ensued; for the ten years 32, against it 25: majority 7.

Mr. *W. Smith* moved for the admission into the clause of a proviso that it should not extend to Norwich.

After some observations by Mr. Whitbread, this motion was negatived without a division.—A long discussion then took place on the question, "that the above clause so amended, stand part of the bill;" which terminated in a division: For the clause 23; against it 30; majority 7.

Mr. *Whitbread* then declared his intention of abandoning the bill for the present session, and the chairman left the chair.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 30.

[Minutes.] The Irish Insurrection bill went through the committee, and was reported. Lord Kingston rose to observe, that he felt it incumbent on him to take notice of a misrepresentation which had gone abroad in a morning paper, of the few remarks he had made in the course of the debate on the second reading of the Irish Insurrection bill. As he did not imagine such a misrepresentation could be intentional, he should take no advantage of any privilege the house might possess of calling the printer to the bar, but he wished it to be understood, that he meant not the least disrespect to the magistrates of the county of Sligo. What he pointed to was, the case of a person in the county of Wexford, who, during the late rebellion in Ireland, had a halter round his neck, and was actually on the point of being hanged.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 30.

[Complaint respecting the Poole Writ.] Mr. William Spurrier, on the motion of colonel Wood, was brought to the bar, where he received the following reprimand from the Speaker, and was ordered to be discharged out of custody, paying his fees:

"William Spurrier; Complaint having "been made, that the execution of the "last writ of election for the town and "county of the town of Poole had been "unduly delayed, several persons have "been examined at the bar of this house "touching that transaction, and by their "evidence the writ has been traced into "your hands. Upon your own examination it has appeared, although not without many endeavours at concealment on "your part, that you procured the writ "and detained it for a long period of time, "from motives of undue favour and partiality, to the hindrance of that election, and in breach of the privileges of this house. That such misconduct might not go altogether unpunished, you were thereupon committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms; and if this house has forborne, upon this occasion, to press upon you with any greater severity, it has not been because it deemed your offence to be light or venial; but because, having in its contemplation to prevent the like offence in future by other measures, it has thought that any further severity of punishment in your instance, for the purpose of example, was become unnecessary. And now, your petition having shewn that you entertain a proper sense of your own misconduct, this house has, in compliance with its prayer, directed that you be discharged; and you are discharged accordingly."—The above reprimand was orderd, *nem. con.*, to be entered in the journals.

[East-India Company's Bonds Bill.] n the motion for the third reading of this ill,

Mr. *Creevey* said, when he formerly expressed a wish that the further progress in his bill should be postponed, he did so because the necessary accounts were not hen all on the table. They had since been produced, and they were by no means calculated to satisfy him, that the company had any prospect of being able to produce revenue which should at any time greatly exceed their expenditure, or such as would enable them to provide for the payment of these Bonds. It appeared to him, that there was even on the accounts 1805-6, a deficiency of 2,000,000*l.* He had heard n hon. member, a director of the company, Mr. Grant) talk of a residue of nearly ,000,000*l.* He saw, indeed, on looking into the accounts, a balance in one place of 600,000*l.* but in this view of the case, the interest of the debts due by the company were not provided for. Calculating on this and the other expences, there was a deficiency for the year 1805-6 of nearly two millions, and for the preceding year of 1,600,000*l.* He was therefore more than ever confirmed in the opinion, that there was an impossibility in supposing that the company could ever have a net surplus revenue, or should ever be able to provide for their debts abroad and at home. As, however, it was admitted by the hon. director and by the chancellor of the exchequer, that no claim could lie against the public on account of the bonds now to be issued, or any other debts of the company; and as it was understood that an enquiry into the state of the company's affairs was to take place early in the next session, if the East-India company could borrow money in the way proposed, he should not object to it.

Mr. *R. Dundas* contended, that by properly analysing the accounts on the table, the hon. member would have found that the accounts for 1805-6, instead of a deficiency, produced a surplus of 800,000*l.*; and by a necessary attention to the expenditure, he had no doubt it would produce such a surplus as would be sufficient for a speedy liquidation of their debts.

Lord *Folkestone* declared, from all the attention he had been able to pay to the subject, that the deduction drawn by his hon. friend (Mr. Creevey), not that of the right hon. gent. opposite, was correct.

General *Tarleton* said, he had it in charge from his constituents to oppose the bill; and particularly to oppose the renewal of the company's exclusive charter; which, when it came before the house, he should feel it his duty to do.

Mr. *Whitbread* thought that the weight of testimony was at present against the company. If, however, an hon. member of the board of controul (Mr. Johnstone), whom he now saw in his place, would join his testimony to that of the gentleman at the head of the board, as to the state of the company's affairs, and the probability of a favourable issue, he should be satisfied; at least it would go far to make him credit the statement of the right hon. gent. (Mr. R. Dundas.)—The bill was then read a third time. On the question that the bill do pass, Mr. W. said, that observing the hon. gent. to whom he alluded, had preserved a determined silence, he must object to the passing of the bill.

Mr. *Johnstone* felt himself extremely flattered by the appeal made to him by the hon. gent. opposite. Gentlemen, however, would recollect that he had always been impressed with a gloomy opinion on this subject. He confessed he did not at this moment look to the future situation of the company with a sanguine eye. By prudence and economy, he thought much might be done; but the company ought not, and could not, expect a great additional revenue. As much was already drawn from their territories, as could be expected. It was therefore to economy principally they were to look for a change in their affairs. As to the support to be given to the inclination of his constituents, ten years hence, by the hon. general (Tarleton), he could only say, he hoped the hon. general would, at the expiration of that period, continue their representative. But at the same time, he had no hesitation in declaring it to be his fixed opinion, that the preservation of our empire in that quarter of the globe depended on the preservation of the company.

The following will be found a more correct report of the Speech of Mr. Grant, on the second reading of this bill, than the one given at p. 833.

Mr. *Grant*, in reply to Mr. Creevey, said he had often, when Indian subjects were before the house, expressed his readiness to go into a full investigation of those subjects, and of the company's affairs, provided only that the investigation were to be conducted not by party prejudice, but with fairness and impartiality. No subjects more required to be treated dispassionately and without aggravation. To consider them in any other way, must be productive of mischief, rather than of benefit, yet he was sorry to observe that the hon. gent. (Mr. Creevey) had indulged himself in statements which appeared chargeable with exaggeration, and to be in some points the result rather of ignorance than of knowledge. With respect to the desire shewn of passing this bill through the house, before the accounts of the Indian budget could come under consideration, it arose merely from an expectation that the session would be a very short one. The Indian accounts of the two last years had not been long in the possession of the court of directors, and the hon. gent. himself ought to know from experience, the difficulty of such an arrangement of those numerous documents as should put them in a fit state for the consideration of the house. The fact was, that with all the diligence that could be exerted, it was found impracticable to place them on the table in a printed state, before the time at which it was necessary to proceed with the present bill. The papers of the first year he hoped would be laid before the house to-day, those of the second were in a state of forwardness, and would follow in a few days; but if this bill were to wait for the discussion of them, the object proposed by it might be defeated. There were besides, documents already before the house, which sufficiently shewed the ground of the present application of the company to parliament. The prospective account of these home receipts and payments, from March 1807 to March 1808, laid before the house last session, shewed a deficit of about 2,200,000*l.* It was to provide for this deficit that the company applied, not for any grant of money, as might be misconceived from the hon. gentleman's mode of speaking, but for leave to issue bonds to the amount of two millions, instead of raising that sum by an increase of their capital stock, to which stock they had already a power from parliament to add two millions, equivalent to nearly four millions sterling. But though they possessed this power since the year 1797, they had declined, and still wished to decline using it, because during war stock must be funded to a disadvantage and therefore money procured in this way would cost them a higher rate of interest than they would pay on their bonds, besides entailing on their affairs an additional amount of capital, of which they could not hereafter divest themselves, whereas they could pay off their bonds whenever it suited their affairs. And this also furnished an argument against the hon. gent.'s reasoning, because bonds could only obtain a loan during the pleasure of the holders, who might claim payment whenever they thought fit. This was therefore a case different from any of the former applications of the company, alluded to by the hon. gent.,—for the company here asked for no extension of credit, they asked merely to be allowed to raise by bond part of that sum which they already possessed a power to raise by stock, and which they could now raise by stock, if they thought fit. The hon. gent. had endeavoured to shew that this power to raise more stock had been given to the company as a commutation for raising more money by bonds, which according to him they were unable to do, even when the issue of bonds was under two millions; but here he was entirely mistaken, for the application of the company for that power to increase the stock, appeared from the journals to have been made on this general ground, "that the affairs of the petitioners required a permanent advance of a considerable sum of money beyond what they could raise under the powers then vested in them by law, and the petitioners conceived that the money so wanted by them should be raised by an increase of the capital stock." The company, moreover, s would be seen by their annual accounts, ere empowered and able to raise 3 millions y bonds. The hon. gentlemen had stated hat the estimate for 1807-8, shewed a loss y their commerce of above two millions. his was a very gross error. There was no oss on their commerce, but a gain. The ccount was not a statement of profit and oss, but a prospective estimate of expenditure, and of ways and means for the ensuing year. The deficit it exhibited determined nothing as to the general result of he company's affairs; only the expected eceipts and expected payments in one ear. And the deficit arose not from their ommerce, but from the remittance of arge supplies of goods and bullion in three uccessive years, 1803, 4, and 5, to India, or the purposes of investment and liquidation of debt, which remittances had been pplied in a great degree to defray the expences of the wars in which the company ad come to be involved in India, without heir orders, and contrary to their wishes. On account of these wars too, the returns f investment from India were less than usual, and from the state of the continent of Europe, had come to a worse market than usual, the company's warehouses being now stocked with goods, for which if there had been a ready sale, time enough to meet their exigencies, the present application for power to raise money by bonds, might not have been necessary. With respect to that part of the Indian debt which the hon. gent. called a floating debt, and by which it appeared he meant the part claimable in England, or the decennial and optional loans, though it was undoubtedly a very serious consideration, it could not come suddenly and all at once upon the company. The first of the decennial loans was two millions, and not due till 1810. The optional loans bearing the large interest of India and not being transferable to England at a high rate of exchange, were not likely to be transferred thither in a mass, and before there was a provision made for their payment. At the same time, nobody contended that it was not of the greatest importance to the company, that some plan should be adopted for the liquidation of the Indian debt, though it was not then the moment to enter into that subject. The debt was enormous, and the great difficulty with which the company had to struggle.—But it had not attained its present alarming height by measures for which the directors were responsible. As to the failure of expectations, formerly held out by a noble lord at the head of the Indian department, it was fair to the company to say that those expectations were stated to be on the supposition of a permanent peace, and were defeated by the long European war which followed the French revolution, and by successive wars in India, all which had entailed prodigious expences on the company both at home and abroad. The return of peace in India however, certainly afforded hope that the present embarrassments of the company would be but temporary; for considerable retrenchments in the expenditure were now going on in India under the administration of sir George Barlow (whose conduct in adopting the pacific system of lord Cornwallis, after having before acquiesced in the foreign policy of lord Wellesley, Mr. Grant defended against the observations of Mr. Creevey) and the advices from thence held out the expectation of a surplus of revenue after defraying all charges and the interest of the debt. That the peace of India would be permanent, Mr. Grant said he had not taken upon him to assert. He had spoken of what might be hoped for if peace continued; and as to its continuance, though undoubtedly the native powers must have been greatly alienated from us by the course of policy and war which the British government had recently pursued there, and they might then be far more ready, under new and encouraging circumstances, to act against us, yet at present they shewed no disposition to break with us, and were indeed reduced in means. We also had professedly resumed a pacific system, and our manifesting a determination to persevere in it might have a tendency to conciliate them.—Dr. Laurence having in his speech insinuated that Mr. Grant had inconsistently departed from the language held in the third report of the directors, and the opinions he had given in that house respecting the measures of lord Wellesley, Mr. Grant replied that he was no party to the third report, not having concurred in it nor having been a member of the court when it was brought forward; and as to the late measures in India, when they came to be discussed, it would be found he had not uttered his sentiments regarding them.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 31.

[Irish Insurrection Bill.] On the

question for the third reading of this bill, a number of amendments, similar to those offered in the house of commons, were proposed by lord Holland, earl Fitzwilliam, and the duke of Bedford. After much discussion, they were all negatived.

The Duke of *Bedford* moved to limit the duration of the bill to one year and two months, after the commencement of the then next session of parliament, instead of two years and six months after the commencement of the then next session of parliament, as expressed in the bill. The noble duke thought that a bill conferring such extraordinary powers should have as short a duration as possible.

Lord *Hawkesbury* thought, that the knowledge that such a bill existed, and that the powers conferred by it might be called into action, would do much to repress and keep down a spirit of disturbance. With this view of the subject, regretting as he did, the necessity that existed for such a measure, he still thought that the longer period was preferable; nor did he see any reason to expect that the causes which produced the necessity for this bill would cease to operate within the shorter period proposed by the noble duke.

Lord *Holland*, viewing as he did the state of Ireland, and with the sentiments which he had constantly avowed with respect to the causes of that unfortunate situation of affairs in Ireland which led to the necessity for the present bill, could not help pressing upon the attention of their lordships the great importance of discussing the affairs of Ireland in parliament, and of endeavouring to come to those conclusions which might, by removing the causes of grievance, prevent the necessity of recurring to such measures as the present. He could not, therefore, but be a warm friend to frequent discussions of this subject. He thought that every opportunity should be taken of recurring to it, and therefore he supported the amendment moved by his noble friend, in order that this important subject might again come under the consideration of parliament at an earlier period than it otherwise could do, according to the term of duration expressed in the bill.

The Duke of *Montrose* deprecated frequent discussions of this subject, which could do no possible good, but on the contrary, only tended to keep up a spirit of irritation amongst the people of Ireland. Instead of shortening the duration of the bill, he, on the contrary, would have voted for extending it. Parliament always having the power of repealing it if the necessity which now existed for it should cease.

Lord *Sidmouth* was inimical to giving a long duration to bills of this nature, but from the situation of Ireland, he believed the term of duration, expressed in this bill, to be necessary. He was decidedly hostile to frequent discussions of this subject as tending to excite irritation in Ireland.

Earl *Grosvenor* supported the amendment, conceiving from the nature of the clauses, that the bill ought to have the shortest possible duration.

Lord *Mulgrave* would rather have agreed to extend the duration of the bill than to shorten it; convinced, as he was, of its necessity, and, at the same time, that it was always in the power of parliament to repeal it in case that necessity ceased.—The amendment was negatived, and the bill read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 31.

[Irish Protestant Church.] Sir *J. Newport* enquired if any step was intended to be taken by his majesty's ministers, founded on the returns which had been made of the state of the established church in Ireland? He had the authority of the primate and metropolitan of all Ireland, for stating that there were, in one diocese, no less than 10 parishes without a church, without a glebe-house, without, in short, any sort of residence for the clergyman, and without any probability that there would shortly be any dwelling erected for that purpose. It was known that his majesty's late ministers had entered into a serious consideration of those circumstances; and, if he was not given to understand that the present ministers intended to make some material alteration in that respect, he gave notice that he would, early in the next sessions, submit to parliament, a proposition on that head.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* assured the right hon. baronet, that it was the intention of his majesty's present servants to turn their attention to the state of the church in Ireland, as soon as they had before them such documents as might authorize them to take any step towards the accomplishment of so desirable an object. At present, however, he had not in his hands such returns as he thought necessary, previous to his endeavour to remedy the il of which the right hon. baronet com- ained.

[State of Ireland.] Mr. *Sheridan* gave otice, that he would, on Friday next, sub- it to the house a motion relative to the neral State of Ireland.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* expres- d a desire to be informed, what was the rticular object which the right hon. nt. had in contemplation? It might for e present suffice if the right hon. gent. ould state, whether his attention was eant to be directed towards the civil, clesiastical, or military state of that part the united kingdom, as by that means e might be prepared to meet the subject.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that he had not the east unwillingness to satisfy the right hon. ent. as far as the rules of the house would ermit him at present. His intent was to ubmit to the house the proposition of a rong pledge, that they would, early in e next session, enter into an enquiry as the causes of that discontent which was aid to exist in Ireland, and upon the umour of which the house had been indu- ed to adopt that strong measure, the Irish nsurrection act, which would shortly, no oubt, receive the sanction of both houses f parliament.

[Subsidies to Prussia and Sweden, c.] On the motion of the chancellor f the exchequer, the house resolved itself nto a committee of supply, to which his ajesty's messages, and several other pa- ers, were referred.

Mr. Secretary *Canning*, in moving the ouse to grant the sums which were the sub- ect of his majesty's messages, should con- ent himself with stating shortly, that the irst sum of 80,000*l.* was the same which had lready been made the subject of a commu- ication from his majesty in March last, nd which had been suffered to lie over without being made good, in order that an pportunity might be afforded of a fuller iew of what should be necessary to be roposed. The message he had brought own the other day, divided itself into two arts. One, the measure of subsidizing an ncreased number of Swedish troops; the ther, the advance to Prussia, and the pro- osed treaty of subsidy with that power. The arrangement with Sweden, though it was thought a fact proper to be communi- ated to parliament, and though payments might come to be made upon it, yet as one had yet been made, and as no vote was to be called for this night, he should not enter into further than to state, that in May last, in consequence of a determination to make a concerted effort with the aid of Prussia, Russia, and such assistance as could be afforded from this country, it was thought adviseable to push the exertions of Sweden as far as the resources of that country would afford. Previous to that time, while there was no appearance of any service being rendered in that quarter by the power of Sweden alone, no augmentation of the Swedish troops was thought of. But when the king of Prussia agreed to furnish 10,000 men to act in Pomerania, when a Russian detachment also was expected in that quarter, and when it was in contemplation to send a force from this country, an arrangement was made for bringing into action a Swedish force of 16,000 men instead of 12,000 before employed. The additional 4000 men were to be furnished at rather a cheaper rate than the terms of the former subsidy. As no money had yet been paid, in consequence of this addition, and as the utmost that could become payable in this year could be no more than 40 or 50,000*l.* which would be fully covered by the vote of credit passed according to custom, he did not think it necessary to look further into this point, being prepared to give any explanation that might be demanded. With regard to the advances to Prussia, in consequence of the urgency of affairs on the continent, the advances in money, notwithstanding they might be authorized by the message in March, would not have been made if the exigency of the case could have admitted of waiting for the conclusion of the treaty then in contemplation. When the treaty was made, however, it was stipulated that the two sums of 80,000*l.* and 100,000*l.* should be deducted from the first payment of the subsidy, and the amount of the arms from the future payments. Unquestionably, the objects of the treaty were of a large extent, and the subsidy of a large amount, if the contingencies on which it was to take effect had happened, and if the events that had arisen had not put an end to the engagements, and left us the charge of making good these advances. The arms had been supplied from the offices to which that charge belonged, and the expence when made out, would be covered by the vote of credit; all that would be necessary therefore for the house to vote, would be the sums advanced to his Prussian majesty, on account of the urgency of affairs on the continent; which he moved accordingly.

Lord *H. Petty* had no objection to the motion. The first advance had been made by the government to which he had the honour to belong. While these advances were intrusted to the management of such safe hands as those of lord Hutchinson, the public might rely with confidence on having its interests fully guarded; for, along with the military enterprize that belonged in so high a degree to that distinguished person, there were blended in his character a caution and a prudence which afforded a perfect assurance of the safe and judicious exercise of the discretion reposed in him. With respect to the additional engagements with Sweden, he had no objection to them, if they could be brought to answer any purpose of practical utility. But when these engagements should come to be made the ground of a vote, it would be proper to enquire how far there existed the means of carrying them into effect on the part of his Swedish majesty, who, he understood, had not completed the first force of 12,000 he had stipulated to employ in Pomerania.

Lord *Castlereagh* assured the noble lord, that at the time of concluding the additional engagement, the force serving at Stralsund exceeded the 12,000 men stipulated in the other treaty.

Mr. *Whitbread* wished to know, whether the stipulations of the treaty with Prussia would be laid before the house.

Mr. *Canning* said, he did not see how such a communication could with propriety be made by his majesty's ministers. If, however, the hon. gent. wished particularly for information on the subject, he might move for it, and the house would then determine whether it ought to be granted. For his own part he regretted, as much as the hon. gent., that the treaties could not with propriety be laid open, for he wished the conduct of the present government to be enquired into. They were well convinced of the propriety and policy of their measures, and proud of what they had done. In both instances the advances had been made in cases of great and pressing emergency, and formed only a small part of the subsidy which was to have been paid in consequence of the treaties, had they been completed.

Mr. *Whitbread* considered it as very important, that every means should be afforded of judging of the continental policy, for which his majesty's ministers promised so largely, and in which they were ready to pledge the country so deeply. For it was stated expressly, that the 10,000*l.* advanced, was part of a much larger sum, which would have been to be paid if the treaty had taken place. This led to the question of the policy of making so large an engagement. Knowing the situation in which the king of Prussia was at the time when the arrangement was made, it was matter of desire to know what were the particulars of the arrangement. It might, perhaps, be possible to frame a motion so as to get at the treaty, or at least the substance of it. By considering the policy of what ministers had done in framing that treaty, it would be possible to judge of the policy of what they would have done if a larger opportunity had been afforded to them, and of their general views and general policy with respect to the continent.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* was still of opinion, that the treaty itself could not possibly be laid before the house; but it was competent to the hon. gent. to frame a motion for any information he might wish for; the house would exercise its discretion as to the propriety of granting such information, and in the discussion the hon. member would have an opportunity of knowing, and commenting upon much of the continental policy of his majesty's servants. He could assure him that there was no shyness on his part, or that of his colleagues, to submit their conduct to the judgment and investigation of the house, and they challenged that investigation with as full confidence as those who had preceded them. If the hon. gent. felt any jealousy at this time in particular, let him call for any information he wished for. The vote now before the committee rested on the same ground as the advance made by the late government in March. The only difference was, that the advance then made was specific, and distinct in itself; while the subsequent advance was made in prospect of a subsidy, from which, if this treaty had taken effect, it would have been deducted. This advance might have been stated to the house as a distinct thing, like the other; but his majesty's government thought it better to profess the whole truth without disguise. He lamented, that invincible impediments of form prevented the house from having the treaty before it.

Mr. *Whitbread* was ready to admit that the right hon. gent. and his colleagues, acted from the best view they had of what

s a proper course of continental policy;
therefore he could suppose them very
dy to give every explanation that could
required of them. It had been stated
a former occasion, by a noble friend of
now absent (lord Howick), that though
advance of 80,000*l.* had been made for
particular purpose of providing for the
ence of Silesia, which it was politic to
vide for at the time, yet that there was no
ention of entering into any engagement
subsidy, and that none would be en-
ed into without that caution which past
perience had shewn to be so necessary
the protection of the public interests.
is 100,000*l.* was, in fact, part of a million
ich was to have been paid to Prussia, if
campaign had gone on. The house,
ich had voted away much larger sums
subsidies within the last 14 years, with
little benefit, ought to be particularly
lous of any considerable expence on that
ad now. His noble friend, now absent,
d decidedly disclaimed the policy of in-
ing the continental powers, by the temp-
ion of subsidies, to enter into wars in
ich they were not previously disposed to
gage; but finding them engaged in a war
objects that concerned the common in-
est, the policy of assisting them with
bsidies, granted on sure grounds and with
od discretion, would lie open. But the
st consideration in granting a subsidy was,
at was to be got in return, and what
ssible means had the king of Prussia, at
e time this treaty was entered into, to
rform any service adequate to the mil-
n he was to receive? Was it not physi-
lly impossible that he could bring into ac-
n a force proportionate to it? It was ru-
oured, moreover, he knew not on what au-
ority, that the sum that had already been
id to Prussia in the prospect of this subsidia-
service, had been expended for purposes to
ich this country would not willingly con-
bute a single shilling, for the purpose of
intaining certain establishments at Ber-
, with the expences of which Bonaparte
rged the king of Prussia, and for which
se about that monarch had engaged him
pay. If the king of Prussia was in a
ation to submit to have money extorted
m him by the emperor of France, that
tainly was not a time at which this coun-
ought to advance money to the king of
ssia. He thought it would be possible
rame an address to his majesty, so as to
se the treaty to be laid before the house.
xt, with respect to the engagements with Sweden, it was said that his Swedish majesty had not so many troops as his first subsidy bound him to furnish; he was glad to hear from the right hon. gent. what he had; but the means and the utility of making the augmentation were still uncertain.

Mr. Secretary *Canning*, though he could not say he was prepared to second any motion the hon. gent. might make with a view to obtain information, was yet willing to give him every possible facility with respect to the object he had in view. The advance of 100,000*l.* would not have been made, except in the prospect of the contingency on which the treaty turned, nor till the exigency became so pressing, that it came to the alternative, whether the king of Prussia would be able to make a further struggle or not. With respect to the security of the due application of the money to services not foreign to British interests, the advance was made when the removal of the ministers devoted to the French government, and the appointment of baron Hardenberg to the head of the Prussian cabinet, afforded a sufficient guarantee. As long as there was reason to suppose that any sums saved from the wreck of the Prussian treasures at Berlin, remained unexhausted; as long as there was room to suspect that any sums at the disposal of the Prussian government were applied to any purposes inconsistent with British objects; so long all advances had been withheld. It was not till all these objections had been removed, that British liberality had been extended. He had further to assure the house, that till the very end of the campaign, the king of Prussia had had a considerable effective force, which lord Hutchinson stated to be most vigorously and effectively employed. Whatever might have been the result of this unfortunate campaign, it was at least a consolation to this country, that its aid had been twice the means of saving the gallant garrison of Colberg, which had held out to the end of the conflict, and which now stood with undiminished honour among the subjugated cities around.

Mr. *Whitbread* wished to know whether lord Hutchinson was a party to the treaty of subsidy. He wished also, as it had been said by some of the gentlemen on another day, that the situation of the continent had come upon them unexpectedly; he wished to know, whether they had not received from lord Hutchinson information, the effect of which was to prognosticate the events that had taken place. With the proximity of Russia to her frontier, pushed as she was close up to it, her means of recruiting must be so convenient, that the aid she could derive from them could not fail to be distinctly visible. If in this situation Russia was not able to stand a general battle, her failure must be obvious. Now, did the right hon. gent. opposite receive such assurances of the unbroken strength of Russia as to justify them in delaying, as they had stated that as the ground of the delay in bringing forward the measures they now urged, as essentially necessary to the defence of the country?

Mr. Secretary *Canning* would not decline answering the hon. gent.'s question, on the ground that it had no reference to the matter in debate. Lord Hutchinson had certainly always given reason to expect, that unless certain things should be done, it was likely that a general battle, if given, would be lost. It was possible, however, that a general battle might be avoided, as the obvious and avowed policy was to avoid it. Another contingency was the arrival of military aid from Britain. The first communication the present ministers had received on entering into office, conveyed the expectation of that aid: whether the expectation was authorized, he knew not; but the aid was expected, and no preparation was made to afford it either by descent in a certain point, or by diversion. But instead of having made any preparations to contribute in either way, the whole of the transports in foreign service had been dismissed some time before the change of administrtaion. The other contingency put by lord Hutchinson was, that unless Prussia should be supported by military as well as pecuniary aid, it would be impossible to go on. Lord Hutchinson's naked opinion was certainly discouraging. But, taking the chance of its being possible to avoid a general battle, and of supporting with pecuniary and military aid the efforts that remained to be made, there was still room to hope for a different issue: his majesty's government immediately supplied pecuniary aid to the extent which it thought right, and was prepared to afford military aid as far as that should be possible. He was sorry to have been compelled to go so far into this discussion in the absence of a noble lord (Howick), in the hope of whose presence the consideration of his majesty's message had been deferred till this day; but the discussion had been rendered indispensable to his own vindication, and if it had turned out injurious to those whose interests the hon. gent. had particularly at heart, he was not to be blamed.

Mr. *Whitbread* did not conceive that the reputation of the noble lord, for whom he was particularly interested, was at all brought into hazard by the discussion that had arisen: but even if it were, the superior importance to the country, of bringing forth the explanations that were so essentially necessary, would have been a prior consideration with him. It was allowed, that lord Hutchinson held forth but a discouraging prospect of the issue of the last campaign. But the right hon. gent. hedged in some contingencies which might have retarded or retrieved the otherwise inevitable disaster. One thing, however, was sufficient to prove that there was no hope to be entertained from Russia. Driven back as she was to her frontier, if she felt still under a necessity of avoiding a general engagement, her case was absolutely hopeless. If there were from the beginning, persons who entertained hopes of success, where he confessed he saw no prospect, exaggerated as every little advantage on the side of Russia was, and extenuated as were the successes of France; if in such a situation, no prospect of success was seen, except in avoiding a general engagement, all hope was gone. Then, it was said that lord Hutchinson had intimated, that there was an impression that British aid would be afforded on the continent. He asked the right hon. gent. whether, when the contest broke out between France and Prussia, the latter was not at war with Great Britain for Hanover, which she refused to give up, except it should be wrested from her by force of arms. This was in November. Then, what possibility was there, even if it should be expedient to send a British force, to dispatch that force before the change in administration? He for one thought it inexpedient to send a British force. For, if Russia, drawn to her frontiers, could not make a stand there, no possible aid that British troops could give, would avail. The right hon. gent. then said, that when the present ministers came into office they found no means of carrying their views of continental co-operation into effect. They came into office in April, when they immediately felt the necessity of sending military aid to Prussia, and of increasing the redish subsidy. It was not till the ddle of June, however, that they had llected transports, and even then they re collected for a different service. Now, ey had embarked upwards of 28,000 men a fortnight. If that could be done in lly, why might it not have been done in ril ? When the urgency of the occasion s felt from the outset, why was not the aid ompt in proportion? He saw a great litary character (general Tarleton) on e opposite benches, and he should be ad to hear what he called his military eas on this point. If the preparations, e want of which was now complained of, d been kept up, 40,000*l.* a month would ve continued to be paid for transports, ad the expedition would not have sailed oner; whereas it was now found that hen troops were ready, transports could e collected at a moment's warning. This ent to justify the late administration, as r as facts could go.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, the hon. gent. had ouched on points which would render it ecessary for him to go more at length into ne subject in debate, than he should othervise have been disposed to do. The hon. ent. in the independent comments which e was very properly in the habit of exerising, had on this occasion glanced on matters, the consideration of which could ot be very favourable to his right hon. riends. He denied that by the mere accient of being at war with Prussia at the ime the government of this country was ustified in omitting to prepare to ward off the blow, which sound policy would never warrant it in suffering to fall upon Prussia. During the whole period in which the late ministers had suffered themselves to be made dupes at Paris, in negociations in which all the principles that ought to characterize statesmen were belied and adandoned, it was matter of notoriety, even to persons out of the government, that, though Prussia was nominally at war with this country (for it was never more than a nominal war), there were discussions of so angry a nature, that it was probable it would involve these two powers in a war, in which Russia also would eventually participate. Under these circumstances, the policy that should have marked the conduct of a wise British government was obvious: but the very reverse was exhibited in the conduct of the late government. Instead of being prepared to act for the best advantage upon the opportunity about to be afforded, the late ministers suffered themselves to be duped and cajoled at Paris, even for a long time after the commencement of hostile proceedings between France and Prussia. This, then, was one of the brilliant æras selected to do honour to the late ministers; when the military power of Prussia was about to be crushed, after so many other powers had been crushed before it, no means were prepared to avert or repel the impending fate, no thought seemed to be entertained of interposing to avert it. Then these ministers, who held themselvesj ustified in giving no aid at all, accused him and his colleagues of giving their aid too late. He had also to state, that Prussia, at the time of the formation of this treaty of subsidy, was not so impotent as it was thought by some. In the battle of Eylau, when France felt herself engaged with an enemy so different from any she had hitherto encountered, the Prussian corps, under general Lestocq, had been vigorously engaged, and had materially contributed to the fortunate issue of the day. When the treaty was concluded, the Prussian force, including the garrisons in Silesia, the new levies waiting for the arms some time before dispatched from this country, and the 10,000 men which were to act at Stralsund, amounted to no less than 90,000 men. Thus, however reduced, the great military power of Prussia afforded yet a great remnant, which it was highly politic in us to maintain and uphold. With respect to the military aid expected from this country, the late ministers should have taken care not to suffer such an expectation to be held out or formed; but lord Hutchinson stated that expectation so strongly, that unless the present ministers were disposed to commit what would be nothing short of a breach of faith, they could not avoid sending the aid so expected. When he and his colleagues came into office, however, they found no means whatever of conveying that aid. It was whimsical enough, that while the aid expected by the king of Sweden was looked for entirely in cavalry, and the excellence of the British cavalry rendered it naturally desirable where cavalry could act, there was not a single arrangement to transport that cavalry. There was but one cavalry transport engaged, as it were for a curiosity, or in order that there might be always a model of a cavalry transport in the service. The first dispatch that had been received by the present ministers, expressed great disappointment that the cavalry had not arrived; and yet, any person who knew the difficulty of providing cavalry transports, besides the time and trouble of fitting up, must be sensible, that unless a supply had been left by their predecessors, the present ministers could not send off the aid sooner. He could easily make it appear, that the total discharge of transports, except those necessary for home service, was far from being a saving of 40,000*l.* a month. Motives of economy might be the reason of having no supply of transports. The total dismantling of that department might have been contrived to fall in with the plan of finance of the noble lord (H. Petty), which proceeded throughout on fallacious data, being built upon the supposition of a continued war expenditure of 32 million, when the war expenditure was, in fact, in no one year so little. This was a false economy, leading evidently to great and not distant profuseness, accompanied with much greater mischief. An order had been sent by the late government to the transport office, to pay off all the transports then engaged. This produced a representation of the great expence that would attend making good all the contracts, to the expiration of the terms of engagement, when in a few days it would be necessary to take up other transports for the public service. The mandate of dismissal came from the treasury, though the transport office properly was under the secretary for the war department, the right hon. secretary (Mr. Windham) was therefore not to blame for the order, which coming from the treasury was probably intended to promote the objects of the grand plan of finance to which he had already alluded. The order was executed so far as to dismiss all transports but those necessary to the communication between G. Britain and Ireland, and Guernsey and Jersey. The saving made did not amount to 40,000*l.* but only to 4,000*l.* a month; and after the quantity of transport tonnage sent abroad on the distant expedition of the right hon. gent. there ought to have been an increase rather than a diminution. Government had received 60,000 tons of transports from its predecessors. If the late ministers did not mean to abandon all connection with the continent, they ought to have kept up a sufficient supply of tonnage. Then as to the question, why the present expedition was not dispatched in May, rather than in July? the answer was, the complete state of destitution in which the present ministers found themselves in on entering into office, with respect to every preparation for a continental expedition, rendered an earlier dispatch impossible. The first thing done was, to give orders to prepare transports; but from the active state of our trade, they could not be sooner collected, and thus it had been impossible to send to the king of Sweden the aid of cavalry which we were bound to afford. With respect to the question of the hon. gent., if such a number of troops were now embarked in a fortnight, why were they not embarked before? the answer was, a wise government always had its arrangements made in such a manner, that it could carry into effect its military enterprises in so short a time, that those who were the objects of them would only hear of the preparation when they felt the blow. But if no preparations were left, our military strength could only be exhibited in an inert and inactive state upon our own shores, till the deficiency should have been supplied. If the preparations had been made, the military energy would have been exerted without delay. He trusted that what had been done now would prove a lesson to every future government, a lesson not to postpone preparation till the moment was come for striking the blow. If the necessary preparations had been left by the late ministers, the exertion might have been made at an earlier period, when it might have contributed to ward off what had happened. Russia had expected our co-operation, and if the late government did not give that aid, it was owing to a false economy, which, for the object of a trifling saving, crippled the means of the country, at the moment when it was most essential to exert them. To have exhibited preparations for any considerable embarkation, would have obliged Buonaparté to leave at least 50,000 men in France of what since appeared on the Vistula. It was the advantage of our insulated and central position, that if we had preparations for an expedition in or near the Downs, ready to move to any quarter thought proper, France would be under the necessity of keeping a protecting force in Holland, in the Netherlands, at Boulogne, and at Brest, at the same time, from the impossibility of ascertaining which of those points was to be attacked. It was in this respect that this country, though essentially naval, could bring its military power to be of great weight against France. The late ministers came into the eans of making great exertions, but they arted with those means apparently for no ther purpose but that of registering their andonment of the continent. Whether e battle of Eylau awakened them to a ense of their criminal omission, he could t say; or whether they had begun to be arful of falling into disgrace with the hole country, for having postponed their d so long; but he did find some traces n his office, that indicated a disposition to use from its guilty lethargy; but nothing ke an active step had been taken to succour those who expected our aid.

Mr. *Windham* complimented the noble ord on his prudence in reserving these extensive accusations for an occasion when hey were only incidentally introduced, nd when no specific answer could be made o them. He could excuse the temporary warmth with which the right hon. gent. ad launched out on one of those topics of ccusation; but the noble lord had brought orth a grand declamation, had assumed acts totally unproved, and had made statements wholly without foundation, for the purpose of censuring the general conduct of the war by the late administration. He ad prudently forborne producing these general charges until near the close of the ession, then incidentally, when no reply could be given to them, having omitted to bring forward any allegations during four months that he had been in power. As far as he could, he would distinctly go over the statements of the noble lord. His first general charge against his majesty's late ministers, was of supineness and abandonment of the continent. Whether an army ought to have been sent at all to the continent, whether it ought to have been sent to one place or to another—these were grand questions of policy not to be decided immediately, or obliquely. If the gentlemen opposite had a mind to arraign the conduct of the late administration on this subject, in God's name let them appoint a day for that purpose. The question was, whether it would not have been ridiculous for an insular power, like Great Britain, to attack the considerable armies on the continent, when the very next minute, her own defence might require the presence at home of every soldier whom she could collect? When he said this, he did not mean to go so far as to assert, that no occasion could in his opinion arise, in which such a co operation on our part would be unadviseable. So with regard to subsidies, were we to be merely the great bank of Europe, on which the different nations should be empowered to draw in defence of their own existence? Was that a good habit to give them? Was not the result likely to be that they would make no spontaneous exertions? But in asking these questions, did he say, that subsidies ought never to be granted? These were great questions of national importance, and not to be decided upon by a declamatory speech, but to the discussion of which the house ought to come with a full knowledge of all the circumstances of the case. The noble lord asserted, that the late administration ought to have subsidized and sent troops to the continent. He, on the other hand, asserted, that they ought to have done neither the one nor the other more than they did do. When they came into office, the season was improper for sending out troops and when the proper season came, was no such aid out of the question? Could it be hoped, that when the mighty powers o Europe, for some time poised in air, had taken their pitch and direction, any military effort made by this country could avail? That the continental powers called for our assistance, might be easily supposed; but when the noble lord asserted that we had given assurances of assistance, and particularly of cavalry, all he could say was, that he did not know that such assurances had been given, and that he did believe that they had been given. This fact withdrawn, down fell the whole pile of argument which the noble lord had been erecting. "For," said the noble lord, "you made no preparations to send assistance." Very true; because no assistance had been promised, nor was immediately in view. But the noble lord was surprized why no show of assistance had been made. He would assure the noble lord, not from economical motives (any more than the discharge of transports, which the noble lord had so fallaciously stated arose from the decision of the late ministry to terminate all communication with the continent), but from the consideration that in the state of Europe at that time, it was not wise to make a show, as by such a demonstration the enemy would be put upon their guard, and might be able to defeat objects, otherwise attainable. When the noble lord talked of sending 25,000 men to the armies of Russia and Prussia, the thing was so absurd, that it was unnecessary to answer him. With regard to the army, it had, in point of fact, grown in the hands of his majesty's late government, who had left the regular force 8000, and the general force 10,000 men, stronger than what they received it from their predecessors. Such, by the accounts on the table, was the increase of the army, from March 1806, to March 1807, from whatever causes that increase might have arisen. The late administration had been also attacked on their conduct, with regard to Buenos Ayres. The original expedition to that place, though certainly not under the orders of the gentlemen opposite, was undertaken by an officer of their appointment: and whose conduct had since been justified by pretty strong marks of their approbation: for, having been found guilty by a court martial of a very serious offence, he had, as a reward, when fresh from the censure of that court martial, and in mockery of its proceedings, been appointed out of his turn to another and most important command. A most mischievous step, and one fraught with consequences highly dangerous to the interests of the navy! By this step, however, the noble lord and his colleagues recognized and adopted the attack on Buenos Ayres, and now he had the modesty (for he would not call it by its proper name) to accuse the late administration of doing that which, what had been done without their control rendered necessary. As to the transports, the noble lord said, that he (Mr. W.) had made a magnificent statement of the many thousand tons of transports taken up by the late administration. All his magnificence was this fact, that while his majesty's late ministers parted with the larger class of transports, the three months' ships, for which they had no immediate use, and which were easily to be got if wanted, they had taken up as many as they could procure of coppered and sheathed ships, which were not to be obtained in a hurry, and in which a sudden demand created a great advance of price. Of this last description they had left, he believed, a greater number than they found, at least such he knew was the comparative state of the transport service not long before his quitting office. He had thought it necessary to say thus much, in answer to the grand flourish of the noble lord, which was calculated to make an impression at a time of the session when it could not be duly met, and which it was, no doubt, hoped would work in the country during the summer. The country, however, would not forget that his majesty's ministers had been four months in office, and had been repeatedly, but in vain, called on to bring forward distinct allegations against their predecessors.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that in affirming that the 9th regiment of dragoons had returned from pursuing its destination, in consequence of the state of the transports in which they had embarked, he was not guilty of mis-statement—they came back to request copper-bottoms. The grand policy of his late right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) was, that there was always, during his administration, every thing in readiness for the immediate embarkation of at least 10,000 men; a striking instance of that policy, and the good consequences resulting from it, was in the successful expedition of sir David Baird to the Cape; whereas, on his coming into office, there was not above 11,000 tonnage of copper-bottomed transports. But certainly the policy between the two governments was different, for the right hon. gent. had candidly admitted that his government had no intention whatever of sending out troops to the continent.

Mr. *Windham* denied that he had ever made such admission; what he had said was, that the government had then no immediate intention of sending out troops to the continent, and he had endeavoured to prove that they were then right, in, at that time, acting up to such a policy. As to the transports, there was not a single ship fit for that purpose, that was rejected by the transport office.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that all who were conversant in the nature of preparing expeditions, must know that copper-bottomed transports, amounting to 10,000 tons, could embark only 4000 men. He had said, that the late ministers left in employ behind them but 11,000 tonnage, and he contended that such was a conclusive proof that the late government had not then in idea any effort for the relief of the continent.

Mr. *Windham* said, that if the noble lord took up transports with the same avidity with which he took up facts, the present government could never be deficient in transports. He (Mr. W.) could not then speak from memory, and therefore he would not, as the noble lord had done, throw out vague charges and loose assertions; but he did believe that it was not as the noble lord had so confidently stated; and admitting the truth of the statement, how d it affect the question at issue? At certain period every thing was out in due adiness for the embarkation of troops to e continent, and therefore the continent as abandoned by the minister of the day! his mode of arguing might be new as argument, but not new as argument coming om the noble lord.

Mr. *Rose* defended the appointment of r Home Popham, which had been so ointedly alluded to by the right hon. gent. ir Home Popham had been selected by dmiral Gambier as his captain, and his ght of selection was not to be disputed. ord Howe had selected sir Roger Curtis, nd that selection had given rise to no animadversion.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that the animadversions on the appointment of sir Home Popham naturally followed from what had been said on the other side with respect to that expedition, which had originated with a former ministry, who had been active in bringing forward that officer. As to the precedent that had been cited, he could not accede to it; for he well knew that the appointment of sir Roger Curtis had given rise to very general dissatisfaction, and he had reason to believe that the selection of sir Home Popham had also given rise to great dissatisfaction, and he would add, that were not that officer now absent, on the service of his country, he should feel it his duty to submit to parliament a motion relative to an enquiry into a certain bargaining transaction at the Cape, in which the expedition to South America had originated, and in which that officer was not a little concerned. The noble lord opposite to him, in his strictures on the late administration, had taken an opportunity of giving him his share of the general censure. The imputation thrown on him by the noble lord, he should ever consider as a merit, because it was an imputation of economy. He should not be ashamed of having used his humble efforts to husband the resources of the country in a crisis like the present, when there was such demand for the wise, and useful, and considerate application of them. The noble lord opposite should be, therefore, the less surprized if his own financial propositions had not met with the fullest approbation from one who thought too well of economy to approve of any plan that went to scout it. In that case, too, the noble lord had not forgotten to deal out his usual imputations against him, when that noble lord was submitting to that house a plan which, if it did not contain a sublime system of economy, certainly did betray a sublime contempt of figures.—A great deal had been said of the supineness of the late government, in not aiding the efforts of our allies upon the continent. It was, however, worthy of observation, that since the year 1793, down to the present period, it had been the constant and uniform plan of one set of men in this country, to talk of rescuing the continent; of saving, restoring, and establishing Europe. That had been their undeviating policy; and yet this great and mighty plan had either not yet been rightly conceived, or if so, had entirely failed, and contributed to increase that power it was meant to overthrow. It was ridiculous to talk of saving Europe, if Europe could not save herself. It was not in the desperate affairs of the continent that England could step in and save her. No; she had only to look to better times. She could be most useful in following up victory, not in remedying defeat; and therefore, was a government wise in keeping up and refusing to exhaust the resources of the country until they could be useful? "Et rebus vosmet servate secundis." If, however, it was thought by gentlemen opposite, that a continental expedition ought to have been forwarded and might have had effect, he called upon those gentlemen to state at what one period they would have taken upon themselves to have advised such a measure. He defied the present ministers to state the specific time, during that period, in which they would say such an expedition would have been serviceable. The æra of the battle of Eylau had been generally spoken of; but were the immediate events of that battle forgotten? Here the noble lord entered into a comparative statement of the affairs of the continent, subsequently to the battles of Eylau and Ulm, and contended that for three months after the latter period, the British troops had not reached the continent: had, however, the warning voice of his right hon. friend, now no more, (Mr. Fox,) been then attended to, the prostration of Europe might have been prevented; for what contributed more to the subjugation of the continent than the coalitions which were successively embarked in?

Mr. Secretary *Canning* warmly reprobated the policy that had been laid down by the noble lord, and contended that either that noble lord had been directing his censures against the late premier (lord Grenville), who was of old such an advocate for continental co-operation, or that that nobleman had lately become the convert of the economical late chancellor of the exchequer; he ridiculed the application of the classical quotation with which the noble lord had favoured the house—"et rebus vosmet servate secundis;"—for, if it meant any thing so applied, it was to be rendered thus—"while victory is with you, we will be with you; but the moment it leaves you, we shall leave you, and wait for better times." He said, that from his own official documents he had authority in stating that our allies upon the continent had the fullest expectations of assistance and co-operation on our parts; and of all the difficulties he had to contend with since his coming into office, the most difficult was that of endeavouring to satisfy foreign ministers for the gross failure, on our part, in answering these expectations. That difficulty was now, however, in a great degree removed by what had fallen, in the course of the present debate, from the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham). And, as it was well known, that by some means or other what passed within that house went out to the public, to the country, and to the world; he rejoiced that the country and others would thereby be put in possession of what fell from the right hon. gent., when he admitted with that candour, of which certainly he could not divest himself if he would, that the late government had not in view any expedition to the continent. And why, he asked, had they not? Would they deny opportunity the most favourable? Here the right hon. secretary went into a detail of the history of the late campaign, as affecting Prussia, and contended, that never was there an occasion in which assistance on the part of Great Britain would have been more opportune or more effective; and as to the sincerity of Prussia, there could not exist a doubt from the very nature of the contest; besides that Prussia had, since her rupture with France, refused peace with that power, unless concluded in concert with Russia. In 1795, it was thought wise to subsidize Prussia and co-operate with her in order to induce her to go beyond her frontiers; but in the late campaign, when she was so deeply interested and had so deeply ventured, it was thought hazardous, unwise, and impolitic to join with her in the common cause. But the right hon. gent. had joked upon the uselessness of "making a show," that is, of making every necessary preparation for immediate embarkation; he could only say, that he knew too well how to prize that right hon. gent.'s ingenuity to suppose for a moment that that gentleman did not perfectly understand the nature of, and good consequences that might result from, a well-managed diversion.—He was perfectly ready to confess, that his noble friend ought to retract one part of his accusation, and that was, that the right hon. gent. had not acted dextrously on his own plan; for if he had determined completely to abandon the continent, certainly he acted on that plan with the greatest assiduity and effect. When the right hon. gent. urged, that it was for the interest of this country to shut itself up, and abandon the continent, and when the noble lord stated the benefits of economy, he put it to them to declare, whether they actually believed that either an economical war, or an efficient peace, could be secured by abandoning the continent, and thus setting the continent the example of abandoning this country. It was not true, that in the last war the negociations with France had always been commenced by the continental powers; the instances were numerous in which they had been led by Great Britain. In the present war, Great Britain and Russia were on equal terms. Russia had but a remote interest in the contest: if, therefore, it were said, that by making peace with France, Russia had abandoned us, he would answer, that we had engaged with Russia—not for the purchase of her blood and exertions, but that, seeing her manfully struggling against the common enemy, we had engaged to lend her our aid. Russia, however, finding that no assistance was at hand, and that the promises of Great Britain had vanished in air, after shewing how well she could bear up against the overwhelming torrent of French power, had agreed to make peace. The late coalition had certainly terminated with regard to us in a manner different from any of the former ones. In former coalitions, the powers of the continent left us alone, and fled from their engagements; now they had left us alone, but they had not fled from their engagements, nor in the slightest degree violated their faith. If the right hon. gent. disputed this, he would go step by step to the proof.

The *Solicitor-General* for Scotland depretated the manner in which the name and appointment of an hon. officer (sir H. Popham) had been introduced into the discussion by a noble lord opposite. If that noble lord thought that there was any thing culpable imputable to that officer, it was his duty to bring forward a charge against him, whilst he was in that house, and had an opportunity of defending himself. When he looked to the manner in which that topic had been that evening introduced, he must say that he thought it highly indecent. If the noble lord had attended to the result of a former enquiry instituted in that house against the same gallant officer, it might have had the effect of inducing him to abstain from the charges which he had that night urged. For his own part, he must deny, that there had been any thing in that enquiry, or in the judgement of the court martial upon his conduct, that could render his appointment as captain of the fleet, improper or irregular. The noble lord might have found, in the case of a junior officer, captain Bowen, who had been appointed by the late commander-in-chief of the channel fleet, captain of the fleet, just ground of complaint. He did not mean to say, that the officer to whose appointment he alluded, was not a most meritorious officer, or that he had not performed the duties of the station to which he had been appointed with ability and credit, but he mentioned the circumstance only to shew, that that appointment was not strictly conformable to the practice of the service. He hoped the noble lord would feel, that it was not justifiable by such charges as he had made, in the absence of the individual against whom they were directed, to endeavour to whisper away the character of any officer.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that any thing which occurred in that house could not be characterized as whispering upon the subject to which it applied. His noble friend had adverted to a transaction that had already appeared in all the newspapers, the agreement entered into between sir H. Popham and sir D. Baird, respecting the division of the prize money, before a single man had been embarked on the expedition against Buenos Ayres, which, he said, was a fit subject to be enquired into in that house. In fact, the matter was at present the subject of a suit in one of the courts of law. As to the appointment of sir H. Popham to the post he filled, he must say, that it had given general dissatisfaction in the navy. As to the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Canning), he had placed himself in an awkward situation, by the statement which he had that night made. If he, or his friends, thought that the late ministers had not done their duty, they should bring a charge against them; and he would pledge himself, if they should make out a case, to support them. But he was relieved from that duty, by the mis-statements of the noble lord (Castlereagh) and the right hon. gent. That noble lord had, in utter contempt of all historical fact, and in perversion of all circumstances and dates, imputed to the late administration of 14 months, all the evils of the preceding 14 years administration. The house, to judge of this, should recollect how the contest had begun. It would appear from the dispatches of lord G. L. Gower in 1805, that Austria had been dragged into the war, when she declared herself that she was not prepared for it. After having brought Austria to her ruin, and subsidized disinterested Russia, the right hon. gentleman now charged all the evils that resulted from such measures upon his hon. friends, who had succeeded to the end of that contest. Now, it was charged upon the late administration, that they had ruined the continent. He denied the fact; it was Mr. Pitt, and the measures pursued under his administration, that had ruined the continent; and highly as he respected the character of lord Grenville, of whom he had not the honour of much personal knowledge, he had not discovered any ground for altering the opinion he formerly entertained upon that subject. It was unnecessary to recur to the rapid events that had occurred from the battle of Auerstadt to the battle of Friedland, events which no force that could be sent from this country could have averted for a single day, or a single hour. As to the offers of peace to Prussia, from the moment of the flight of the king from Jena, she was as incapable of making peace without the consent of Russia, as of carrying on the war after the armistice of Tilsit. The noble lord had observed of him, that he shewed his independence by animadverting upon his friends, as well as his adversaries. For his part, he was as much attached to party as any man could be; but on such public questions he should never suffer any consideration to influence his unbiassed judgment; and in the part he took upon such occasions, he wished to benefit his country by eliciting the truth from both sides upon these important subjects. As to lord Grenville, every one would allow him to be an able politician, and this he would say of him, that he had disapproved of the Spanish war. The noble lord opposite had said, that after the negotiation had broken off, an army should have been sent to the support of Prussia; but Prussia was then at war with us, and, after the battle of Auerstadt, the winter season rendered it impossible to send any expedition. Where could men have been then sent to co-operate with the Russians, even after the battle of Eylau, which he still looked upon to have been disastrous for the Russians? It had been said, that Prussia, by joining the coalition before the battle of Austerlitz, might have turned the scale, which he did not think would have been the case, but she neglected that opportunity, and had brought herself into her present situation, as he had before said, by her insane rashness. Here this country then was without an ally. If the late ministers had brought it into that situation, a charge ought to be brought against them for it, rather than by misrepresentation, to impute blame to them. Even at this late period of the session, he should think the enquiry might be gone into, and he hoped that there would be no objection to the production of all communications with the Prussian government. The right hon. gentlemen opposite, when after the dissolution they had arranged every thing for the election, then turned their attention to the continent. The expeditions they had sent out he wished might prove successful, but he hoped they would not prove an example of that dispersion of the disposeable force of the country, which had been charged upon his right hon. friends.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* said, that it was no more the duty of the present ministers to bring a charge against their predecessors, than it was the duty of their predecessors to bring a charge against them. He thought his predecessors wrong, and that they had ruined the continent. But as the conduct of an existing government might involve the country in disaster, if the gentlemen opposite thought them wrong, they ought to bring a charge against them.

Mr. *Windham* rose to clear himelf from some misrepresentations of the right honourable secretary of state. He liked his ingenuity and eloquence very well; but did not think his arguments the most respectable. He imputed opinions and assertions to gentlemen, that he might answer them himself, by which means he had always enough to say. A man might very easily be affluent who coined his own money. There was no want of words, where he had a manufactory of epithets. The right hon. gent. went on briskly, for he rode very light, and carried no weight.—He then shewed the difference between the system of the last ministers, as to continental affairs, and that which was imputed to them. They had not seen any proper opportunity for a diversion, or they would have made it. They had made no promise and neglected it. After various explanatory remarks, he begged gentlemen to prefer their charges fairly and seriously, and he would meet them. He requested the house to mark the right hon. secretary's receipt for making speeches. He put all sorts of ridiculous things into the mouths of his political opponents, that he might make out his speech, by answering them. He made them something like a second person, in a dialogue, who was made to talk a good deal of nonsense, to set off his opponent in the argument. But though he liked eloquence very well, he could not praise the respectability of the right hon. gent.'s arguments.—The resolution was then put, and carried.

On the question, that 15,000*l.* be granted for Inspecting Field-officers of Volunteers,

Mr. *Windham* contended, that even in the opinion of the volunteers themselves, these were useless. They might be inspected by the generals of the districts. This had been a project to answer election purposes. As it had done all the good it could do in that way, he thought the ministers might give up the matter, and save some expence to the public.

The *Secretary at War* wished to know if the inspection by generals of districts had been practised during the right hon. gent.'s administration. The number of volunteers, he believed, was in many instances greater where there were no general officers. As to the idea of a job, he asserted that the inspecting field-officers had in general, or rather without an exception, been re-appointed, without regard to the degree of interest they might possess. It could, therefore, be of little consequence whether the re-appointment had taken place on the eve of an election or not. He contended that the volunteer spirit had greatly subsided in many counties since that right hon. gent. had come into office.

Mr. *Windham* admitted that a relaxation the volunteering spirit had taken place; maintained that it had manifested itself ne considerable time previous to his ming into office.

General *Tarleton* said, the volunteers in district in which he had the honour to mmand, could never have reached the te of discipline to which they had arrived t for the exertions of the Inspecting Field-icers. If an invasion had taken place o years ago, they would have been able, m that district, in the course of two days, have produced 30,000 men within ten les of the metropolis.

Mr. *Calcraft* stated that before his right n. friend (Mr. Windham) came into office, e Volunteer force had decreased from 00,000 to 318,000, and during his administration they had fallen off in a much ss proportion, not having decreased above 0 or 25,000 men. He remembered that he mself, as a volunteer, had been inspectd by major-generals and lieutenant-genels, and he did not see why that practice ight not be continued. The gallant geeral (Tarleton) had now his head-quarters Bath, and it was a great pity that the arliament did not sit there, as in such a use the gallant general could reconcile his enatorial duties with the duties of commanding officer of the district, and in such ase he might again honour the volunteers o far as to review them.

General *Tarleton* said a few words in explanation, and imputed to the hon. gent. reat military ignorance.

Mr. *Rose* retorted the charge of a job, y alluding to the 300 surveyors of taxes, roposed to have been appointed by the ate administration.

Mr. *Beresford* deprecated the system of recrimination which had become so much he practice of members on both sides of he house. As to the subject immediately efore the house, he felt himself necessitaed to say, that the language held in that ouse by the right hon. gent. and the measures adopted by him, had such an effect on the volunteers in Ireland, as to make at least one half of those who had been most zealous in the service, turn their backs upon it.

The *Solicitor-General* of Scotland spoke n praise of the Scotch volunteers, whom e also stated to have been very much discouraged by the language of Mr. Windham.

Mr. *Windham* said, the arguments of the ast hon. and learned gent. were merely to the old tune, "No pay, no Swiss." This wonderful relaxation of the spirit of the Scotch volunteers, was to be attributed to some diminution of the former allowances. If, however, the number of the Scotch volunteers was much diminished, it must be allowed, that this diminution began long before he came into office, or had any prospect of coming into office, and therefore these gentlemen must have had the gift of second sight, to know both that he would come into office, and what he was to propose. He had often objected to what was called the volunteer system: but as to the individuals themselves, it was impossible that any one could pretend to turn into ridicule the population of England, Ireland, or Scotland, or that proportion of the population which evidently appeared most ardent in the general defence. As to what an hon. gent. had said about the disgrace of crimination and recrimination between the different parties, he agreed so far in that opinion, that he did not wish unnecessarily to indulge in it; but if it obviously occurred in the course of a discussion, he was not content to pair off.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he recollected a very different history respecting that corps. They were a corps that wanted greater allowances to be made to them than what was usual. An hon. general (Tarleton) had, in his explanation, accused an hon. friend of his of gross ignorance in military matters. The house would, however, recollect that about a fortnight ago, the hon. general had exerted all his military calculation to persuade the house that Bonaparte had advanced so far in Poland that it was next to impossible he should ever be able to retreat. After so recent a promulgation of his military opinions, he thought the house would not believe that every military man was completely ignorant of his profession, who might differ in opinion from the hon. general.—After some conversation, the committee divided: For the vote 84; Against it 24.

A vote of credit, amounting to 4,500,000*l.* for Great Britain, and 500,000*l.* for Ireland, was also proposed and agreed to, after some opposition from lord H. Petty, sir J. Newport, and Mr. Windham. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in answer to the observations against the amount, said, that there were many exigencies which might call for the employment of the surplus. A case, for example, might be supposed to arise, when it might be necessary to call out the volunteers and place them on full pay.—The several other grants having been put and carried, the house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received tomorrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, August 3.

[Publicans' Licence Bill.] Mr. *Sheridan* presented a petition from certain publicans, &c. praying the aid of parliament, in alleviation of certain grievances with respect to the granting and revoking of Licences. The petition was ordered to lie on the table. Mr. S. then rose and said, that the petition he just had the honour of presenting was signed by more than 1,000 persons. As to the abuses of which that petition complained, and the remedy which he proposed for those abuses, he must at present decline entering into them. He contended that they could be satisfactorily proved upon the most unquestionable testimony, at the bar. He said that he had made every enquiry into the alledged abuses, and had no doubt he should convince gentlemen, to their astonishment, of the cruel and grinding oppression which in many instances had been practised towards that body. The great object of his endeavour to relieve them would at least be, to have it made certain by parliament, that the bread, the livelihood, the very means of existence to those people and their families, should not depend on the will or the caprice of any two magistrates, without an appeal to some of the courts of judicature. He concluded by moving, that leave be given to bring in a bill to amend so much of the 32d and others of the king as relates to the granting and withholding licences from ale-house keepers, &c.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* had no objection to the motion, but did think that the right hon. gent. should have distinctly stated the instances of cruel and grinding oppression he had in such very strong terms complained of. If any of the magistracy had been guilty of such a breach of their duty, it might be made the subject of a criminal action. He could not approve of the line of distinction the right hon. gent. seemed to draw between the magistracy.—After a few words between Mr. S. Bourne, the Marquis of Titchfield, and Mr. A. Cooper, the motion was agreed to.

[Militia Transfer Bill.] On the order of the day, for the further consideration of this bill,

Mr. *Frankland* argued against the principle of the bill, and thought that the militia had many advantages over the regulars. The man that was good at the foil, could not be unskilful at the sword; and he thought the illustration applied well to the militia. The latter was a more settled and compact force, and were less liable to the ill effects of a constant succession of new officers, than the regular forces. The hon. gent. dwelt on the importance of uniting, as much as possible, the character of the soldier and the citizen. The militia force was a most constitutional body, and ought not by any means to be discouraged, as would be done by the present bill. He must also object to it as going obliquely to undermine the system of military service introduced last year by his right. hon. friend, while it was not directly and manfully brought under the consideration of the house.

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* rose and said: In this late stage of the important subject now before the house, I beg leave to trouble it for a short time. I am one of those that voted for the measures proposed by his majesty's ministers, not that I thought them complete for the purpose, or that they were the best that might have been devised, but because, after having considered every thing that has been thrown out on the different sides of the house, (who all agree in the end although they differ as to the means) I thought this mode preferable, from a persuasion that as it was apparent a large deficiency must exist for some time in our military establishments, it was the interest of our country, under the present exigency, the deficiency should be thrown on the militia, rather than on our regular force; both on the probability of that deficiency being sooner filled up with trained soldiers, applicable to every purpose, than by any other mode proposed; and again, on the probability of that deficiency in the militia, being made good in an easier and more economical manner, than it would be if it existed in the troops of the line. The length to which this session has been protracted, by the circumstances which have occurred, may, perhaps, justify the officers of government in not proposing to this house at present further measures, which possibly might retard this measure, which promises expeditiously a great increase of that force of the country adapted either to offensive or defensive operations. As government has the best means of judging how far the danger may be more or less imminent, on them ies the responsibility of thinking no more need be done in the present session. However inconvenient a further attendance might be, that inconvenience would plead but little, should any injury to our country take place, which might have been prevented by further measures. I trust they are not mistaken, and I have the satisfaction of believing from what has fallen from ministers, that they intend taking the earliest opportunity to ameliorate, extend and organize a more complete system of defence and offence; it would be wasting he time of the house, to occupy it, in endeavouring to prove an imperious necessity, which must overrule all minor objections to such measures as may put our internal security on the best footing, and also afford the best means of preserving our external greatness. Every thinking man's mind being naturally employed on those great objects, may I be permitted to submit to the house some Suggestions, which I humbly conceive are well worth being considered, and that they may be so modeled as to promise to effect this great object as far as the physical powers of our country will admit. They are the Suggestions of a man, who having served many years at the head of the militia of the county of which he was also lord, (and had therefore better means of being acquainted with the bearing and operation of the militia laws in the different situations of our country,) and during several of the campaigns in the American war, in many of the last war with France, and in various parts of Great Britain, employed a strong understanding in weighing the advantages and disadvantages attending this service, according to the different circumstances of our country. Sir, I apprehend, however great our gratitude ought and must be to those enlightened and provident patriots who introduced and established this most important mode of national defence, however competent it has proved to its object during former times, yet no man will contend that, in the present state of Europe, (which it is necessary only to allude to) the same system must be applicable. I here must beg leave to advert to what many gentlemen in this house must recollect in 1799, when a French detachment had landed in Ireland; many of the regiments of the militia of this country volunteered their services to the sister kingdom, with an alacrity and zeal never to be forgotten. As the laws stood and now stand, an act of the legislature was necessary to legalize the acceptance of their services. This French detachment after some success, and having advanced considerably into the country, being disappointed in their expectations of a faithful, numerous, and zealous co-operation for which purpose they had brought many arms, surrendered. Had they not been disappointed in this expectation, it is not easy to appreciate the important advantages that must have resulted from this patriotic act of the British militia; the act of the legislature however in its progress through the houses of parliament met with much opposition. In mentioning this, I am far from intending to impute any blame to those gentlemen who made that opposition. I am persuaded they acted, according to their view of the subject, in the manner most conducive to the best interest of their country. Gentlemen will also recollect, that on the renewal of hostilities with France, when Buonaparte lined the coast opposite to ours with his legions, and began to assemble his flotilla at Boulogne, many regiments of the Irish militia, seeing England threatened, seized the opportunity of testifying their gratitude by offering to come here; at the same time some regiments of English militia again volunteered to go to Ireland: at that moment, some most respectable leading characters in that service, thought proper to publish Resolutions expressing strong disapprobation of that measure, and stopped it. I cannot help lamenting that they thought it their duty so to act, as it is obvious that the facility of mutual defence was and will be thereby embarrassed; and what is of no less importance, though not so obvious, that it prevents the intermixture of a considerable part of the population of the two countries; a measure which would go further in seven years to render the union not merely nominal, but real, than the present mode of proceeding will do in fifty. Sir, I know too well the zeal with which the gentlemen of the militia have acted, the privations to which they have so long submitted, not to be persuaded that they on that occasion also acted according to their views of the best interest of their country, and that, had they thought the exigency required it, they would readily have gone there. At the same time that I think so highly of their patriotism, I am not less persuaded that from their good sense they would rather meet the enemy in Munster or Connaught, than in Yorkshire or Kent. As these latter considerations do not immediately belong to the question before us, I shall say no more on them at present; if it was permitted for so insignificant an individual as I am, to mention himself, I would say, that having had the honour to serve several campaigns in different parts of Europe, having had the honour to serve 39 years in this house, and having attended all the discussions on these important subjects, I presume to think myself not totally incompetent on them; and concurring, as I do, in the soundness of these Suggestions, and persuaded that great national advantage may be derived from them, I will take the liberty to lay them before the house. They are as follow:—1. "To enable Volunteers to propose to his majesty's lieutenants of counties, to form themselves into local militia, to be regularly trained for 28 days, with the same establishment, in the same manner, and under the same regulations as the old militia used to be in time of peace. To leave their counties only in case of invasion or imminent danger thereof." The object of this clause is to establish, at little expence, under command and under officers of some experience, a large body of men, which may be speedily applied to the public service in case of emergency. I would wish this source of supply to be extended to the number of 160,000. It may also, if it shall be consonant with the wisdom of parliament, to adopt the next proposition, be made a source whence may be drawn a supply of men to keep the embodied militia constantly full.—2. "To enable his majesty to accept the voluntary services of one fourth part of the embodied militia annually, to serve in the regular army. And if the men so volunteering, were put invariably into the regiments that are reputed to belong to the counties from whence the men come, whenever those regiments shall want recruits or be augmented; if ensigncies were sometimes given on the recommendation of the lords lieutenants, to young men of those counties; these two measures could not fail of adding much to the facility of keeping our regular force complete; but as those two last arrangements are within the power of the commander-in-chief, that illustrious personage will certainly adopt whatever on consideration shall appear calculated for such important purposes." The object of this clause is to give (as is obvious) a regular supply of efficient men to the regular army. I would wish this force, the embodied militia, to be carried to the extent of 80,000 for Great Britain, giving annually a recruit of 20,000 men to the army, and establishing a force commensurate (as I apprehend) for the ordinary purposes of the kingdom; thereby leaving the whole, or the greatest part of the regular army, a disposeable force.—3. "To enable lieutenants of counties to accept the voluntary services of as many men from the local militia as would fill up the deficiency occasioned by the drafts from the embodied militia into the army. If there shall be a deficiency of volunteers for filling up the embodied militia, that deficiency to be made good by a ballot, without exemptions, and deficiencies in the local militia to be supplied annually by a similar ballot." The object of this clause is to make use of the ballot only when indispensable, and then in a manner little burthensome.—4. "To enable lieutenants of counties to employ the staff of the local militia in training the men intended to be transferred to the embodied militia, during the time such staff may not be actually on duty with the local militia." The object of this clause is to have the embodied militia complete in members acquainted with the use of arms.—5. "To enable his majesty to direct lieutenants of counties, if he should see it proper so to do, to employ the said staff of the local militia, when not otherwise employed in exercising the persons bound to serve under the provisions of the Training act." The object of this clause is to give farther efficiency to the Training act, which is admirable, as giving to the crown the positive command of a large body of men in case of emergency, but which in its actual progress amounts to a muster of men.—I humbly conceive that it is no small recommendation of these Suggestions, that at the same time, that if adopted together, they would draw forth the physical powers of the population in a most efficient and in the least expensive manner, and mutually strengthen each other, they may be applied with advantage separate, without adopting the whole. The one, to which the greatest objections would be made, is that of enabling his majesty to accept annually so considerable a number of volunteers into the regular army. This is not the moment to discuss this most important subject, I shall not therefore intrude longer on the time of the house.

The *Secretary at War* thought the present measure might have been assented to without entering upon the plan of last year; but as it had been brought forward so often, he would call the attention of the house to some facts relative to that plan, as they appeared by the papers on the table of the house. The object of that plan was to provide a great increase for the regular army, and if it had failed in that, there was an end to the argument against the present measure, as trenching upon it. The right hon. secretary then stated from the returns, that the numbers recruited in the first six months of 1806, were 9,933 men. These were the numbers enlisted, and allowances were certainly to be made for those above the military age, and under the size; but it was to be considered, that during 3 of these months the recruiting, under the Additional Force act, was cramped by its being understood that it was to be repealed. Boys he put out of the question on both sides. But if he allowed 900 men for the number rejected, he thought it would be fully sufficient. The numbers procured under the right hon. gent.'s system, in the first six months, were 9,091 men. This view of the case was certainly not very favourable to the plan, as it procured no more than the old system. It was also to be considered, that the right hon. gent.'s system had been in full operation during the six months adverted to. It was true that the last six months had been more productive than the preceding period, but that was accounted for by the additional number of recruiting parties appointed, and the threat of dissolving the second battalions, unless they procured a certain number of men by a given time. The casualties of the whole army were about 18,000 men, and this was all the plan provided for, without taking into account the number who would claim their discharge. The number of desertions, too, appeared to be equal among the recruits under his plan and the former system, though the last six months was rather in favour of the former.

Dr. *Laurence* begged to call the attention of the house to the conduct of the present ministers, who never rested their measures on their own merit, but always went to comparisons. When in opposition, they had perpetually called for his right hon. friend's plan before he had been two months in office, and yet, after a lapse of 4 months, they themselves had come forward with this magnificent measure! They had taken care, too, to bring it forward at this late period of the session, and had reserved the most obnoxious clause—that of granting an option to enlist for a term of years, or for life, which destroyed in a great measure the effects of the plan of his right hon. friend, till the committee, that there might be no opportunity to consider it on the second reading, which was the time for debating it. The consequence was that many had gone out of town with a wrong impression of the nature of this measure. He then entered upon a defence of his right hon. friend's system. It was intended to supply the whole casualties of the army, in which the former system was grossly deficient. But this was not all the effect of the plan; it would have a much greater, in his opinion, whatever the noble lord opposite might think and say of it. It was natural for the noble lord to smile at a philosophic measure, as he tauntingly called it, who had never conceived any grand scheme in his life—who never could generalize—who from two figures before him could scarcely draw a legitimate conclusion—who could do nothing but go on in the common routine way, and endeavour to impose himself on the multitude as a great statesman, but who had only this in common with his colleagues, that he was as great a statesman as he could be. The right hon. secretary had made allowances for the former method of recruiting, but none for that of his right hon. friend. He forgot the diminished bounties, and was for putting the boys out of the question, because he knew that, in this view, the advantage would have appeared greatly on the side of his right hon. friend's plan. He then talked of his right hon. friend's forgetting his measure. The right hon. secretary well knew there were offices which that plan had to go through—offices to which one set of ministers might be more agreeable than another. At all events the dispatch did not entirely depend on his right hon. friend. But this was the way of ministers, they always set up a vague and indefinite cry. Sometimes the church was in danger, sometimes one mode of recruiting was good, sometimes another. But his right hon. friend long ago had felt the unfitness of temporary expedients for permanent evils. Even in the school of the great founder of expedients (Mr. Pitt), he had not entirely approved of these, but had only acquiesced in giving them a trial. Ministers talked of emergency, but there was no end of their emergencies, and in stead of having a permanent system to meet real emergencies; they were always calling out emergencies, and resorting to expedients to meet them. But these expedients could not always answer, and they were attended with this mischief, that they exhausted the country, and by that means destroyed the materials on which a permanent measure would have to work.

Mr. *Wilberforce* supported the bill. It was highly necessary to increase the force of the country, for now that Buonaparte had been so successful on the continent, he would be induced to attempt achievements to which even his bold spirit had not hitherto prompted him.

Mr. *Windham* said, his hon. and learned friend (Dr. Laurence) had been mistaken and mis-stated as well as himself, and both had been charged with uttering opinions that the country was in no danger. They had never said so; but had only contended that ministers had not shewn an emergency which required that this particular measure should be resorted to. The first question on this head was, what was the nature of the emergency, and, the next, if the measure now proposed was calculated to meet that emergency? He denied that it was. It was nothing more than a temporary remedy to guard against a permanent mischief. They ought to look forward, and provide permanent remedies to meet and counteract permanent evils. If they went on in this manner, living from hand to mouth, providing only for the present, and taking no thought for the future, they would come at last to a state in which the present could no longer be provided for. They might safely neglect the future as long as it was future, but they should recollect, that what was future would in time become present. His own measure was on the contrary calculated to provide a permanent force, to meet a danger which was equally permanent, and to operate at all times the defence of the country. Those temporary expedients only placed the country in the situation of a person who was supported by drams and cordials, which, however they might give an apparent increase of animal spirits, must in the end destroy his health, constitution, and life. This measure professed to make an addition in the course of 12 months, and to provide a force of 40,000 men, and immediately to obtain 28,000 men by a transfer from the militia to the army; but this was a fallacious way of reckoning, for in respect to the transfer if one service gained, the other lost so many, and when they reckoned on those they would gain by the ballot, they would take into the account those they would lose by recruiting, which this measure would cut up entirely. He concluded by desiring to impress upon the recollection of the house, the debate of this night, and the project now to be substituted upon mere speculation, in place of another which had been found effective, was not allowed time for fair experiment; but which had, in the last 3 months, produced at the rate of 24,000 men per annum, and must in every moral certainty improve, nay, perhaps, double its operation in another year, while the present measure would operate effectively in the first instance, but exhaust the sources of future strength. The house would find, when next called on for the annual supply of the public force, that this measure would fail, and destroy, in one way, the strength it produced in another.

Lord *Castlereagh* replied in support of his bill, which he said would in six months add a force to the army of the country, which the right hon. gent.'s plan would not have added in six years; for it was only calculated to feed the ordinary deficiencies by casualty, to keep its strength just where it stood. Besides, at the end of seven years by that plan, 53,000 men would be entitled to their discharge, which, added to the ordinary deficiences for the year, would create such a chasm in the public force, as the right hon. gent. would find impossible to recruit in a year: and as to the Training act, it was impossible to bring it in operation before the commencement of next session.—The report was then taken into further consideration, and upon the clause substituting the option of unlimited for limited service, a division took place; when there appeared, For the clause 96; against it 46.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, August 4.

[Offices in Reversion Bill.] The order of the day having been read for the second reading of this bill,

Lord *Arden* rose. He considered the bill to be an unnecessary and indecent attack upon the king's lawful prerogative. Nothing whatever had been stated to prove that such a measure was necessary, except merely an expression in the preamble of the bill, that it was expedient for the public service. The manner also in which the bill originated was very unusual, and no round had been shewn to prove that there was any necessity to make such an attack pon the king's just prerogative. He should herefore oppose the bill and take the sense f the house upon it.

Earl *Grosvenor* expressed great regret at he opposition given to this bill by his nole friend. He conceived the bill to be so ompletely in unison with the popular feelng at the present moment, that it would e unwise to reject it, and he thought his majesty's ministers, by opposing the bill, would render themselves so unpopular that hey would not long remain in office. He was a warm friend to the bill, not merely for its own sake, but for the sake of those measures of reform relative to the public expenditure, of which he considered this merely as the forerunner—measures which were highly necessary at a crisis like the present, when it was of so much importance to engage the hearts as well as the arms of the people. He trusted their lordships would not be induced to reject the bill.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* called their lordships' attention to his majesty's speech at the close of the last session, in which satisfaction was expressed at the conduct of the committee of finance, and contended that this bill, being the only measure which that committee had then recommended, the king's speech contained in effect an approval of the measure. After ministers had thus approved of the measure, after they had approved of it in the other house, and after the bill had been so long in this house, he was greatly astonished at the opposition it now experienced. He could not help also adverting to the conduct of his majesty's ministers upon this occasion. If they now thought this bill ought not to pass, why did they not attend in their places, and oppose it in a manly manner, instead of staying away themselves, and sending their friends and connections to oppose the bill? [None of the ministers were present, except the lord chancellor.] He did not mean by this to impute to the noble lord that he was sent there for that purpose; but that construction would be put upon such conduct by the public. He was convinced that the public feeling was strongly in favour of the bill; and that ought to be, at the present moment, a strong argument in its favour. The granting of offices in reversion he considered to be highly prejudicial to the public service, and highly improper; such grants being frequently made to children, at a very early age, and such offices, although requiring regulation, from a change of circumstances, could not, during such grant, be regulated for the benefit of the public. He would instance one case, that of the large office held by the noble lord (Arden), and the reversion of which had been granted to him after the death of his father, whose public services were undoubtedly great, at a time when the income arising from it was comparatively trifling. The profits of it had since increased to an amount which could not possibly have been in the contemplation of any one, and which arose, in a great degree, from the misfortunes of the country. It would, no doubt, have been thought expedient to regulate an office of that description. He thought, upon every ground that could be stated, that this bill ought to be proceeded in.

Lord *Arden* said, he was not sent to that house to oppose the bill, nor would he be sent there by any man: he opposed the bill because he conceived it to be his duty as a peer of parliament to do so.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* in explanation, disclaimed any intention of throwing the least imputation upon the noble lord; he only meant to allude to the construction which would be put in the public mind upon the opposition given to the bill, coupled with the absence of his majesty's ministers.

Lord *Melville* said there was only one point in which he agreed with the noble lord (Lauderdale), namely, that which related to the absence of ministers. He wished they had been there to declare their sentiments in opposition to the bill, if such were the sentiments which they entertained upon the subject. But when the absence of ministers was spoken of, he would ask, where were the illustrious members of the late administration? Why did not they attend to support their own bill, and display their parental fondness for their own offspring? He denied that this measure had been approved of or alluded to in his majesty's speech. The speech applauded the general object of the committee of finance, namely, to enquire into the means of reforming and economizing the public expenditure; but could not be made to apply to the present measure. No argument had, he contended, been adduced in favour of the present measure, except an assertion, that it was agreeable to the public feeling. He did not believe that there was any such feeling in the public mind, nor was there any thing in the bill by which the public could be benefited. If the bill were to pass, not a sixpence would be saved by it; the offices would remain the same; and, the only object of it would be to encroach upon the king's just and lawful prerogative. The noble lord had spoken of reversions being granted to children, but was it not the practice, when great services had been performed by an Admiral or General, to confer hereditary honours, and to grant also an annual sum, which was not confined to the person to whom granted, but was extended to his descendants? It had been the constant practice of our ancestors to act upon this principle. He would put a case also to shew the expediency of acting upon it in other instances: suppose a person was rendered incapable by age or infirmity from executing the duties of an office which he had held for 20 or 30 years; such a person was not to be turned out without some provision. There were in this case only two modes of acting; the one by a pension, and the other by granting the reversion of the office to his son or other relation, who might assist him in the office. By the former mode, a charge was made upon the public during the life of that person, and in the latter there was no additional expence. He could discover nothing in support of this bill, but an assertion that it was expedient; whilst, on the other hand, there was the uniform practice of our ancestors. He could not, therefore, consent to such a bill as the present, nor could he for a moment consent, that after a beneficent reign of nearly half a century, such an attack should be made upon the prerogative and influence of a beloved and revered monarch.

Lord *Holland* said, as the noble viscount had begun his speech by stating that there was only one point in the speech of his noble friend (the earl of Lauderdale), in which he agreed, so he would observe that there was only one point in the speech of the noble viscount in which he had the good fortune to agree, and that was, that his majesty's ministers ought to have been present to have declared their sentiments in a manly manner upon this bill. As to the charge made by the noble viscount, of the absence of the members of the late administration, he could assure their lordships, that, had there been the least expectation that this bill would be opposed, there would have been a full attendance of those noble lords, with whom he had the honour to act. But when it was recollected that only four-and-twenty hours notice had been given of any intention to oppose this bill (he did not mean to throw any imputation upon the noble lord who had commenced this debate), there was not much ground for surprise at the thin attendance. He thought it, however, of so much importance that this bill should be debated in a full house, that he intended to move to adjourn the debate till to-morrow, in order to give an opportunity for that full attendance, which the importance of the subject demanded. After the bill had been nearly a month before the house, without appearing to meet with any objection, he was astonished that it should now be attempted to be debated in a thin house, and at so late a period of the session. His noble friends had not attended, because they thought there was no intention of opposing the bill; he was convinced they would attend if the consideration of the bill was postponed till to-morrow. He entirely agreed with his noble friend (earl Grosvenor), that this bill was only to be considered as the forerunner of important measures of reform and economy in the public expenditure of the country. When it was in contemplation to abolish or to regulate offices, it was natural as the first step to be taken, to prevent those offices being granted in reversion, because if they were, it was obvious that for a considerable time no regulation could be applied to them. It was therefore that the public feeling was so much interested in this bill, which he contended it was, and he begged leave to say that he thought the noble viscount in denying the existence of this public feeling was mistaken. He was convinced that if ministers thought that the rejection of this measure would not be an unpopular measure, they would find themselves miserably mistaken. He denied that the bill was an encroachment upon the just prerogative of the crown; on the contrary, the granting places in reversion was an encroachment upon that prerogative, and upon this subject he would put the case, which though an extreme one, would shew the tendency of the argument, namely, that of all the offices being granted in reversion: it would necessarily follow, that the successor to the crown would find himself deprived of all influence. Reversions, besides, had a tendency to render the offices themselves sinecures, and sinecures were again granted in reversion: then reversions begat sinecures, and sinecures begat reversions. It might be true that, by the operation of this bill in itself, nothing would be saved;

but when it was considered as the first step to other measures, it must be viewed in a very different light; and although there might be considerable exaggeration as to the saving which it was possible to effect, yet, at the present moment, every sixpence and every halfpenny ought to be saved, in order to lighten, as much as possible, the burthens of the people. There might, perhaps, be a popular delusion upon this subject; but even that was an argument, at a crisis like the present, for agreeing to this bill. He did not conceive, however, that a bill of so much importance should be decided upon in so thin a house, and he should therefore move, that the debate be adjourned till to-morrow.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* again referred to his majesty's speech at the close of the last session, his majesty's speech at the opening of the present session, and to the votes of the house of commons, containing the resolution on which the present bill was founded; and contended that his majesty's speeches contained a full approval of this measure.

Lord *Melville* again contended that his majesty's speeches only contained an approval of the general object of the committee of finance.

The Earl of *Selkirk* approved of the bill, upon the principle that it was to be considered as the forerunner of other great and important measures.

Lord *Boringdon* said, however unpleasant it might be for him to differ in opinion with those with whom he usually agreed, he felt it incumbent upon him to support this bill. It was a measure to which the country looked with no little anxiety: considering it as recommended by his majesty, and expected by the public, it should have his support.—The question having been put on lord Holland's amendment, the house divided: Non-contents 15; Contents 9; Majority 6.—The bill was then read a second time; and upon the question for the third reading, it was moved by lord Arden, that it should be read a third time this day 3 months, which was carried without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, August 4.

[Parochial Schools Bill.] Mr. Whitbread moved the order of the day for taking into farther consideration the report on the Parochial Schools bill; which being read,

Mr. *Davies Giddy* said, though he should not oppose the farther progress of this bill, he must beg leave to say a few words on the present occasion. He then repeated some of his former objections against instructing the lower classes of the people, especially in writing and arithmetic, at the public expence. He thought also, that being enabled to read, they would waste their time in perusing inflammatory hand-bills, and other political productions; and that more mischief would be the result than good produced by it.

Mr. *W. Smith* defended the principle of instructing all classes of society, and thought that those who opposed it must necessarily found their arguments upon mistake. Sedition, if it was at all to be propagated or encouraged by instruction or general knowledge, was much more likely to be so, by its being communicated by the ear, than it would be when communicated by the eye. It appeared to him that one ill-intentioned man, disposed to propagate sedition, might do infinitely more mischief, by inflaming the passions of the people by seditious harangues, than could be done by their reading the most inflammatory and seditious pamphlets; and it was surely much better to counteract seditious pamphlets, by their being able to read others of a contrary tendency, than to hire men to make speeches, in order to put down the effect of seditious harangues. If the government of a country were afraid of making the people enlightened and well informed, he really did not see how they could possibly stop short of wishing that they had no understandings at all.

Mr. *Pole Carew* objected to the clause relative to the purchasing, hiring, or erecting buildings for the purpose of giving the requisite instruction. He had been told that the poor's rates were ultimately to be lowered, by enlightening the lower orders of the people; but he was convinced it would have quite a contrary effect, and tend to nothing more than raising the poo 's rates, and affording them an education beyond what their situations in life required. That education was certainly best which was nearest adapted to the particular sphere of each individual. Institutions for education were increasing daily, and he saw no occasion for increasing their number; the more especially as he thought small schools were more desirable than large ones; because, in the latter, immorality was more likely to be imbibed than morality and virtue. For these, and other reasons, he proposed to leave out the words, "empowering magistrates to purchase or hire any buildings or lands whereupon to erect buildings for the purpose of schools."

Mr. *Whitbread* combated the arguments used in support of this amendment, as being totally destitute of foundation, and such as had already been refuted by every argument used upon the subject, either in that house or in any work that had been written upon it. It was an amendment which went absolutely to render the whole bill ineffectual. While the dangers of a refined education were talked of, gentlemen did not seem to recollect, that the education proposed by this bill was only the simple education of reading and writing. Whatever might be the sense of the house upon this amendment, he should own he was anxious such a bill should pass under legislative authority, to shew that parliament had decided that education was a good thing to be given, a proper thing to be obtained. It was a mistake for some members to suppose that this was a compulsory measure. Would the hon. gent. who recommended small schools in preference to large ones, propose to have 20 small schools instead of one large school, by way of limiting the expenses of the undertaking? He had stated, and he would still state, that it was his opinion it would be better to exalt the character of the labourer so as to make him independent of his fellow-creatures for his livelihood, and this was the mode ultimately to reduce the poor's rates. But whether there were poor's rates or not, he should ever contend that the instruction of the poor would be good, and would be one of the greatest boons their country could bestow upon them. When this subject was talked of, he could not help having Scotland always in his mind. What he had read of that country, and the inhabitants thereof, tended strongly to confirm him in the truth of what he had heard stated in that house concerning them.—After some further conversation, this amendment was rejected without a division.

Mr. *Pole Carew* said, there were some passages in the preamble which he wished to be altered. He by no means approved the wording as it stood: "whereas, the instruction of youth tends most materially to the promoting of morality and virtue;" and the following passage we did not understand: "whereof we had a most convincing proof, by long experience, in that part of the united kingdom called Scotland." He thought there was no proof of this before the house, and therefore moved, that the said preamble be amended by striking out those passages.

Mr. *Windham* said, he differed with his hon. friend, as to the advantages to be derived to the public from this bill. The preamble mentioned instruction; but what sort of instruction? He by no means thought, that teaching the lower orders to read and write, would prove beneficial to the community at large. Scotland had been referred to as a proof of the great advantages resulting from instruction, but he did not think that proved any thing with regard to this country. He thought the character of the Scotch contributed more to obtain reading and writing, than reading and writing to form the character of the Scotch. He should, therefore, approve of amending the preamble.

Mr. *Whitbread* would not consent to alter the preamble, which was the foundation of the bill. He had not expected that his right hon. friend would have been in the house, and he was altogether unprepared for his opposition. He was surprized and grieved that he should lend his great talents to those who seemed to think education an improper thing for the lower orders; but even against his great abilities he would engage to maintain, that education contributed to morality and virtue. He was astonished, that in a mind so enlightened, there should be a speck so dark. If he had not known that his right hon. friend was one of the most enlightened men of the age, he should really have supposed that he had heard another Jack Cade, who had accused lord Say and Sele of corrupting the minds of the people by introducing grammar-schools and printing, and verbs and nouns. When one opposed that for which he himself was remarkable, it was called "the Devil rebuking sin." We heard of mathematicians who thought mathematics the only desirable education —of navigators who preferred navigation to every thing, and so forth; but here was a most remarkable thing—a man of the greatest knowledge himself opposing the communication of knowledge. It was with pain and regret that he heard his right hon. friend, session after session, talking against the diffusion of knowledge. If he did not know him to be a man of most liberal mind, he should suppose he wished to be a monopolizer—a regrater and forestaller of all talents and genius in his own person. For his part, he differed with him most widely on this head, and was for doing every thing in his power in aid of that vital spark, which could not be taken away. He would wish to have men the dignified characters for which they were formed by nature, and for which they only wanted the assistance of education. He would wish them to know their duties, and to understand and value, as they ought, their rights. If the house rejected the preamble, they rejected the base, on which the whole stood, and if they rejected the base, they might as well reject the superstructure altogether.

Sir *T. Turton* said, he had heard the hon. gentleman with a considerable deal of astonishment, when he stated that if he deserted this part of the preamble, he should be deserting the whole superstructure of the bill. As to Scotland, he should ask him, had the house any proof to ascertain that such was the fact, as alleged in that preamble? Had there been any committee appointed, or was there any now to be appointed to investigate this matter, and to convince the house of the propriety of adopting such a clause? The right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) did not appear to object so much to the principle of giving instruction to the people, as to the mode of doing so. Upon this subject he could say, that instruction was gaining ground by very rapid strides through the country, perhaps indeed too rapidly. Was the day labourer, he would ask, happier, for being instructed in reading and writing? Did the house not recollect the mutiny at the Nore? He might venture to state, from the information of an hon. admiral, that upon that occasion the mutineers had daily and nightly meetings on board of the ships; at which meetings they employed themselves in reading the newspapers and other publications; and that this tended much to the consequences which ensued. We are not, said sir Thomas, adverse to instructing the people, but there is a mode, and also an extent, to which their education ought to be carried. My humble opinion is, that this bill will lie as a dead letter upon the statute book, and not one parish out of fifty will ever act upon it. Certainly Scotland does form an exception, with respect to a system of education, but it can bear no analogy to the education of the people of England. The Scotch are a people that do not appear to be educated for remaining at home, they being in general inclined to move beyond their country. Their education would render them totally discontented, if they did not travel into other countries. If they remained in their own country, they would become extremely dissatisfied with their situation.

Mr. *Macleod* observed, that while he had heard one right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) stating that he thought the good conduct of the people of Scotland proceeded entirely from their general character, and another hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) arguing that it originated from their general good education, he was of opinion, that both of them might be said to be right. The schools in Scotland were like other schools, except that the masters had a salary fixed by the legislature. They had a maximum and a minimum of stipend, which was paid them by the farmers and the heritors. There were no parish rates in Scotland; but religion, he might venture to say, was the very foundation of the Scotch instruction. Before they were taught to write, they were completely taught to read their Bible. It was not, however, every person who was educated, that succeeded in life; but he never could conceive, after they were so grounded in religious ideas, as even to be able to repeat their bibles, that their reading and writing could be prejudicial to them. The schools were, in general, examined every year by the ministers of the church, or by the heritors. He thought that in England the bishop of the diocese should appoint a certain number of clergymen to examine the schools, and to watch that religion be the first and the last thing that is taught there.

Mr. *Wilberforce* opposed the arguments of the hon. baronet, and was sure, that when he examined his premises more accurately, he would find that they led to conclusions, to which he would by no means be willing to assent. What! was it to be an argument against the cultivation of our faculties, that those faculties might be abused? He contended strongly, against leaving out either the former or the latter part of the preamble, particularly the former, which contained a proposition, namely, "that the instruction of youth tended to morality and virtue," the omission of which, in his opinion, would be disgraceful, as after such repeated discussions it would appear, as if the house of commons had discovered its fallacy. Nor would he be willing to give up the latter part of the preamble, which referred to a country (Scotland) in which the multiplied advantages of education in the improvement of the character of a people, were most apparent. In his eagerness to prevent other people from learning to read, the hon. baronet seemed to have abstained from reading himself: for if he had read the bill, he would have perceived that a complete option was given to the poor whether they would allow their children to be instructed or not.

Mr. *Grattan* supported the bill, and declared that he did not think knowledge too general, even among the higher orders. He dwelt with great praise on the plans of education in Scotland, but contended that Ireland was by no means an illiterate country, especially the south of it; he wished, however, that the benefits of instruction might be more generally diffused.

Mr. *P. Carew* then moved an amendment that the allusion in the preamble to Scotland be omitted. A division ensued: For the amendment 28; against it 33; majority 5.—On the motion for the third reading of e bill on Thursday,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* submitted to the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread), as there was little prospect of the bill's getting through the other house during the present session, if it would not be better to have it re-printed as amended, so that it might be resumed on the commencement of the next session, as a measure which had been approved of in that house, rather than as one which had been thrown out in another place.

Mr. *Whitbread* wished the bill to take its chance in the other house. If its progress was stopped in consequence of his majesty thinking it proper to prorogue parliament, that could not be regarded as a rejection, but as an unavoidable delay of the measure, which would again come forward with no worse grace than that which had formerly attended it.—The third reading was accordingly fixed for Thursday.

[DELIVERY OF WRITS.] Mr. *Barham* rose to make his promised motion for leave to bring in a bill to amend the present mode of Delivering Writs for the election of members of the house of commons. He stated the inconveniencies of the present mode, and lamented that by refusing to hear the Messenger of the Great Seal at the bar of the house, had prevented him from proving his statements. He declared that at every election the messenger received from the treasury a list of those to whom they recommended that the writs should be sent. He did not peculiarly charge the present administration with this practice; it had been the custom with antecedent administrations. He hoped, however, that now the case was brought before parliament, they would not object to the remedy being applied to it; and he doubted not that he should have the support of all those who were so warm on the sending of a private letter from a secretary of the treasury to his friend, in favour of a candidate. The plan he intended to introduce into his bill was as follows: that the writs as soon as issued should be delivered sealed by the messenger of the great seal to the secretary of the post-office, who should be enjoined to forward them by the following mail to the postmaster of the county town of each county, and who should deliver a receipt for them to the messenger. The postmaster of each county town on the receipt of the writ should be enjoined to inform the sheriff of its arrival, and should return a receipt to the secretary of the post-office. On obtaining information of the arrival of the writ, the sheriff should be enjoined instantly to repair to the post-master, giving him a receipt on its delivery. By this plan three points would be gained; 1st, dispatch, for in 5 days a writ would reach the most distant part of the island; 2d, security, which would be provided for by the receipts given by the various parties through whose hands the writ passed; 3d, and above all, the utmost facility would be afforded to detection and remedy, if, either by accident or design, the writ should be diverted from its proper course. With regard to the perquisites which the messenger of the great seal had hitherto received on the delivery of writs he did not wish that they should be touched during the life of the person who at present held that office, for two reasons: 1st, because those perquisites had been regulated, at different periods, by authority; and, 2d, because the present officer had rectified many abuses, and had not put up the writs to a kind of public auction, in imitation of his predecessors. Should the house give him leave to bring in his bill, he should move for the appointment of a committee to examine into the fees and perquisites of the messenger of the great seal, for the purpose of introducing a clause into the bill in order to save the present officer from any loss. After his death, he was of opinion that these fees and perquisites might be abolished; at present they amounted, one year with another, to about 500*l.* a year. This might be charged on the consolidated fund, or put on the sheriffs' account. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to insure certainty and dispatch in the delivery of writs for the election of members of parliament.—Leave granted.

[IRISH ARMS BILL.] The order of the day having been read for the House to resolve itself into a committee on the Irish Arms bill, Mr. Long moved that the Speaker do leave the chair.

Mr. *Whitbread* would not oppose the motion for going into a committee, although the bill appeared to him to be so highly objectionable, so calculated to defeat the purposes which it had in view, and so alluring to the enemy to invade Ireland, that he did not think it possible to amend it in such a way as to render him friendly to the measure.

Mr. *Herbert* reprobated the bill. He entered into a description of the state of Ireland, to show that the bill was unnecessary, and among other things mentioned, that in a Militia regiment, of which he had the honour of being second in command, four-fifths of the privates, half the non-commissioned officers, and six of the commissioned officers were Roman Catholics; but that no unpleasant circumstances whatever had thence arisen.

Mr, *Long* observed, that the clauses of this bill had made a part of the former Insurrection bill, and had only been changed for the purpose of mitigation. The bill had been prepared by the late attorney general for Ireland, and, if it was necessary six months ago, nothing had since occurred to make it less necessary.

Mr. *Elliot* admitted that the draft of the bill had been prepared by order of the late government, but that the clauses had not been finally determined upon. Many of the clauses required modification, and if his hon. friend had not intimated his intention to propose the amendments he was to move, it would have been his duty to do so. At the same time, he must say that the late government would not have taken upon themselves the responsibility for the state of Ireland, without the controul of this measure properly modified. For this reason, he should not oppose the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. *Ponsonby* was not satisfied of the necessity of the measure and should therefore oppose its progress in every stage.—The House then resolved itself into the committee.—A discussion then took place upon the clause for authorising magistrates from time to time to call for an inventory of the arms of persons, whom they may suspect of having arms illegally.

Mr *Whitbread* contended, that this was a clause that gave magistrates the power of grievous oppression of the subject, in calling for the inventory of his arms from day to day.—The clause was amended on the motion of Mr. W. so as to require the magistrate to demand the inventory of arms by a requisition in writing under his hand, and to allow the party called upon to make affidavit of the truth of his inventory, before any Magistrate of the county, in which the party may reside.—The next clause Mr. W. declared to be so tyrannical, that he doubted if any modification that could be made in it could reconcile him to it. The clause was, the one authorising magistrates and those authorised by the warrants of magistrates to search for concealed arms. An amendment proposed by him was agreed to, authorising a magistrate to make search in person, in case of reasonable suspicion, but that no persons other than magistrates, shall make such search, except by warrant from two magistrates, such warrant not to be granted but upon information upon oath of one or more credible witnesses.

Mr. *Dillon* proposed a further amendment, that no search should be made except between sun rising and sun setting; and if this amendment were to be resisted, he should propose that the magistrate should be present at the search.—A long discussion took place upon this amendment, and upon another, which was proposed to be substituted for it by Mr. Dillon, namely, that the power of search should be confined to the proclaimed districts.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that every modification of the Insurrection bill had only rendered its provisions more severe; and the same spirit seemed to be extended to the present bill. This measure was not only to operate on the disturbed counties, but on the peaceable districts, and was to become the most tyrannical law that ever insulted Ireland. The gentlemen of that country, possessing landed property, who held the magisterial office, were of great respectability; but it was notorious that magistrates, in a different condition of life, were selected for the purpose of carrying into execution such bills; and it was therefore of the highest importance to prevent oppression, from their misapplication.

Colonel *Barry* defended the Irish magistracy from the attack of his right hon. friend. If they were deserving of his representation, it must have been the fault of the late chancellor; and he appealed to an hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Ponsonby), whether the late chancellor had not required from the county members, and the governors of counties, characters of the persons in the commission of the peace, with a view to purify the magistracy of the county?

Mr. *Ponsonby* declared, that the late chancellor had acted from a conscientious conviction that the magistracy wanted to be purged, and was prevented only by the late change.—A division took place on the amendment, when the numbers were, for the amendment, 23; against it, 79. On our re-admission, the remaining clauses were gone through, and some new clauses added, the latter of which limits the duration of the bill to two years, and until the end of the then next session of parliament, After an amendment had been moved by sir J. Newport, to limit the bill to one year, and until six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of parliament, which was negatived without a division, the house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[Militia Transfer Bill.]—Lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for the third reading of this bill. Mr. Windham, sir R. Williams, and Mr. Calcraft, put it to the noble lord whether he would press the 3d reading of such a bill at such an hour in the morning (one o'clock), when many gentlemen had left the house, under an impression that as the former business had extended to so late an hour, this question would not have been brought on. Lord Castlereagh could not consent to the delay solicited. Sir R. Williams moved, that the house do now adjourn. A division then took place: for the adjournment, 13; against it 71. On the re-admission of strangers, we found

Mr. *Windham* on his legs, objecting in strong terms to the pressing the 3d reading of the bill at that hour, and after so long and teazing a discussion as had taken place for the last eight hours, and conjured the house not to treat the country and the crisis with so indiscreet a levity, as to hurry forward at that late hour the third reading of a bill of such a questionable nature, and fraught with such momentous consequences.

Lord *Castlereagh* replied. He defied even the characteristic ingenuity of the right hon. gent. to start a novel idea in any discussion on the present bill, however prolonged. All that could be said by the right hon. gent. had been already exhausted and fully answered.

Mr. *Calcraft* vindicated the motives of his right hon. friend in wishing to defer the reading to a more seasonable opportunity, and moved that the house do now adjourn.

The *Speaker* objected to putting the question of adjournment again without the intervention of a new subject. He had grounded his opinions on the precedents of the 12th of March, 1771, and 16th March, 1772. It had latterly been the usage of the house, but an usage that he had no scruple in saying was unfounded. He did not think the motion of the hon. member regular, and he should not, therefore, put it.—The question was then put, that the bill be now read a third time; when, after a speech from lord Milton, against the principle of the bill, sir J. Newport moved that, instead of the word "now," be inserted the words, "this day;" upon which amendment the house divided: for the amendment 14; against it 75. Whilst strangers were excluded, we understood that another division took place of 12 and 74, when lord Castlereagh stated, that seeing gentlemen were determined to press amendment after amendment, and keep the house till to-morrow night, he should give them their way.—The third reading was then postponed till this day.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, August 5.

[Protest against the rejection of the offices in reversion bill.] The order of the day being read for taking into consideration one of the standing orders of the house,

Lord *Holland* moved that the order for regulating the time of delivering in protests be read; which being read accordingly, his lordship observed that much inconvenience often arose from the early hour at which it was necessary to deliver in protests (at two o'clock p. m. after the debate.) A protest had been entered this day against a proceeding, which took place yesterday (the rejection of the offices in reversion bill), and the hurry with which it was drawn up, made him desirous to make a few alterations in it; with that view, he should now move, that time be allowed till the sitting of the house to-morrow, to alter two passages in the second reason of the protest delivered in this day.

The *Lord Chancellor* reminded the house, that this was an old established order, and that it had been uniformly observed with great strictness. It would therefore be for their lordships to consider whether it was necessary to dispense with it on the present occasion, where it was scarcely possible to add to the force of the reasons, and to the strength of the expressions which already marked this protest.—On the question being put, it was negatived without a division.

Lord *Holland* had then only to say, that the time, he hoped, would come, not only when the reasons against such a proceeding might be fully expressed, but when the measure itself would be renewed, and carried, to the great satisfaction of the country.—Upon the rejection of this motion, the following protest was entered.

"Dissentient, because the protesting lords might be anxious to assign as a reason against the rejection of the bill, the assurances which were held out to the public, that the late dissolution of parliament was not suggested by his majesty's advisers for the purpose, nor should in its consequences have the effect of frustrating, or even interrupting the benefits likely to arise from the labours of the committee of finance. Assurances which in our opinion have been violated by the sudden and unexpected rejection of the bill.—(Signed) Vassall Holland, Lauderdale, Cowper, Wentworth Fitzwilliam, Ponsonby, (Imokilly.)"

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, August 5.

[Militia Transfer Bill.] The order of the day for the third reading of this bill having been read,

Colonel *Stanley* took the opportunity of expressing his disapprobation of it; contending that the advantages which the line would derive from it, were by no means equal to the injuries which the militia, that great constitutional force, would sustain. He suspected that the Militia establishment was not a favourite with the present government, and yet they should not forget the zeal and spirit with which the Militia regiments volunteered their services to Ireland on a former occasion. He wished to know, from some of his majesty's ministers, whether it was their intention to go upon this system from time to time, and draft from the militia whenever they wanted recruits for the regular army? If it were so, it would become a serious consideration for the gentlemen who had already made great sacrifices, whether they were to continue long in the militia. For his part, it would be with an aching heart that he should part with those men who had grown perfect soldiers, who had formed an attachment to their officers, and whose officers were attached to them. He also wished to know, whether his majesty's ministers had hitherto given any direction to prevent officers of the line from tampering with the soldiers of militia regiments? The reason he asked this question was, that he had received a letter from the lieut. colonel of the regiment he had the honour to command, stating, that from the moment it was first understood that recruiting was to be permitted from the militia, the officers of regular regiments had begun to tamper with the privates of the Lancashire militia, and also that drunkenness and want of discipline had commenced, which was to be expected in a few weeks.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he had always stated that he conceived a periodical or annual drafting from the militia, would be destructive to that service, without producing a correspondent service to the army, as the regular ballot would increase very much the price of the bounty. As to the other point, he must say, that no such general orders had been given, and that he should have thought it presumptuous for ministers to advise such general orders, at least until one branch of the legislature should have agreed to the measure. The regular officers, however, who, contrary to their duty, should tamper with militia soldiers in the mean time, would probably gain nothing by acting in that incorrect manner. For example; if any officers, whose regiments were quartered near the Lancashire militia, expected that they would gain the soldiers who should volunteer from that regiment, they would probably find themselves mistaken, and that some regiment at a greater distance might be pointed out for those men to join.

Sir *R. Williams* observed, that if the bill had been brought forward early in the session, the sense of the people would have been so strongly expressed to their representatives, that it must have been rejected, and the gentlemen opposite must have lost their places. He blamed the eagerness with which ministers had subverted his right hon. friend's plan, which he contended, was every day improving in excellence; and remonstrated against the stigma thrown upon the militia, which amounted to an accusation that they were not fit to defend their country.

Mr. *Bankes* gave his consent to the measure, not because he was blind to the inconveniences that must, in many cases result from it, but because, feeling in common with every member of the house the necessity of increasing the military force of the country, he did not consider himself warranted in opposing the bill for that purpose, proposed by his majesty's ministers, unless he could offer something better in substitution. He stated the grounds of his approbation of the plan of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), and lamented that there were such fluctuations in many parts of the administration of the country, that that plan could not have fair play. It could not be denied that the ballot would be highly oppressive, and would materially injure, and for a time, destroy the recruiting for the regular army. To obviate this latter evil as much as possible, he thought it adviseable that the money given for substitutes should pass alone through the hands of government, and was, therefore desirous, that the fines should not be of such an amount as to preclude this course. The clause introduced in the committe giving the volunteers from the Militia to the line, the option of limited or unlimited service, met with his peculiar reprobation. It was with the most sincere regret that he found this bill was all that it was intended to propose, as he conceived that it was far from being adequate to the exigency of the country. His noble friend had recommended that further measures should be delayed to the next session, but was it certain that in the next session the opportunity of due deliberation would be afforded? Why the Training bill should not be put in force was to him utterly incomprehensible. It had never been considered as onerous, but if there were obstacles to its execution, he did not think it became parliament to separate until an attempt had been made to remove those obstacles. He rejoiced that the volunteer system was reviving, but some other body of force was required in the country, from which in case of invasion the regular army might be recruited. If ever there was any probability of an invasion, that probability had become much increased within the last two or three years. Every thing had occured to facilitate it, nothing to retard it.

Lord *Folkestone* opposed the bill. He considered, that not only the particular clause objected to, but the whole of the bill was directly hostile to the plan of his right hon. friend, which, he was convinced, was the best means hitherto prepared for the permanent support of our armies.

General *Loftus* regretted that so much opposition had been given to this measure, which he maintained was highly expedient. The former volunteers from the militia had given to the army some of the best non-commissioned officers, and even adjutants, and he deprecated the wish to lock up men of similar character, from extending their sphere of service.

Mr. *Windham* put it to the house to decide, who were right and who were wrong, in the circumstances which detained the house for such a length of time that morning. He appealed to what had just passed. Would it have been proper to have read the bill a third time, without having heard the discussion which had that evening taken place? Unquestionably not. The noble lord had declared, that the subject was exhausted: this was a considerable assumption on the part of any individual. If the forms of the house, and the state of the session allowed, plenty of new topics of objections would arise to the noble lord's bill. It was a standing dish. The house might, indeed, cut and come again. Whether any emergency existed, what was its nature, what measures were best calculated to meet it if it existed, whether this was one of those measures; these were considerations which demanded repeated inquiry. He denied that the nnmber of men gained by the ballot, or rather the difference between that number and the number that would otherwise be gained by the regular recruiting, would in any degree compensate for the mischief that must result from the contest of bounties to the regular recruiting. Adverting to his own measure, he observed, that in the first three months of the last year, it had produced at the rate of 11,000 men a year; in the next three months, at the rate of 13,000 men; in the next three months, at the rate of 21,000 men; and in the last three months, at the rate of 24,000 men. Was there any reason for supposing, that this last was just the utmost that the measure could do, and that it would not have gone on increasing? When this result was considered, as combined with the effects which must have followed putting the Training bill into activity, the number that a perseverance in its plan must have produced, and regularly produced, would nearly have equalled the number proposed to be raised by the noble lord's plan, raised by an effort which must palsy all future exertions. After having thus maintained the superiority of his system in raising men, he entered into similar statements with respect to the diminution which it had occasioned, and which, if it had been persevered in, it unquestionably would have occasioned, in the number of desertions. The effect of the noble lord's plan on the militia, had been described by the gentlemen who had spoken on that subject. For years to come, the Militia would not recover the blow of the noble lord. If it was once admitted that we had a right to plunder the Militia, it was a mere mockery to say that a recurrence of the assumed necessity of plunder would not happen. With regard to the Training act, which would be the grand reservoir from which the regular army might be supplied, on the score of some difficulty in the execution, the noble lord proposed to postpone the consideration of it to the next session. What difficulty? None that he knew of, except the mistake of substituting the Militia lists instead of those originally proposed, the effects of which, however, had in a great measure been removed. He repeated his statements on the subject of the volunteers, and contended, that if, in case of invasion, it were attempted to bring a large body of volunteers to act with the line against some of the best troops in Europe, it would be a most ruinous proceeding, and one which he entered his solemn protest against. He contended this measure would be much more expensive than the former measure, and press as a most unequal tax upon the poor man, who would be ruined by the penalty of twenty pounds whilst his wife and family would be driven upon the parish. Of his own plan it could not be said that any part of it was a job. But when they considered the time, at which the present ministers took measures to court the volunteers, on the eve of a general election, the transaction would have much the appearance of one. Whatever the volunteers might do in a campaign against Buonaparte, they were an effective army in an elective campaign. They were a good instrument, and the gentlemen opposite had, even when in opposition, played upon it. He looked upon the destruction of the late system, as having its full share in the object of the ministers in bringing forward this measure. His hon friend had well said, that the clause introduced into the bill was of no use to it; but was he sure that the bill itself had not been introduced to receive the clause? The whole country was with the system brought forward last year, and certainly one-half of it was against the present plan. Ministers had been in office many months without bringing forward this measure, till the session was nearly over, and many gentlemen had left town who would be desirous of discussing it. But the defeat of the Russians had produced an emergency to call for the measure. Had they not sagacity to foresee that event? They seemed to be in the situation of persons walking about in a pleasure ground and coming on what in the language of modern gardening, is called a sunk-fence, but which, he remembered, used to be called, with reference to the exclamation of surprise that it was supposed to call forth, a ha! ha!. Ha! ha! said the hon. Gentleman, so the allies have been beat! I protest I never could have thought it. The French have actually been successful! could any one have looked for such an event? Then they are all confusion and bustle, the watch must be called, their rattles sprung, and next in regular order, the dismantling and breaking up of the militia. The measure adopted was calculated to break up all existing establishments; but he thanked God, that the system of last year had existed long enough to have a right judgment formed of it; and he should be satisfied to go down to posterity with no other claims to merit than that afforded, as compared with the systems of the right hon. gentleman opposite. Like the eminent Italian musician, who had a piece of music inscribed on his tomb, or the Dutch mathematician who had a calculation for his epitaph, he should desire no other monument as a statesman than that system. He lamented the measure before the House, more from the effect it would have in destroying the existing system, the benefits of which had begun to be felt, than from any consideration personal to himself, or his hon. friends with whom he had shared in bringing forward that system. On these grounds, therefore, he protested against the present measure. A division then took place on the third reading. Ayes 76. Noes 19. Majority 57.

[Militia Completion Bill.]—The Militia Completion bill was read a third time. On the question for passing the bill,

Mr. *Pole Carew* urged the propriety of forming a local militia not to be called out except in cases of imminent danger. With this militia he should like to see amalgamated as great a portion as possible of our volunteer force. He should wish the services of the regular militia to be extended to all parts of the empire. With these provisions we should be safe against any possible invasion. Notwithstanding the very general erection of fortifications, there might be many exposed points. There should be depots of arms in central situations, in which a trained population would find a rallying point. The enemy, if he could assail us, would bring a force that would require all our means of defence.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, it was the fixed determination of his majesty's government to turn their attention to the formation of a large local militia, which was the measure most essential to the permanent security of the country. He also promised attention to the formation of central depots. With a view to this object, under the able administration of lord Chatham at the head of the ordnance, a central depot had been formed (at Weedon Beck, in Northamptonshire), from which great facilities to the military service of the country had been found. In that noble lord's administration also, a wise system of defensive fortification had been adopted in Ireland as well as in England.

Mr. *Sheridan* had great satisfaction in hearing that it was intended to apply the attention of government to the amelioration of the militia. He hoped his majesty's government would at the same time turn its attention to the means of rendering the ballot less oppressive upon the lower orders of the community.—The bill was then passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, August 6.

[Minutes.]—The Parochial School bill was read a third time and passed.—Mr. R. Dundas observed, that when he had moved for the returns of the East India Company's Accounts, he had stated that it was his intention to move, that they should be referred to a committee of the whole house, with a view to a full discussion of the state of the accounts of the company, within the present session. Circumstances had however, since occurred, which rendered it impossible for him, or the house, to go into these accounts in detail this session. He should therefore, be obliged to put off the business to next session. Nevertheless, he should feel it his duty to move some resolutions on the subject, and took that opportunity of giving notice of such motion for to-morrow.

[Relief of Beneficed Clergy.]—Mr. *Lockhart* moved for leave to bring in a bill to suspend the act of the 35th of the king, so far as it relates to the voidance of Benefices held by clergymen, who may have subsequently accepted curacies augmented from queen Anne's bounty. The ground on which he rested his motion was, that many clergymen, not aware of the clause in that bill, which rendered benefices void in case the incumbents accepted augmented cures, had by accepting such curacies subjected themselves inadvertently and ignorantly to the penalty of that act. The consequence was, that the patrons of the benefices were threatening them with new presentations, and that they held such benefices wholly at the mercy of such patrons. His bill was not intended to alter the law or decide the right, but merely to suspend the operation of the act till next session, in order that the legislature might have an opportunity of considering whether clergymen under such circumstances ought to be left to hold their benefices at the mercy of the patrons, or to be deprived of them altogether.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* would have great doubt of the propriety of the bill proposed by the hon. Member, if it was to alter the law as it now stood, or to divest rights already vested by law. But as the bill was only to suspend the operation of the law now in force, till the subject might be more fully considered next session, he was not aware of any material objection to it.—Leave was then given.

[Election Recognizance Bill.]—Mr. *Dent* moved for leave to bring in a bill for better regulating Recognizances entered into upon petitions on Controverted elections. The 26th of the king, he stated, had not provided an adequate remedy against vexatious petitions. It required the principal in a petition to enter into a recognizance of £200 and each of the sureties into one of £100; but though it required the sureties to give in their residence, it did not require that of the principal, so that there was generally much difficulty to find him in the event of the recognizances being forfeited. It was to obviate this difficulty, and to discourage vexatious petitions, that he proposed to bring in his bill, which, when printed, he should suffer to lie over till next session. One of the provisions of the bill would be to require of the petitioner to deposit £200 with the barons of the exchequer, which sum would be to be returned, if the petition should not be declared frivolous, or if it should, to be disposed of, one-half to the sitting member, the other to his majesty. That some such provision was necessary, would appear from what had happened in the case of the borough he represented. There had been no contest there, and yet a petition had been maliciously presented against his return which had been signed by 5 persons, not one of whom was at that time within 200 miles of the place. One was a barber, another a common porter, a third a day-labourer, and a fourth a jack-ass driver, and all had been bribed to give their signatures to the petition. The necessity of the measure would also be obvious from the circumstance, that of the 54 petitions which had been presented in the last parliament, 18 had been abandoned without any recognizances having been entered into, and of the 31 petitions presented this parliament, 7 had already been given up for want of recognizances

Mr. *Rose* could not help thinking that some regulation was necessary upon this subject. The practice of presenting vexatious petitions had become too frequent, and it was not proper that such libels upon the sitting members should be permitted. He hoped his hon. Friend would take up the bill next session, when he assured him of his cordial support.—The bill was then brought in and read a first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, August 7.

[EAST INDIA BUDGET.]—Mr. *R. Dundas* rose, pursuant to notice, to move a resolution pledging the house to take into consideration early in the next session, the Accounts relative to the Revenue Charges and Commercial Concerns of the East India Company, presented on the 10th and 18th June last, commonly called, the Accounts of the East-India Budget. It would be impossible in the present session to give to this subject the ample consideration to which it was entitled, and therefore he thought it better to postpone the statement and discussion till the next session. After some observations from Mr. Creevey, who reserved to himself the right of going into farther particulars than the mere East India Accounts, commonly called the India Budget, the resolutions were agreed to.—On the motion of Mr. Dundas several additional papers, illustrative of the conduct of the government of India towards the Polygars were ordered, with the design of giving the fullest and fairest view of the Polygar question.

Mr. *Creevey* stated, that when the Polygar question should come to be discussed, he meant to contend that the conduct of the British government to the Polygars had been the cause of the mutiny at Vellore; one of the regiments concerned, the second battalion of the 23rd native infantry having been recruited in the Polygar country. On the promise of the right hon. gent. opposite to bring forward such accounts as had been, or should be received on that subject and from a wish to await the arrival of those most materially interested in the transaction, he should not now offer the motion of which he had given notice for this day. He however gave notice, that early in the ensuing session, he should move that there be laid before the house copies of all letters written by marquis Cornwallis on the subject of the subsidiary treaties concluded by marquis Wellesley, and generally on the administration of India by that nobleman.

[ASSESSED TAXES BILL.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose pursuant to notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulating the collection of the Assessed Taxes. As the bill was to lie over for consideration till the next session, he did not think it necessary to trouble the house, by entering into its details. One particular alteration in the existing practice he thought it necessary to notice. This was to divide the duties of the commissioners, and transfer them. so far as they were ministerial, to the subordinate officers. With respect to collection of the taxes, it was intended, as no man could object to the payment of the taxes incident to the return he should give in, to authorise the collection of the taxes to that amount immediately leaving the taxes upon surcharges to abide the decisions upon the questions arising out of them. There was at present this evil, that the collection of the taxes, so far as they were certain and unquestionable, as they were on the returns made by the individuals taxed, was suspended till the validity of the surcharges, which were uncertain, was decided. He thought it necessary to point out this material alteration to particular attention preparatory to the further consideration in the ensuing session.

Mr. *Barham* wished a remedy could be provided for the great grievances that arose out of surcharges. The difficulty of finding redress in cases of vexatious surcharge was often very great,and sometimes it amounted to an absolute impossibility. He had himself obtained redress of such surcharges made upon him, but it was with great difficulty; and in some similar instances he knew several other persons to have totally failed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* believed, that the commissioners of taxes did every thing in their power to a facility of decision in cases of appeals on surcharge, and redress in cases of vexatious surcharge;-but if any means of greater facility on these heads could be pointed out, he should be happy to give his aid in carrying it into effect.

Mr. *W. Smith* was afraid that the time was fast approaching when the officers in that department would necessarily be filled by men in the pay of government. He did not throw this out invidiously,but certainly the abuses of the present mode of estimating and collecting the property tax was liable to and might ultimately render the tax itself not only intolerable, but not fit to be borne by the people. The fact was, that the majority of those officers were ever anxious to detect deficient estimates, not for the purpose of making the tax more productive to the nation, but that they might have their own share out of the surcharge.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, it was not intended to take away the powers now exercised by the commissioners; but merely to authorise the collection of the undisputed duties on the returns originally made, without awaiting the decision of the commissioners on the duties contested in the way of surcharge on appeal. It was impossible to obtain the supervision which was frequently necessary without allowing some interest to the person who detected the fraud; but when the surcharge was groundless the commissioners were always ready to afford relief, and when it was vexatious, to inflict punishment.

Mr. *P. Moore* was glad to hear that the bill was to be printed, so that Members might be able to peruse it before next session. He hoped however, that while pains were taken to make people understand the law by which they were taxed, they would also find that the payment of taxes was made easier to them. Of what utility, he would ask, were those numerous reports which were laid before the house, of every kind, if they were not acted upon for the public benefit? He hoped therefore that ministers would see to these things, before next session. As the representative of a large industrious city, he could say for his constituents, that they were ready to make any sacrifices for the public good, and to support their share in its splendour; yet they expected economy in the disposition of the national money, and that their distresses might be lessened If these economical reports were heaped on the table without use, he should find it his duty to tell ministers that he would vote smaller supplies than he otherwise might have intended, were more frugality and attention shown.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* entirely agreed with the hon. gent. as to the necessity of economy at the present crisis, and a cautious expenditure of the public money. At the same time, he could not approve of the vague and incautious manner, in which the hon. gent. had thought proper to fling out his charges. The remaks were of a nature so general and indefinite, that he did not know how to reply to them. If the hon. gent. had anything definite to state in public or private, he should feel himself much obliged to the hon. gent. for such communication. As to the reports which were said to be heaped upon the Table, he wished the hon. gent. would again be more definite, and, selecting one or more from the number, state explicitly what he understood to be the existing abuse; this certainly would be much more satisfactory than dealing in loose and general observations.

Mr. *P. Moore* said in explanation, that he alluded to the different reports in the various departments, civil, military, and marine, whereby it was obvious that there might be a saving by a more economical management in each, of the public money, to an amount of between five and ten millions annually.

Sir *T. Turton* put it to his majesty's ministers, to consider the necessity and the means of affording a more immediate relief to the persons entitled to exemptions under the income tax: these persons were at present obliged to pay the full amount of the tax in the first instance, and they found it extremely difficult afterwards to obtain the relief allowed to them.

Mr. *Whitbread* stated, that he, as well the hon. Baronet had received complaints of very severe hardships, in the manner in which the income tax was levied on the lower classes. He was sure if his noble friend (lord H. Petty) had continued in office, the necessary relief would have been afforded to the persons so pressed. He hoped the hon. Gentleman opposite would consider of the means of affording them some alleviation.

Dr. *Laurence* lamented, that in proportion as the property tax had been made made more burthensome, the means of relief had been made more difficult in the case in which no law could presume to withhold it.

Lord *H. Petty* stated it to have been his desire and intention, that every real grievance under the property tax, as it had been increased and regulated by him, should be satisfactorily redressed; but he thought it, in the first instance, desirable, that the whole of the provisions should have a fair trial; for it was only such a trial that could afford proof of the reality, or the futility, of the objections which were so universally made. He was desirous,, now that a fair trial had been afforded, to give all proper relief, but he could assure the house, that much difficulty would be felt, when the means of giving that relief consistently with the produce of the tax should come to be considered.—The motion for leave to bring in the bill was then agreed to.

[OFFICES IN REVERSION.] —Mr. *Bankes*,

in consequence of the notice he had given, rose to submit a motion, which he thought necessary as a preliminary step towards any proceeding which the house should think proper to adopt, with respect to the measure founded on a resolution of that house, which had been rejected in the other. The only way of bringing the rejection of the bill to prevent grants of Offices in Reversion in the upper house, before the view of this house, would be to appoint a committee to inspect the lords' Journals, as to what had been done there with respect to that bill. That committee might report to-morrow, and on the report he should found a motion which he would submit to the house on Monday. He accordingly moved, "that a committee be appointed to inspect the Journals of the house of lords, with relation to the bill sent from this house to the lords, intituled, An Act to prohibit the granting of Offices in Reversion, or for joint lives, with benefit of survivorship; and to make report thereof to the house." A committee was appointed accordingly.

[Consolidated Fund Bill—General State of Affairs.]—On the order of the day for the third reading of the Consolidated Fund bill,

Mr. *Whitbread* rose and observed, that as it seemed evident the session was about to close, he thought it his duty to make two or three remarks on the extraordinary situation of the country, at a period when ministers were about to prorogue parliament. The house had before them several notices of motions upon subjects of the greatest importance. The bills for the defence of the country were just gone up to the other house to be discussed there; and they had heard speeches from a noble lord (Castlereagh), stating that there were other measures necessary in his opinion, but which the session would be too short to enable him to introduce. A notice had also been given of a motion to consider the present trying situation of the West-India planters, and a motion had been made to inspect the Lords' Journals, for the purpose of taking an important subject into consideration. He knew that we had just sent out a very large expedition, which, it was supposed, had not gone to any great distance, and from which, therefore, intelligence, it was to be presumed, might very soon be expected: and its results would be most important to the country, whether successful or otherwise. He knew, also, that a treaty had been concluded between Prussia, one of our allies, and France, the particulars of which were public; and that there was also a treaty signed between France and another of our allies, Russia, of the greatest consequence, but as yet unknown. From the terms of the treaty with Prussia, however, we learned, that the emperor Alexander, who, it had been said, had acted with so much magnanimity, had consented to take a considerable portion of the territory of his late ally and friend the king of Prussia. The king of Sweden, our remaining ally, was confessedly in a most critical situation, and a British force was sent out to assist him. Under all these circumstances, and with the alarming state of the East-India Company, almost in a state of impending ruin; with so extraordinary a vote of credit asked on account of large sums being wanted, in the probability of the volunteers being called out on permanent duty for several months, which portended an expectation of a speedy invasion, or appearance of the enemy upon the coast; under all these circumstances, he wanted to know what advice was given, or to be given, by ministers to their sovereign, respecting a prorogation of parliament. He thought that ministers, who had advised the dissolution of the last parliament, were bound to counsel his majesty to keep the present parliament together, till time was afforded them to consider these various important subjects, which so much interested the country. He feared, that the very large vote of credit that had been taken was on the ground, not only of an intention to prorogue parliament soon, but also on a determination not to call it together again for a long time.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* could not answer as to the time that might elapse before parliament would be called together again: the first prorogation would be but for a short time, the subsequent prorogations would also be but for short periods, so as to afford a facility of early assemblage, if the exigency of affairs should require. The inconveniences with which a longer attendance of the members would be attended at the present season, was an irresistible reason for proroguing as soon as the state of public business would admit: along with the facility afforded by short prorogations from time to time to the assembling of parliament, as soon as any particular occasion should render it necessary, the crown possessed the power of calling it together at any time at a fortnight's notice.

Lord *H. Petty* after the extraordinary vote of credit which had passed the house at an early hour of the morning on a former day, a vote exceeding in amount, any former vote of credit, even those passed at times when there was a prospect of large continental cooperation, thought his hon. friend well warranted in making the observations he had made, and requiring the explanations he had demanded. From the unprecedented amount of the vote, and the strange time at which it had passed, the house ought to look narrowly to the appropriation of it. After what had happened on the continent, and after two months had elapsed of the period which was to be provided for, this diminution of the period, the exigencies of which were to be covered, ought to reduce, rather than increase the amount of the vote; yet, when his majesty's present ministers had added £1,300,000 to the public expenditure, they demanded still £700,000 more; and why? because it might be necessary to call out the volunteers on permanent duty. This would not be necessary except in case of invasion or alarm of invasion, when it seemed it was not thought that parliament should be assembled. These unprecedented sums were moreover voted entirely on confidence, and without any estimate whatsoever, and were proposed without any other object than to prevent the necessity of calling parliament together again for a long time. The vote of credit, asked by his majesty's late ministers, was intended to cover £800,000 arrears of subsidies, and to allow the means of contingent engagement with the continental powers. It was intended also to cover the great expences incurred in the Mediterranean; but, in the present instance, it was necessary that the house should look to a vote large beyond all precedent, and founded on no document, no statement, no calculation, and no determination. This being a money bill, he should take occasion to do justice to his noble friend now absent (lord Howick), who had been on a former night accused of having given pledges to the continental powers, and of having provided no means of carrying those pledges into effect. It was not his noble friend alone, nor his fellow ministers, that he was most anxious to vindicate from this charge of pledge and forfeiture, but the country, whose faith and honour would be tarnished, unless the imputation could be done away. His noble friend had enabled him to state precisely, with regard to the promise of aid held out to Sweden, that the engagement was not to take effect except in the event of a particular contingency. If the contingency should have arisen, the aid was to have been given in cavalry, in which species of force the Swedish army was deficient, and for which Pomerania afforded an excellent theatre. Means of conveyance could easily have been found at any time for that portion of cavalry that would be required in this service. But the contingency on which the aid was to be sent had never arisen. He left it to the house under these circumstances, whether any breach of faith could be imputed to the late government. It was not stated, that there was anything in the official documents left by his noble friend in the department over which he had presided; it was not stated, that any thing had passed in any verbal communication of his noble friend with the ministers of the powers in question, which warranted the expectation of a general military aid on the part of the continental powers, much less any breach of faith in not having sent such aid. Nothing, in fact, had been done in the way of holding forth such aid, except the assurance to Sweden, which turned upon a contingency which had never occurred. He condemned the abrupt prorogation of parliament, at a time when so many measures were pending which required deliberate consideration and discussion. Suspension acts were passed with an indecent rapidity which ought never to be seen, even in the justest exercise of one of the most delicate functions of parliament. All these things, and the large vote of credit, indicated an intention of speedily separating parliament, and separating it for a long time. The house ought to look at the circumstances and though these circumstances might have arisen from the late dissolution, the ministers whose act that dissolution was, could not plead that excuse.

Lord *Castlereagh* was glad, that the noble lord had confirmed what he had stated on a former night, so far as that a promise of aid had been held out to Sweden, and that such aid was to have been in cavalry. He did not understand what the noble lord meant, when he asserted that the contingency in which the aid was to have been given, had not occurred. Sweden certainly did think, that the contingency had occurred, and that the occasion was so far gone by, without the fulfilment of our engagement, that material injury had been suffered in consequence. Russia and Prussia also complained, that their interests had suffered materially from the neglect of sending the aid that had been promised. Though the cavalry was the most material part, infantry also was expected. But what entirely wrought the condemnation of the late ministers was, that even the contingency, on which the aid was to have been afforded, had in their own opinions arisen, they were completely disqualified from affording it, a great supply of tonnage being necessary for the conveyance of cavalry, and no such supply existing.

Mr. *Windham* called upon the house to observe the different statements of the hon. gentlemen when they made their first attack, and afterwards when they were pressed by facts. He appealed to the house, whether the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Secretary Canning) had not on a former night asserted, that when he came into office, he was assailed by pressing solicitations and remonstrances from every quarter for military aid, the promise of which had been held forth. Now, it appeared, that such a promise had been held forth to Sweden alone, and even that was incidental. It might be said, to be sure, that the remaining allied powers were cramped in their operations, in consequence of this aid being withheld from Sweden, and of that power being disabled from creating the intended diversion. That, perhaps, might literally make good the accusation brought by the right hon. gent.; but it was very far indeed from making it good in the spirit in which it had been urged by the right hon. gent. No promise had been made and forfeited. The contingency upon which the aid was to have been given, had not in his opinion, and that of his friends, occurred. The other powers, according to the statement of the right hon. secretary, asserted it did take place. In this contradiction, he should not think it wise to rely on the assertion of those who were interested in receiving the aid. The fairest standard would be to ask the right hon. gent. himself, whether, on the review of the papers in his office, such expectations were well founded? No attention was to be paid to the insinuations of neglected expectations and forfeited pledges, unless they took upon themselves to say, that in their own opinion, such expectations were directly held forth; otherwise he must contend, without allowing for the prejudice which he might feel, that the statement of his noble friend (lord Howick) was as much to be relied on as that of any other minister foreign or domestic. With respect to the charge of being unprepared for the contingency, if it had taken place, it was to be considered, that its approach would have been observed; for it was not to be supposed his majesty's late ministers would have suffered it to come by surprise upon them, as the present state of the continent had come upon the present ministers. He should have thought the assertion of the deficiency of preparation to meet the contingencies too bold. But there was this invitation to unauthorised boldness in this case, that the statement could not be contradicted, for it was impossible to fix the time at which the contingency could be said to have arisen. The late government had left in the hands of their successors, to the best of his recollection, 49 or 50,000 tons of sheathed transports, which was sufficient for the conveyance of 5,000 or 6,000 men. No offer of sheathed transports had been refused, and only the small transports, which could be always had on the moment, were discharged. Under these circumstances, it could not be said, that the late ministers were unprepared for the contingency on which aid was to be sent, in case that contingency had arisen. The facts of the existing supplies might be shown by a comparative account from the Transport Board, of the amount of transports received and left by the late ministers.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* was at a loss to conceive what advantage the right hon. gentlemen opposite proposed to derive from the renewal of this discussion. He was still more surprised to find, that they conceived they had derived advantages from it. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) could not assert any difference on his part from his former statement, for he had not yet spoken. He did say, that great expectations of pecuniary and military aid from us were entertained by the allied powers. The expectations held out might have been excited, either by communications to his majesty's ministers here, to the ministers of the allied powers to his majesty's court, or they might be communicated by our resident ministers at the courts of the allied powers, in their conferences with the ministers of those powers. The course of the Foreign Office combined these two modes of transacting business. The hon. gentlemen opposite first threw out a general challenge to alledge any one particle of promise of aid, and then, when the promise to Sweden was cited, the noble lord opposite came down and confirmed the fact, and the right hon. gent. opposite triumphed in the confirmation. He had now to re-state the fact with the high additional authority of the noble lord. The vague nature of a contingency, which one power could consider as arrived, and another as not arrived, warranted him in the argument that to leave the terms of the arrangement undefined, was the sure way of exciting general and large expectations. He repeated, that great expectations of military aid were entertained, not only by Sweden, but by Russia and Prussia, and this latter power was warranted in the expectation by the British resident minister (lord Hutchinson). He would not say, that this expectation went so far as to look for a British military force in the line of the Russian and Prussian armies. The objects Russia and Prussia sought for would be best promoted by the co-operation of an English force with Sweden, in creating a diversion on the rear of the French armies. As to the transports, he saw no objection to the production of the comparative accounts at the commencement of the late and the present administration; but it was not enough that the late government had left a large general supply of transports, as those employed on distant service, such as the expedition to Buenos Ayres and Egypt, were nothing to the present purpose. The point in question was the existence of a sufficient supply for transporting troops to the continent, if that should be judged necessary. He could not allow, that no preparation ought to be made till the exigency should have arrived. He had heard of bold invaders who had burned their transports on effecting a landing, in order to render it more indispensable to conquer; but for a nation that intended to send assistance to omit providing transports, was the strangest proceeding ever known, and remained for the invention of the hon. gentlemen opposite to find out.

Mr. *Windham*, in explanation, said, he spoke particularly of transport tonnage immediately disposable for service, of which the late government had left more than it had received. No coppered ships had been refused; none had been discharged. He admitted, that aid to Sweden might have served Russia and Prussia. But what he complained of was the difference in the statements. The contingency could not come on without notice of its approach, unless the late ministers should have been surprised, as the present ministers admitted they were, by the events on the continent.

Dr. *Laurence* defended the late ministers against the charge of holding forth expectations, and failing to fulfil them. If the expectations were held forth by our ministers to the court of Sweden, or our ministers to the other sovereigns, where were the instructions they had to do so? It was desirable that all the papers relating to the subject should be produced, and he saw no reason why they should not, as no inconvenence could arise from the publication of them, as matters now stood on the continent.

Mr. Secretary *Canning* asserted, that, by the confession of the hon. gentlemen opposite, expectations had been entertained by the continental powers of assistance from this country. He had not admitted that the contingency had not arisen. It might be his opinion that it had arisen, but he put it hypothetically, whether it had or not, the late ministers had made no preparations for it. If, therefore, the contingency had arisen, they did not keep themselves in such a situation as to enable them to fulfil their promises.

Mr. *Windham*, in explanation, contended, that no expectations had been held out, even upon the showing of the other side, which had not been performed. What, then, became of the exaggerated expectations and disappointments about which so much had been said?

Sir *T. Turton* observed, that if an additional sum was wanting, it might be in contemplation of a possible dispute with America, and insisted that if this country should be forced to a war with America, the late ministers had by their lenity, and too strong a bias for conciliation, given occasion to it, since they had treated with a pistol at their breasts. They ought to have insisted, in the first instance, that the Non-importation act should be repealed. If we should have a war with America, then, it was owing to their own concessions, and how could they oppose a grant which had arisen out of their own misconduct? Another reason for the enlarged credit might be the expences of the volunteer force. He hoped that this force would be put upon a more effective footing; that measures would be adopted for their better organization and discipline. We could not do without them, and it was requisite, that we should have them in as perfect a state as possible. The country looked for this—the volunteers themselves looked for it, and what he meant was some further authority to the officers, and encouragement to the men. He also thought the Training bill ought to be put in execution with all possible despatch, for he considered the object of that bill as a sort of basket in a stage-coach. It had been said on the other side, that insinuations had been thrown out against them. Of all things that he had heard from ministers against their predecessors, it had been most unlike insinuation.

It was directly charged that certain expectations had been raised in certain powers of the continent, that assistance was promised on a certain contingency, and if that contingency had happened, it was manifest from the state in which the transport service had been left, that the promise could not have been fulfilled. He did not say that it certainly appeared that the contingency had happened, although it appeared to be the opinion of some, that the contingency had happened; but at all events this was positively asserted, that in case the contingency had occurred, there were no means of carrying the promise into effect.—When the situation of the country was considered, however, he hoped that all party differences would be laid aside, and that unanimity would every where prevail. With regard to peace he should approve of it, if procured on any conditions that would not compromise the honour and the security of the country. It had been said that France would have an opportunity of extending her preparations in time of peace, and that peace therefore was peculiarly dangerous. He considered this as absurd and ridiculous. Whatever advantages France could derive from peace, he was confident that this country would derive equal, if not superior advantages from it. If France should have resources in peace, we would have them also, at least in an equal degree; and therefore, he was of opinion that there could be no danger to us from peace upon that score.

Mr. *Hibbert* adverted to the outcry that had been raised some time ago about the want of employment for our shipping, which he considered as inconsistent with the present deliberations of ministers. They now seemed to intimate that it was impossible to procure shipping for a three months voyage at a short warning. Was this consistent with their former assertions? With regard to the promises that were said to be made to foreign powers, it appeared now that they had dwindled down to expectations on the part of our allies on the continent. This statement of expectations entertained on the other side of the water, were certainly very far from supporting the allegation of promises made on a former occasion.

Mr. *Rose* maintained, that the statement of the ship owners, with respect to the shipping interest, had been perfectly correct, and that it was not inconsistent with the allegations, that transports could not be procured at a moment's warning. What his noble friend had said was, that there was no proper provision of transports for cavalry, which was the sort of force that had been promised. These could not be procured at a moment's warning. If an expectation had been raised in the minds of our allies, and no efforts had been made to counteract these expectations, he certainly could not perceive that they differed materially from a positive promise.

Mr. *Hibbert* in explanation said, that what he had stated was, that it had been asserted that promises had been made to our allies, and that these promises had now dwindled down to expectations, on one side, however unreasonable these expectations might be.

The Hon *J. W. Ward* adverted to what had been said by the hon. baronet under the gallery, respecting insinuations. Certainly, if it was asserted that expectations had been clearly held out of assistance upon certain contingencies, and these contingencies had happened and no assistance had been sent, the matter became a serious and heavy charge. The late ministers had unquestionably been guilty of a crime against this country and against Europe. But in this case, instead of bringing forward these things for the sake of adorning a speech, instead of introducing them in order to turn a period, a distinct motion ought to have been made on the subject, that the house might have an opportunity of passing sentence, upon a deliberate investigation of the affair, and clear itself both to the country and to Europe. This was what he called upon ministers to do if they had any grounds for the charge.

Mr. *W. Smith* observed, that the hon. bart. had been most unfortunate in alluding to America, while he was recommending unanimity; every word upon that subject was to be carefully avoided at present, and any allusion to it was most imprudent and dangerous. Ministers had certainly a most difficult and important task imposed upon them in this affair, and any allusions to the lenient proceedings of the late government, were very much out of time. He thought that the Training bill ought to be put in immediate execution, and all the measures for putting us in a proper state of defence forwarded without a moment's delay. He perfectly agreed in what had been said by the hon. bart. respecting the advantages of peace, and hoped that his opinions on that point would have the weight which they deserved. —The bill was then passed. On the question as to the title of the bill.

Mr. *Whitbread* observed, that the charges preferred by the right hon. secretary (Mr.

Canning) against his noble relative (lord Howick) were of such magnitude, that he wished them to be distinctly stated. Was the charge specifically this, that the late administration had promised to the king of Sweden an assistance of cavalry on contingencies, and, when those contingencies occurred, the cavalry were not sent? This ought to be inquired into. The right hon. gent. had also stated hypothetically, that if contingencies had arisen, the late government would have been unable to fulfil their engagements. This ought also to be inquired into; for, if it could be proved that his noble friend had held out such promises, and violated them, he would be proved unfit for his situation, and in that case his crime ought to be known and punished. The right hon. gent. farther stated, that specific promises of assistance had been made to Sweden, Russia, and Prussia. He wished to know what promises to Sweden, except of money for augmenting her force—a promise which had been carried into effect by the present administration. As to Prussia, it was known what had been granted by the late administration, and what by the present. Where was the promise violated? With regard to Russia, the only assistance demanded by her was to negociate a loan with this country, which the late administration refused, but which the right hon. gent. said, he should have acceded to. That this refusal was most wise, appeared to him to be indisputable. Let the country recollect the Austrian loan, and the sums which had been paid for giving facility to its negociation. As to any military assistance to Russia and Prussia, independent of Sweden, the right hon. gent. had reduced his accusation to a mere expectation entertained by those powers. On the whole, he thought it incumbent on the house to entertain the subject by itself on some specific day, that these accusations might be brought to a point, and that it might be known how far the late ministry were accessary to the recent disasters on the continent, and he hoped that the gentlemen opposite would afford the means of elucidating the subject by laying on the table the correspondence in their possession. The right hon. gent. stated, that one of our ministers abroad expressed his opinion that expectations of assistance had been excited. Did he mean lord Hutchinson? With regard to the assertions of those who were lately our allies, and who were now, he feared, our enemies, was it not likely that they would avail themselves of exaggerated statements against England, to endeavour to clear themselves from the odium of the transactions into which both, or at least one of those powers had recently been forced?

Mr. Secretary *Canning* explained what he had said the other evening on the subject of the Russian loan. A noble lord opposite (lord H. Petty) had declared his objection to such a measure in very strong terms, and all that he had stated was, that he was not so averse from it as the noble lord. Now, with respect to bringing the subjects which the hon. gent. had detailed in a distinct shape before parliament, for the purpose of calling for their judgment, he wished to know how they were to be brought forward. Were the gentlemen opposite to impute gross misconduct to his majesty's ministers, by contrasting their proceedings with those of their predeccessors, and were his majesty's ministers to be precluded from stating in defence of themselves their opinion of the proceedings of their prodecessors, unless they originated a charge against them? He denied this. Besides, according to the hon. gent's. statement, these charges would amount to a solemn accusation of crime. All that had been said by him was, that the late government, though acting to the best of their judgment, had not acted for the benefit of the country. This had been extorted from his majesty's ministers in their own defence, and they were now called upon to make it the ground of a charge. If the exertions of the present ministers had been too late, they were bound to state that it was, because their predecesssors had left them without the means of making earlier efforts.

Mr. *Whitbread* contended that the right hon. gent. had distinctly charged the late administration not with mere want of ability, but with a criminal violation of promise.

Mr. *Windham* observed, that when ministers made a charge, they ought to follow it up, because the documents were in their possession, and they could plead no excuse, except it was that the production of these documents would be attended with manifest injury to the interests of the country. Secrecy on this account might certainly be necessary; but he believed there was no such obstacle in the way in the present instance, nor, indeed, was any such alledged. The late ministers were ready to support their charge; if the present ones by way of answer to that, brought forward another charge, they ought to make it good, otherwise the house ought certainly to consider it as not made. He expected the noble lord would move for an account of the transports which the late government received at the time of their coming into office, and the number left at their going out of office.

Lord *Castlereagh* observed, that the present discussion came with a very bad grace from an hon. gent. who had charged his majesty's ministers on a former occasion, with not having sooner sent to Sweden, or other parts of the continent, the force which was then embarking. Could ministers do less than state, that were their impressions ever so strong of the necessity of the measure, they had been precluded from an earlier recurrence to it, by the total neglect of their predecessors? No specific charge had been made, but it had been merely stated, that the late ministers were culpable in allowing expectations to grow up, and that one power (Sweden) had complained of the disappointment of those expectations. Adverting to the question of transports, he observed, that the interval between the wish to obtain transports, and the power of obtaining them, was much greater than what seemed generally to be imagined. Horse transports, in particular, could not be expected to be in the Downs in less than three weeks after the tenders had been accepted, and every one accustomed to these subjects, knew the tardiness with which those tenders were made. He thought the policy of the late government fundamentally wrong, that they had made up their minds to afford no assistance to the continental powers, and therefore, that they had managed badly to inspire expectations of assistance.

Lord *H. Petty* observed, that it now appeared that general promises had been first alledged; then a particular charge of a breach of engagement was made, and lastly the matter came round again to general promises. This was the dance that ministers led the house, all the while refusing the documents. The right hon. gent. had said that he had a right to retort on the late government. The best way, however, of answering charges was to refute them instead of retorting on others. But, granting his claim of retorting, he still contended that when the right hon. gent. alledged that the late ministers had adopted a particular line of policy, and had not acted up to it, he ought to be prepared with proof to make good his charge. When charges were brought against ministers, they had the means in their hands of refuting them if they could. When charges were made against them, they could only call upon the ministers to produce the documents on which they were founded. He himself was certainly of opinion that the Russian loan ought not to be negociated after the experience of the Austrian loan, though certainly there might be circumstances in which the Austrian loan ought not to be considered as a bar to any such loan in future. He hoped no more would be heard of the charge against the late ministers, or if it should again be insisted on he hoped the documents would be produced.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it was clear that the fact was admitted, that an expectation had been raised, at least in Sweden, of military aid from this country in cavalry, on certain contingencies. Whether or not those contingencies had occurred was a matter of opinion, and was not a subject on which a criminal charge could be preferred. Suppose the contingency had been that assistance would be afforded in case the allies were placed in such a situation as to be enabled to make a forward movement against the enemy. Was not this situation a matter of opinion? and might not one power assert, while another denied its existence? Whatever difference of opinion therefore there might be as to the policy of the late government, there certainly was no ground for a distinct criminal charge.

Lord *Folkestone* observed, that the question was, whether a crime had been alledged, and whether the documents to prove it were produced? Ministers stated the crime, and refused to produce the documents. This was the ground of complaint. They alledged a clear fact that expectations had been raised. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Canning) was of opinion, that the contingency had happened. In such a case it was neither honest nor candid to refuse to bring the matter to the proof.—The title of the bill was then read and agreed to. After which,

Lord *Castlereagh* moved for accounts of the number of transports of different descriptions in the service of government at the time the late ministers came into office, and at the time they went out.—Ordered.

[Irish Arms Bill.] On the order of the day that the Irish Arms bill be now read a third time.

Lord *Milton* said he could not agree without any inquiry into the state of Ireland, to give his assent to the passing of such an arbitrary act as this. At the time of the union, the Irish were promised a full and fair participation of the rights of Englishmen; at that moment, after a lapse of 7 years, they were called upon to pass an act than which nothing could be more arbitrary and oppressive, and which would not be borne with in England, but in cases of the most imperious necessity, and after the fullest inquiry. This could not fail to induce jealousies and suspicions among the Irish, and would, he feared, be productive of the most injurious consequences. It had been attempted to justify this act on the principle which had prevailed, in that of disarming the Highlanders, but there was a very great difference between them. The act for disarming the Highlanders was passed at a period, when no one could for a moment doubt the absolute necessity for it. It was immediately after a rebellion, in which those men had taken up arms in the cause of a prince, who was a declared enemy to the protestant religion, and whose ancestor had been expelled from this country, for his attempt to overturn the constitution. The hon. gent. who brought forward this bill called on the house to pass it into a law, without any document to prove the necessity of it, and without any means of conciliation having been adopted towards Ireland. He hoped, in a future session, to see some measure adopted in favour of the Irish; to see a modification of tithes seriously set about, and maturely and fully considered; and, above all, to see the catholic subjects of Ireland restored to their rights; "but," said the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, "the church is in danger." In what way this could be made out he was at a loss to see. Would catholic emancipation give the catholic clergy any greater force of arguments, as to the superiority of their religion? For his part, he saw no danger, unless it was caused by the protestants deserting the church. He protested against those restraining laws; they had for a great length of time been tried against Wales, and had always been found fruitless and nugatory. He had hoped the attempt to disarm New England, as we had done, would not so soon have been forgotten, but would have operated to restrain ministers from thus attempting to disarm Ireland. He had hoped, instead of this, that the Irish would be restored to their rights, and henceforward be allowed the rights of Englishmen. He objected warmly to the feelings of the Irish people being, at this moment, insulted, by the appointment of magistrates, who had shewn themselves to be party-men, and who were henceforward to be invested with the most arbitrary and oppressive powers. For these reasons, he should certainly vote against the bill being read a third time.

Mr. *Lushington* expressed his disapprobation of the measure, although he was sorry to learn, from what information he had received, that a necessity for it existed, and he particularly relied in this respect on the eloquent speech of a right hon. gent. (Mr. Grattan), who was so well acquainted with Ireland, and concerned for its interests. But he wished the bill had received sundry amendments, particularly for preventing magistrates, from breaking into dwelling-houses of suspected persons by night; he also wished the duration of the bill to have been limited to one year. Upon the whole, it was a bill to which he felt compelled to give an unwilling assent.

Mr. *P. Moore* thought, that in a free country like England, such an act as this should never be passed but from extreme necessity. It had been said, that this act was justified by necessity; but there was no evidence in proof of it, except the opinion of a right hon. gent. (Mr. Grattan), which, however respectable that gentleman might be, he could not suffer to sway him, nor was he able to bring his conscience to adopt so arbitrary a measure on such authority. Such a corroding act as this must prove highly injurious in its consequences, by irritating and lacerating the feelings of the Irish people; and if there was a necessity for it, the fact was, it did not go far enough. For these reasons, he would move as an amendment, "that it be read a third time that day 3 months."

Mr. *Whitbread* apologized to the house for his again stating to them what were his opinions upon this measure. The importance of the subject, however, made it his duty to state in this, as well as in former stages, what was the result of his inquiry and deliberation upon a question of such magnitude. In the first place then, deferring as he did to the opinion of a right hon. gent. (Mr. Grattan), whose sentiments he always held in the highest estimation, he must confess that there was very high authority indeed in favour of the proposition, that some such measure ought to be adopted. But even then there was something which operated in his favour. That right hon. gent. whose opinion, it was admitted on all sides, carried such great weight and influence with it, did not say that he agreed to the bill with all its deformities; he objected to many parts of it; he only said, that rather than lose the measure altogether, he would agree to take it with these objectionable parts. However, when he looked at the consequences that were likely to result from the adoption of such a measure, he felt that it was his duty as a member of parliament in such a case, and without any specific evidence before him in support of the measure, to think for himself, and oppose the measure. This bill differed materially from the other; the other was to operate in a particular part only, and that under peculiar circumstances; but this was to act universally throughout the whole country, and under any circumstances. What was that in effect but stating, that, generally speaking, you cannot trust the whole of the population of Ireland, and proclaiming to the enemy, that in that place there is to be found a large portion of his majesty's subjects who are ready to accept of their arms if they will send them there? But above all, he objected to the measure because it was seen that even that most objectionable, most useless clause was not allowed to be altered, that which empowered constables or men of any description, with a warrant founded on suspicion only, to break into men's houses, and alarm and terrify their families in the dead hour of the night. If the search was only to be made in the presence of a justice, there might have been some responsibility; but when even that amendment was refused, when it was known, that whatever disaffection did exist, the arms were used by night, and that it was in the day time that they were mostly secreted, he could not be so prodigal of this insulting power, he could not bring himself to wanton thus unnecessarily with the feelings of the people. If he was not of opinion that the people of Ireland were better secured without than with this bill, he most certainly should vote in favour of it; but thinking as he did, that the measure was both unjust and unnecessary, he was impelled by a sense of duty to support the amendment.

Sir *Arthur Piggott* said, he would beg leave, as shortly as possible, to give his reasons for dissenting from this bill. It was an act of the most arbitrary and oppressive nature, brought forward without any inquiry into the state of Ireland, without any evidence laid before the house as to the necessity of it; and it was altogether so unconstitutional an act, that nothing but extreme and most imperious necessity could possibly justify it. It did not depend on the responsibility of the lord lieutenant and council, nor on the authority of the established courts of law; but two magistrates could execute all the arbitrary provisions of this terrible bill. He did not conceive himself authorised to give his assent to such a bill as this, on the authority of any hon. Gentleman, however respectable he might be, both for character and talents; and notwithstanding all that had been said on the subject, he could not see any necessity whatever for it. Lord Hardwicke had resided upwards of 4 years in Ireland, a most able, dignified, and popular representative of his sovereign, during which time he had never found it necessary to resort to those extraordinary provisions. If so, what was there in the present state of Ireland to give occasion to this bill? Since my lord Hardwicke, the duke of Bedford had been some time lord lieutenant; and there were some partial disturbances in different parts of the country. Applications had been made to his grace to put in force the provisions of this act; but he refused. He proceeded against the culprits in a legal way; and the law was found sufficient to subdue the insurrection, and to punish the offenders. Here the house had the evidence of two lords lieutenants, that in the course of 6 or 7 years, there was no necessity for such provisions. It must be a necessity made apparent to parliament, and not allowed to go on in respect to any assertion of any individual to put the whole people of Ireland out of the law, and authorise these nocturnal domiciliary visits. He was averse to the bill in toto. He never could reconcile himself to a bill which was to place the people, in every part of Ireland, in the power of any two rash, prejudiced, or intemperate magistrates, to break open their houses at any hour of the night, and, under the pretence of searching for arms, to alarm and insult their families, and without the slightest evidence of any necessity: and at least, if the house should agree to pass the bill, it ought to name the shortest possible duration, not longer, at farthest, than the commencement of the next session; when the subject might again be considered, and the law suffered to expire, unless the executive government of the country should think it necessary to be revived. It was said by the supporters of this bill, that it was to be continued for 3 years, in the first instance, because the revival of the subject in parliament, year after year, would excite irritation. So, that to avoid this suppositious consequence, the whole people of Ireland were to be 3 years exposed to the arbitrary oppression of magistrates and their underlings, and to be deprived of their arms for the defence of their habitations. There were times heretofore, when a British parliament would not tolerate such language; and he thought it required some boldness for any minister to state such a proposition. Yet, how could the bill be continued 3 years, unless it was the united sense of parliament to resist any motion for its repeal, which it was competent for any member to propose in the next session? Would any member suppose it possible, that the affairs of Ireland must not come under the consideration of parliament every year? If bills like this were the boons to be granted to Ireland by this country, these were what they could find elsewhere; and if parliament did not see the wisdom of governing that country by lenient and conciliatory measures, and fulfilling to the hopes of the people the effects they were taught to expect from a legislative union with this country; namely, the knitting together their rights and interests with those of their British fellow-subjects; if parliament did not feel the necessity of strengthening at this awful crisis, the armies of the empire, by the valour of a noble, brave, intrepid, and loyal people, instead of keeping up a system of coercive and irritative measures; he must only lament their blindness. This observation reminded him of a declaration once made by one of the ablest statesmen that ever presided over the destinies of this country, the great earl of Chatham; who said it was his maxim to adopt merit wherever he found it, free from all partiality or prejudice to countries. He had sought and found a brave people in the North, who had long been estranged from all attachment to British government by acts of impolicy and oppression, which transferred their affections to a foreign foe, who had flattered them with hopes of redress. He removed their oppressions. He noticed their loyalty to this country. They flocked to the British standard, and conquered for England in every quarter of the world. It was a similar policy that would give the best effects to the Union, by uniting with this country the affections of the Irish people: but a contrary conduct would tend ultimately, perhaps, to lop off the right arm from the British empire, at a moment when we wanted twice as many arms as we had to effect our security in this awful crisis. He concluded by beseeching the house, and his majesty's government, to depart from this fatal system which risked no less than the ultimate loss of Ireland.

Mr. *Dillon* stated, that it fell within his own knowledge, that during the administration of the duke of Bedford, some hot headed magistrates had proclaimed a district contrary to law. They afterwards applied to the lord lieutenant to sanction their proceeding; he refused to do so, and the usual operation of the law was found to be sufficient for the preservation of public tranquillity. To such men it was not his inclination to confide such powers as were not found necessary in the administration of lord Hardwicke, and such as the duke of Bedford refused to sanction. It was the wish of lord Kilwarden, even in his dying moments, that the law should not be violated on his account. Ministers were well aware that by the Bill of Rights every British subject had a right to bear arms, and if unnecessary infractions of the best articles of the constitution were made as a matter of course almost, ministers might expect that some portion of the people of that country would declare their sentiments in the most open manner against such proceedings; they might expect, not that a revolution founded on Agrarian principles would be attempted, but that the higher class of the people would be roused, and that they would petition against the union. On the intended motion of Mr. Sheridan he should deliver his sentiments more fully; in the meanwhile however, he thought it his duty to oppose the bill now before the house.

Mr. *Craig* defended Ireland from the unjust imputations against its loyalty and allegiance. He was convinced, that the true policy in governing Ireland was to extend to its people the full participation of constitutional rights. He declared his conviction of the injustice and impolicy of the present bill, and strongly supported the amendment.

Mr. *Ponsonby* was a decided enemy to the bill. He hoped some amendment would have been admitted to render it less unpalatable, but he was severely disappointed. He thanked his right hon. and learned friend (sir A. Piggott) for his eloquent speech against the bill, in every word of which he agreed; and could only express his astonishment to find his majesty's ministers supporting such a measure upon hearsay, and without a tittle of evidence, while at this moment the assizes of the different counties in Ireland were proceeding, and when the judges were every where unanimous in stating the tranquil state of that country, especially Wexford and Tipperary, the two most suspected counties, and where there was not a single indictment for insurrection, or even for seditious words; and when the judge emphatically thanked the grand juries for the tranquil state in which he found that part of the country. He never could give his support to so abominable, so unconstitutional, and so tyrannical a bill.—A general cry of question! question!

Mr. *Sheridan* expressed his astonishment at hearing so very general a call of question! question! as if gentlemen were in a hurry to pass a bill so alarming to the liberties of Ireland. He should not enter upon the affairs of that country at present, as he should have a more favourable opportunity, on the motion he should have the honour of proposing to the house on Monday. He did not expect, however, that on a measure like this for driving from the pale of the constitution the whole people of Ireland, his majesty's ministers would sit mute, without condescending to notice any of the arguments so eloquently and forcibly put against this bill. If ever he saw the case of Ireland treated with outrage and insult, it was upon the present occasion, when the king's ministers were forcing upon that country, a law subversive of all civil liberty, and exposing the habitation of every man in Ireland to the nocturnal intrusion of any two magistrates, or their underlings, on pretence of searching for arms, without any controul from the executive government. The eloquent speech of his right hon. and learned Friend (sir A. Piggott) was unanswerable. He gloried in the whole tenour of his arguments, and he was proud to see on that side of the house an attorney-general and solicitor-general of the last administration, stand forth as advocates for the cause of Ireland, who preferred government by law to a government by arbitrary power and military execution, and who refused to vote away the liberties of a brave and honourable people, without any other semblance of necessity than the mere ipse dixit of the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, and his legal friends the attorney and solicitor-generals. And what was the testimony of those right hon. gentlemen? Why, that none of them knew anything about Ireland, but that they understood from good authority that there was a disposition to insurrection there. Who told them so? Did they learn it by any official document from the duke of Richmond? or was it only from the whispers of those hon. gentlemen from that side the water, who wished to feed their credulity? For gentlemen in their stations, to say they were unacquainted with the affairs of Ireland, might be well enough before the union; but after that event, such a declaration was as ridiculous as to say they knew nothing about Middlesex or Yorkshire. The former act of which this was meant to be the companion, was abominable enough, but this was a thousand times worse. By a clause in this bill, nothing in the shape of a blacksmith must exist in Ireland but at the discretion of the magistrates, unless he would swear and give security that he would never make any thing in the shape of a pike. Thus every gentleman in Ireland was liable to be plundered out of his arms; and every blacksmith in that devoted country prevented from following his trade, or earning his livelihood, at the discretion of any two petty justices of the peace. Would any man, in his cool senses, suppose that such a measure was not calculated to excite universal discontent in Ireland; to convert the friends of the government, and the most loyal and peaceable people of the country into enemies, and to produce all those very mischiefs which it was avowedly directed to prevent? He should, however, beg leave to add to the bill a clause, by way of rider. It would be, to make it high treason to communicate to Napoleon emperor of the French, either of those bills; for he was convinced that such a communication would be the most direct, effectual, and traitorous communication to the enemy for the invasion of Ireland. The hon. and right hon. and learned gentlemen opposite to him took no notice of the speeches of his hon. friends; but if they were ignorant of the affairs of that country, knowledge should be forced upon them, or they ought to suffer for their ignorance. Notwithstanding the declaration of a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Grattan), and whose authority had been so generally quoted by the supporters of this and the former bill, he would not lend his conscience to any man against his conviction. The Irish security was gone upon the expedition to the Baltic; regiment after regiment was drawn from Ireland for foreign service; and now the country was to be garrisoned by two arbitrary acts of parliament. But surely if ministers were serious in believing the danger, this was the way to encourage and promote it.—The house then divided, for the amendment 28, against it 80, majority 52.

Lord *H. Petty* then rose to move an amendment in the bill, by shortening the duration of it. He thought the house ought to be as jealous of such a bill as of the mutiny act, and that it ought only to be past for one year. We ought to pay the same acknowledgement to the liberty of the subject in Ireland as in this country. We ought to anticipate that amelioration in the state of Ireland which might render the bill no longer necessary; and perhaps it ought also to be dreaded, that the Irish government would abuse the power vested in it, in such a manner as to make it doubtful whether more evil or good resulted from suffering such a bill to be continued. Thinking, therefore, that such powers ought to be only granted for one year, he concluded by moving as an amendment, that the words "one year" should be inserted instead of "three," as the duration of the bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought that it was necessary to say but little, when it was considered how fully both those bills had been already discussed. It would certainly be in the power of parliament to repeal this bill next year, if they thought it necessary; but he thought unnecessary discussion on this subject might be of an irritating nature, and could not possibly do any good.

Mr. *Sheridan* was rejoiced that he had at length heard a few words from one of the hon. gentlemen on the other side. When they had before refused to argue the subject, on the ground of their ignorance, he gave them some credit for either modesty or candour. His noble Friend had, however, obliged the rt. hon. gent. to say something. These discussions on the state of Ireland might appear to the gentlemen on the other side of the house, as irritating questions; they however appeared to him questions that ought not to be blinked, but that it was necessary to discuss fairly. He would tell the right hon. gent., that Ireland ought to be the constant subject of his thoughts, and of discussion in that house. The present bill was a bill for suspending the liberties and the constitution of Ireland; and to prevent irritating discussions, as they were called, it was proposed in the first instance, that the bill should be continued for 3 years. He could not see any argument that could be adduced in favour of continuing the bill for that time, that would not apply as well to the making it eternal. The right hon. gent. had said, that the house could repeal it next year, if they thought proper. This was most undoubtedly true, and so they could have done if the act had been at once made perpetual; but there was very little reason to expect that it would be repealed before the time fixed for its expiration. If the bill were only annual, then the right hon gent. must make out some kind of a case next year, before he could again propose it; but if it passed for 3 years, he would consider himself privileged to continue all that time as ignorant as he now professed himself of the state of Ireland. It was time for the house to take the situation of Ireland seriously into their consideration, as every body knew that the destruction of Ireland, or its occupation by the enemy, would be the downfal of the empire. He concluded by declaring, that he should support the amendment.

Mr. *W. Elliot* (late Secretary for Ireland) admitted the necessity of this measure, but thought the period of duration quite another question, and that parliament ought to shew an anxiety to keep as much as possible within the limits of that necessity. He would, therefore, support the amendment, and would strongly advise gentlemen on the other side to accede to it. The right hon. gent. earnestly recommended the adoption of conciliatory measures with regard to Ireland. He deprecated the language which he had heard from a high authority in that house, and in another assembly also, with respect to the Catholics; for he considered such language extremely rash and imprudent, to say the least of it; as it would go to close the expectations, to put an end to the hopes of the Catholic body. When gentlemen talked of settling the question, what did they mean? Did they mean to say to a population growing in numbers, wealth, and consequence—"we will never attend to your wishes, we will never comply with your desires?" But some gentlemen undertook to say, that the Catholic Question was of no consequence to this population. The contrary, however, was as true as nature was true to herself. What! that the landed and commercial interests, which had such extensive and just influence among the Catholic body, that the gentlemen of the bar, did not aspire to those privileges and distinctions, from which they were at present excluded! The idea was quite preposterous. He could assure the house that gentlemen were mistaken who supposed that all those feelings did not prevail among the Catholics, which strongly bind men to the state. For the desire of participating in those privileges which the state granted, was a strong bond of connection. He, of course, disliked, and would wish to discountenance the doctrine, that the prospect should be removed, which served to keep alive that desire. At least to allow the Catholics to hope, to let them cherish expectation, was one of the best means of preserving the tranquillity of Ireland. With a view effectually to restore and to maintain that tranquillity, the right hon. gent. mentioned the different measures which the late ministry had in contemplation; first, the grant of privileges to the Catholics; second, the modification of tythes; third, a strict attention to the appropriation of the funds destined for education; and fourth, the enforcement of the residence of the established clergy. These were among the benefits which the late administration meant to confer upon Ireland, and which he heartily wished to see adopted.

Mr. *Wilberforce* felt much satisfaction in hearing the objects which the right hon. gent. had just stated, and particularly with regard to tythes, in which if a change could be effected without injury to the interests of the established clergy, it was on all hands admitted to be extremely desirable. The hon. member expressed his wish that the gentlemen of Ireland would themselves devote their attention to a consideration of the means by which the state of the Irish people might be amended. For he could not help thinking that among that people, he meant the peasantry particularly, there was a difference not only in the civil condition, if he might so express himself, but in the political character, from that which appeared among the same classes in this country, and the gentlemen of Ireland might be most competent to judge of the fact, and to prepare the means of improving their countrymen.

Mr. *Windham* was glad to hear his right hon. friend state the objects which the late administration had in view, for the benefit of Ireland; and to those objects he wished particularly to point the attention of the house. So far from considering this bill and the Insurrection bill as twins, he thought them materially different. With respect to the consequence to be apprehended from the frequent discussion of measures of this nature, and which the right hon. gent. on the opposite side deprecated, he for himself thought, that as much irritation might be produced by silence as by discussion—nay, more; and so he apprehended from the silence of ministers upon this occasion. The feelings of the people of Ireland must be grated to find it resolved to continue the duration of such a bill as this beyond a reasonable time, without any statement, and perhaps without the existence of necessity. For, whatever the necessity might be now, that necessity might be at an end within a 12 month. At all events, the case was doubtful, and the Irish people should have the benefit of that doubt. Enacting the bill for one year, did not preclude its revival, should it appear necessary, any more than the revival of the Mutiny bill, which, from the same considerations which actuated his mind upon this occasion, parliament had taken care to pass annually, although its necessity was undisputed and its principle unquestionable.—The house then divided upon lord H. Petty's amendment, and the numbers were Ayes 34; Noes 79.

List of the Minority.

Barham, J. F.
Bouverie, E.
Bernard, T.
Brand, T.
Calcraft, J.
Craig, J.
Cavendish, W.
Cuthbert, J. R.
Dillon, H. A.
Dundas W.
Elliot, W.
Hibbert, G.
Jervoise, J. C.
Lamb, W.
Lubbock, sir J.
Millar, sir T.
Moore, P.
Martin, H.
Maxwell, W.
Milton, lord
Petty, lord H.
Piggott, sir A.
Parry, L. P. J.
Ponsonby, J.
Romilly, sir S.
Russell, lord W.
Sheridan, R. B.
Somerville, sir M.
Smith, W.
Sharpe, R.
Talbot, R.
Windham, W.
Ward, J. W.
Whitbread, S.

Tellers.

Creevey, T.
Dawson, R.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, August 8.

[PUBLICANS' LICENSE BILL.] Mr. *Sheridan* moved the second reading of this bill. He could adduce, he said, instances of the most atrocious oppression practised by the magistrates on individuals of this trade; he did not say designedly but from carelessness and inattention. All that he wished was, that, when a publican was charged with an act which was to be esteemed sufficient to deprive him of his license, he should be informed of the nature of the crime imputed to him, and should be heard in his defence; not that he and his family should be deprived of their livelihood by a whisper. This, he maintained, was not a situation in which an Englishman should be placed. It had, he believed, been objected against him, that this was the mode he had taken of canvassing Westminster. How truly this was alledged might be gathered from this simple fact, that one of the first measures moved by him in parliament was of a similar nature Shortly after the riots in the year 1780, h himself originated a measure against the Westminster Justices, in which he had the satisfaction of being supported by a most respectable minority. Shortly after this, the late duke of Northumberland put an additional number of gentlemen into the commission of the peace, among the rest himself (Mr. S).—General Fitzpatrick, lord R. Spencer, and other gentlemen on that side of the house, finding, during the immediately succeeding election for Westminster, that the publicans, through fear of the magistrates, all of whom were in the interest of government, could not be induced to open any houses in favour of Mr. Fox, though they had not previously qualified themselves as magistrates, they resolved to do so, and immediately advertised, promising their protection to such publicans as should act impartially by opening their houses for the independent candidate. In this determination they could only find one of the existing magistrates who would join them, and add his name to their corps. [A laugh from the ministerial benches.] Gentlemen, Mr. S. remarked, might, if they pleased, think it a subject of congratulation, and that it conferred honour and respectability on the magistracy of Westminster, that not more than one man could be found among them to add his name to a resolution expressive of their determination to act fairly and impartially. He had only stated this, however, to shew that the present was not an idea which he had now taken up for the first time. He had prepared a bill on the subject while he was Treasurer of the Navy; and so far was it from being an election trick on his part, that he did not mention the subject during the last election till the 12th day of the poll, whereas, had he meant it as a theme through which to court popularity, he would have set out with it from the beginning. If it was desired, he should be ready in the committee to go into a string of cases, the substantiating of any one of which, he was convinced, must render it impossible for gentlemen of honour, feeling, or humanity to doubt the propriety of what he proposed. He proceeded to state the case of a woman, whose father and mother had been for fifty years in one house, in which they had uniformly maintained an unblemished character. She had succeeded to her parents, and supported in it, with the same propriety, a family of 7 children, five of whom were entirely dependent on her industry. Being summoned before the magistrates, and informed that they could not renew her licence—on her attempting to remonstrate, the only satisfaction she could procure was, "woman you have had your answer." Her license was accordingly withdrawn, and she and her family are now reduced to a state of extreme poverty and distress. This case was not unknown to, and had attracted the commiseration of a noble lord and right hon. gent.—But he (Mr. S.) denied that it was consistent with the constitution of this country that any man, in any profession, was to be told, that at the discretion of any one man, he and his family were to be deprived of their livelihood, and reduced to misery. He had, he declared, thirty instances of a similar kind, which he should, if required, bring forward in the committee. He had several instances, too, of persons having been deprived of their licenses for voting for sir Francis Burdett, for Middlesex. They had even been told that this was the reason; and, he would ask, were publicans, at the will of a magistrate, to be deprived of the free exercise of the elective franchise more than the other inhabitants of this country? He alluded to another case which had occurred at Fulham, where a house remarkable for the usual decorum of its keeper had been deprived of the licence, merely because on one occasion, a few Welsh girls returning to their own country had been indulged with a fiddle and a hop. These were arbitrary powers, which, he submitted, were not fit to rest with one or two individuals, without the person accused being acquainted with the charge against him, and allowed to defend himself. Neither, he maintained, was it even then fit that they should exist without appeal. All he asked was, that every person so accused should have the charge against him furnished to him in writing, and that he should be heard in his defence; and, afterwards, that he should have it in his power to appeal to the quarter sessions. He could not think it possible but that the magistrates themselves must be pleased that an appeal lay from their decision. If not actuated by personal motives, the knowledge of such appeal must be consolatory to their feelings. All he wished at present was that the bill should extend to Middlesex and Surrey. He confessed that he had received letters which would more than cover the table, containing similar complaints from every part of the country, so that he might be fortified in maintaining that the alteration should extend throughout. But still, high as was the respect in which he held Mr. Read, Mr. Graham, and one or two others of the Westminster and Middlesex magistrates, he could not so far shut his eyes as to put them on a level with the independent country magistrates. The former held their places, for which they received an emolument, at the will and pleasure of his majesty's ministers; while the latter exercised a gratuitous and burdensome duty. There was another subject, which he had alluded to elsewhere, and before an auditory far more numerous than that which he had now the honour to address, namely, the power exercised by brewers over publicans, by being proprietors of public-houses. With all the regard which he felt for many gentlemen connected in the brewing business, this was a practice which, he was aware, ought to be checked, if not abolished. Nothing was more clear than this, that brewers might meet together, agree that they would not interfere with the houses which were held under the dominion of each; and in that manner they had it in their power to impose whatever trash they pleased on the laborious part of the community. What they had after labour was of as much consequence to their health, and to their existence, as food. It was, therefore, an object well deserving the interference of the legislature, to see that improper means were not resorted to to disappoint them of it. The period of the session, however, would not allow time for so extensive a regulation. All that he now desired was to provide that a man, merely because he was a publican, should not be ruined, and his family turned on the parish, without having an opportunity of knowing what was charged against him. He concluded by moving, that the bill be now read a second time.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he could only regret that the right hon. gent. had not brought not only the present bill but the whole of his measure sooner before the house. As he had it in full contemplation from the year 1780 down to the year 1784, he must regret that he should have allowed it to remain a blank from that period down to the election in 1807, when he revived it for the first time on the Hustings in Covent Garden; still more he must regret that he had been so late in the session in bringing it into the house. If the principle of the bill, however, was to be supported by cases, the plan would have been to move for a committee to investigate them, and to make the report of the committee the foundation of the bill. As matters stood there was no evidence to go on, and it would be unfair to make Middlesex and Surrey exceptions from a general rule. He hoped the right hon. gent. would set his mind to the business during the vacation, and come prepared with his whole plan early in the next session. He concluded by moving that the bill be read a second time this day three months.

Mr. *Rose* thought some regulation necessary upon this subject, and bore testimony to the character of the publicans. From his connection with the revenue business, he was enabled to say, that there was not a more meritorious class of men than the publicans.

Mr. *D. Giddy* vindicated the character of the magistracy in the country, who were, as far as his acquaintance extended, particularly in Cornwall, entitled to the utmost respect. The evils arising from the proprietorship of public houses being vested in the brewers, he acknowledged to be great, but he could not conceive any legislative remedy that could apply to it.

Mr. *Peter Moore* thought the grounds of objection stated by the chancellor of the exchequer might be obviated in a committee, where all the cases cited by his right hon. friend might, with many others, equally strong, be fully substantiated. From having had an opportunity of examining these cases, he could say that such instances of oppression had occurred under the existing law, as would revolt the feelings of the house, and as would excite its astonishment, that such a law had been so long suffered to continue in operation. However, as more inquiry seemed to be required upon this subject, and as gentlemen seemed to think the general extension of the principle desirable, he would recommend to his right hon. friend to withdraw the bill, rather than let it go to a division, lest its rejection should appear to imply that to which he was glad to perceive no gentleman was disposed, namely, an absolute opposition to the principal of the measure.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* conceived a committee of inquiry necessary previous to the introduction of a bill of this nature, because it professed to rest upon particular cases; but if the measure were founded upon a general principle, comprehending the whole country, such a committee might be dispensed with. The hon. member was aware of the illegitimate use made of the power which the magistrates possessed under the existing law, of the improper manner in which they employed it upon elections, and that such a law required revision. He knew that in some populous towns at a distance from the metropolis, every publican voted at an election according to the will of the magistrate, in consequence of the undue influence derived from the existence of this law. He agreed, therefore, in the necessity which called for some correction of the abuse complained of; but he agreed also with those who considered it improper to have the grounds of objection which magistrates might feel to a publican's license become the subject of discussion in a court of law. For in that case he could not help thinking the remedy almost as bad as the evil. The mode of redress which occurred to his mind would be to extend authority for granting licenses or hearing appeals conferred upon a larger number of magistrates, who, from their number, would probably be free from the operation of local feeling or party prejudice. Thus justice might be done to the publicans and to the public, for whose interest, he thought that, if the principle of such a measure as this were unexceptionable, it ought to be extended to the whole country. He therefore recommended to the right hon. gent. to withdraw his bill for the present session.

Mr. *Sheridan* professed his disposition to yield to whatever appeared to be the general wish of the house, and therefore he should comply with the request of his hon. friend (Mr. Moore), to any suggestion from whom he should be always happy to attend. At the same time he could not help noticeing the surprise expressed by the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, that he should have brought forward this bill at so late a period of the session. What, said Mr. S., the right hon. gent., who has surprised the house and the country so much himself —he who has surprised the house at a late period of the session with his plan of government for Ireland, who has surprised it with his new military project—who has surprised it by proposing to suspend that highly laudable and universally praised system, the plan of enlisting for a limited time,—and yet, that after all the right hon. gent. should talk to me about surprising the house! But, among all his surprises there is one surprise which he could not produce, namely that of surprising me by opposing this bill; for I expected it.—The right hon. gent. proceeded to state the manner in which he had acted with a view to produce a satisfactory bill. First, he drew up a bill such as some gentlemen now professed to wish for, combining the case of brewers owning public-houses with that before the house respectively; but then objections arose, to which he yielded, in proposing to make those the objects of separate bills. Again, he proposed to make the bill general; but to this very great difficulties were suggested; he found many men, and magistrates particularly, who were willing to let him do what he pleased with Middlesex and Surrey, provided he let the remainder of the country alone. He therefore endeavoured to make a beginning of that reform in those counties, which so many gentlemen had professed to desire to extend to all England. But a committee of inquiry was required previous to the introduction of such a bill as this. He however, would beg those who desired such a committee, to reflect upon the expence and trouble that must attend such a committee; to consider if witnesses were to be summoned from all parts of England and Wales, what time such a committee must last, and when it was likely to end? Each case would, in fact, be a suit before the committee, for he should propose to do that with regard to the magistrates, which they, under the existing law, declined to do towards the publicans; that is, he should have the magistrates apprized of any ground of complaint urged against them, and afforded the opportunity of vindicating themselves. What time, then, would such an investigation occupy! —As to the cases he had adverted to upon this occasion, the right hon. gent. stated that they were but a few out of a large mass, and while gentlemen called for deliberation and delay, he could assure them and the house, that many persons were starving in jail in consequence of the law which he proposed to correct. There was one case in particular into which he believed a right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) had made enquiry, and which he knew was peculiarly oppressive, namely, that of Mrs. Unthank. The case of Mr. John Morris, a respectable man, who had a shop over the way in King Street, furnished the strongest grounds of complaint. This Mr. Morris, for whom, from his own knowledge of him, he could not hesitate to avow the utmost respect, was deprived of his licence by the magistrates, merely because his house was to be taken down in order to make some coxcombical improvements about Westminster Abbey—to show that building to the members as they came down to the house. But he had communicated the case of Mr. Morris to the Treasury, and he hoped for redress. There was also one with regard to a Mr.

Bignall, of the Broadway Westminster, whose licence was withdrawn by the magistrates, upon grounds which they would not explain, and the poor man finding every effort to procure redress unavailing, absolutely died of a broken heart about a fortnight since leaving a helpless family to deplore his fate. With such facts before him, he did not think it too much to propose this temperate measure. However, as the opinion was so strongly expressed, that if such a bill was necessary, it should be made general, he should acquiesce in the wish for time to inquire into the subject. He hoped and trusted that by the next session, petitions would pour in from all quarters, praying the removal of the existing grievances, and that such petitions would be presented by the highest authority, by that of the county representatives of the respective petitioners. For himself, he should for the present only say, that which was only a repetition of what he had said before, that while he had a seat in that house, he should ever be found an advocate of the weak against the strong, and of the helpless against those who had the power, and, he was sorry to say, too often the will, to oppress them.

Mr. *Rose* vindicated the conduct of the commissioners appointed to superintend the improvements alluded to by the right hon. gent., from any concern in the transactions respecting Mr. Morris or Mrs. Unthank. For whenever those commissioners thought the removal of any house necessary to their object, they not only paid for the house itself, but, if a shop or place of business, they allowed for the good will also, or any other loss sustained by the proprietors.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, the complaint in the cases he referred to was, that the licence was refused on the ground that it was in contemplation to take down the house for the purpose of the improvement he had mentioned.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, that he had received some papers from the right hon. gent. upon the subject of Mr. Morris's case, and that an inquiry was set on foot in the proper department. The result of that inquiry he should take care to have communicated to the right hon. gent., and if the case should turn out to be such as the right hon. gent. had described it to be, he had no doubt that ample redress would be granted by remunerating Mr. Morris.—After some farther conversation, Mr. Sheridan with leave of the house withdrew the bill.

Mr. *Dent's* bill relative to the lodgement of £400. upon prosecuting an election petition, after some observations from sir A. Pigott and lord W. Russell against it, and from Mr. T. Jones and Mr. Dent in its favour, produced a division of six to five: and there not being 40 members present the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, August 10.

[SCOTCH JUDICATURE BILL.]—The *Lord Chancellor* presented a bill for the better administration of justice in Scotland, the object of which he briefly stated, namely to divide the court of session into two chambers, one consisting of the lord president and 7 judges, and the other of the lord justice clerk and 6 judges. His lordship stated, that he did not wish any proceeding should be had upon the bill this session, but merely that it should be printed and lie over for consideration next session.

The Earl of *Selkirk* thought it would be preferable to constitute the 6 justiciary lords of the court of session a court for the trial of jury causes, they being accustomed to trial by jury in criminal cases, and that the other nine judges should constitute a court of equity, with power to send causes for trial by jury into the other court.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* declined going into the subject at present, but stated, that there were several petitions from different parts of Scotland, ready to be presented in favour of extending the trial by jury to that country.—The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

[NEUTRAL POWERS.]—Earl *Stanhope* rose to call the attention of the house to a subject he said of great importance; he alluded to the conduct of this country towards neutral powers. After what had passed in America, he thought the subject became of still greater importance, although he was aware that nothing could be said about that event at present. If, however, he did not receive a satisfactory answer from ministers respecting the line of conduct intended to be adopted towards states at peace with this country, he should make a motion on the subject, on Thursday, which his lordship read, and the object of which was to recognize the principle of equality and reciprocity in the conduct of this country towards independent States with whom we were at peace.—The lords were ordered to be summoned for Thursday.

[MILITIA TRANSFER BILL.]—The order

of the day being read for the second reading of this bill.

Lord *Hawkesbury* observed that it had been the wish of his majesty's ministers to have avoided, if possible, proposing any new military measure during the present session, in order that they might have had more experience of the effects of the plan proposed by a right hon. gent. in the other house (Mr. Windham), and adopted by parliament, and which it was their wish should have a fair trial. After, however, the events which had unfortunately occurred, it became incumbent upon ministers to propose some measure for increasing the military force of the country, in order still further to guard against the increased power of the enemy. He did not wish the country to believe, that, whatever had been the dangers of invasion, they were not now increased. Whilst at a former period, if the enemy failed in an attempt to invade our shores, the failure was sure to recoil upon the continent, and environ him with danger there; and when now, from the unfortunate situation of the continental powers, that expectation could not be indulged, at least only to a very limited extent, it could not be supposed that the danger of invasion had not increased. With these difficulties to encounter, ministers felt it their duty to propose to parliament an augmentation of the military force of the country. It was evident that a sufficient augmentation could not be obtained by ordinary recruiting, as that did little more than repair the annual waste of men; neither could it be obtained by any additional stimulus given by the new plan, as it appeared from the statement of the number of recruits obtained, that that number had rather diminished than increased, whilst the desertions, which it was confidently expected would be decreased, had on the contrary increased. No one, indeed, who supported that plan, had considered it as capable of producing a large increase of men immediately; but as calculated gradually to improve the army. That it was necessary to increase the regular force of the country there could be no doubt, as that must prove the substratum of the general force of the country. The militia and the volunteers were capable of rendering services to the country of great importance; and he thought the latter force had been most unwisely decried, as if it were said, that because such a force was not good for every thing, that, therefore, it was good for nothing. They on the contrary, were highly important parts of our force. It was, however, of the greatest importance to keep up and to increase the efficiency of our regular disposable force, and the most effectual mode of increasing that force was conceived by ministers to be the measure now proposed, by which 28,000 soldiers, already trained and disciplined, would be obtained by the regular army, and by which 56 second battalions, now very deficient in numbers, would be rendered efficient. He conceived this plan to be preferable to an army of rererve, in raising which a considerable period must elapse before the men could be at all fit for service. Besides, the unwise measure of remitting the fines incurred under a recent act for raising men, tended to destroy the effect of measures of this nature by discouraging activity. The noble lord then went over the different provisions of the bill, and contended in favour of the clause for allowing the men the option of enlisting for a limited or an unlimited period, that it would be highly impolitic that the terms of service of 28,000 men should all expire together; he, besides, was of opinion that the only fair principle upon which service for a limited period ought to be supported was, the giving the men an option of a similar nature. The noble lord alluded to the measures of ministers respecting the volunteers, and contended that inspecting officers were absolutely requisite to take care that the corps were maintained in a proper state of discipline, and to communicate with government upon the subject. The allowances had been also restored, the withholding of which, according to the plan of the late ministers, must have tended to the destruction of the volunteer force. He concluded by moving the second reading of the bill.

Lord *Sidmouth* said, that though he concurred in many of the sentiments expressed by the noble baron (lord Hawkesbury) who had just sat down, his mind had not been brought to the same conclusion, with respect to the measures of defence fit to be adopted at the present crisis; and this difference arose, in a great degree, from the different view he had taken of the crisis itself. It was indeed evident, independently of the avowal of the noble baron, that notwithstanding the unfortunate and decisive circumstances which attended the opening of the campaign on the continent (he alluded particularly to the fall of Dantzic) there was no intention on the part of government, at the time of the meeting of parliament, to propose any measures for the augmentation of our military force, No communication to that effect was contained in the speech from the throne, nor had the subject been at all adverted to by ministers at an early period of the session; and even now, the plan, which was, at length brought forward, appeared to him, he was sorry to declare, ill adapted to our actual situation, and inadequate to the nature and magnitude of the danger. It was chiefly founded upon the expediency of increasing our disposable force, and upon the supposition, that, for a considerable time at least, there was no reason to expect an attack on the coasts of Great Britain or Ireland. Imperfectly informed, as he must necessarily be, he was nevertheless decidedly of opinion, that we could not be justified in acting upon such a supposition; and that, without losing sight of the expediency of increasing our disposable force, our leading object should be to provide effectually for our domestic security. For this purpose it was necessary, not only to resort to such additional measures, as were adapted to the immediate exigency, but to carry into effect, without further loss of time, the principle of the training act of the year 1803, which had been altered, but not, as he thought, improved, by an act of last year; and likewise to found upon the principle of that act, a permanent system, without which, we could not reasonably hope to be rendered completely secure against what ought now to be considered as a permanent danger. It was evident, from what he had said, that whilst he could not agree with ministers in their view of the species and degree of preparation which the crisis demanded, he differed still more from those who were of opinion, that, even at such a moment as the present, we ought to rely entirely and exclusively on the effects of the new, and, as he readily admitted, improved conditions of military service, which had been last year adopted by parliament, but which it was then distinctly acknowledged, were not likely to be attended with rapid success. This opinion surprised him, as coming from persons, not only of great talents and authority, but from persons who had themselves been forward, at an early period of the war, in complaining of the insufficiency of our military force, for the purpose of domestic security. At the time when this complaint was most vehemently urged, there were in arms in the United Kingdom, between 6 and 700,000 men; of which number, 182,000 were regulars and militia (92,000 of the former description), 25,000 sea fencibles, and considerably more than 400,000 volunteers. One of his majesty's principal secretaries of state (Mr. Yorke) had also brought forward measures, which were afterwards interrupted by the change of government, for adding 40,000 men to our disposable force, and he also laid upon the table of the house of commons, a classification and enrolment of 1,800,000 men; the whole, or any part of which, were liable to be trained and disciplined, and, in the event of invasion, to be required to supply vacancies in regiments of the line, or to be employed for the defence of the country, in any other manner that his majesty should direct. This force, upon which he should abstain from making any observation, was at that time called insufficient: but now, when the danger was enormously increased, by the increased dominion and power of the enemy, we were told that no extraordinary efforts were necessary, and that a new system of recruiting, wise, as he admitted, in principle, but confessedly slow in its operation, was the only resource, on which we ought to rely for the augmentation of a force, which, even previous to the late embarkations, did not exceed 168,000 men, and of which, 140,000, including 78,000 militia, would, he feared, at this time, be an exaggerated estimate. On the policy of sending a large part of our army at this moment, on a foreign expedition, he would whilst the object of it must be supposed to be generally unknown, refrain from offering any other remark, than that, though offensive operations were undoubtedly, in some cases, the best species of defensive warfare, yet, under such circumstances as the present, it was obviously desirable, that the distance and nature of the service to which the force was to be applied, should not be such, as to render its return, within a short period of time either hazardous or uncertain. Of the insufficiency of our domestic force at this moment, and even previous to the embarkations alluded to, he trusted, that amongst their lordships there was no difference of opinion; and with a view to the safety of the country, he should rejoice to find, that they were equally convinced of the unfitness, as well as the inadequacy, of the means upon which they were now to decide. The necessity of extraordinary exertions being however assumed, the remaining question, respecting the best mode of acting, under the pressure of such a necessity, could not but be attended with great and peculiar difficulties. It was an undoubted fact, that there was no nation in the world, in which the disproportion between its population and the demands upon it for military service was so considerable, as Great Britain; and none, in which the obstacles to the supply of such a demand were so numerous and powerful. The degree of compulsion resorted to for this purpose in most other parts of the world, would be unwarrantable, under a free government, as long as the safety of the state could be otherwise provided for; and the ordinary inducements to enter into the army, are here counteracted by the strong attractions of the naval service, by the facility of procuring a comfortable subsistence in the various occupations and pursuits of civil life, and (in case of want of employment) by the certainty of provision, secured by the humane policy of our laws, and charged upon the landed property of the country. Under such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at, that ordinary inducements have been found inadequate; even the effect of high bounties has been proved to be inconsiderable: local and personal influence has indeed been more productive; and the consequences of the measures adopted last year, for shortening the necessary duration of military service, and for improving the situation and prospects of the soldier, had been such as to justify sanguine hopes of complete, though gradual success: but still he feared, that, to meet the present emergency, voluntary service ought not to be exclusively relied upon. He therefore concurred with those who were of opinion, that, for this purpose, some spacies of compulsion must be resorted to, and that, upon the whole, ballot was the most equitable, and least severe: on this point, therefore, his difference with ministers was not upon the principle itself, but upon the mode of applying it. The plan now before their lordships was to encourage 28,000 men to volunteer into the line from the militia of Great Britain and Ireland, at present consisting of 78,000, and to raise by ballot 44,000, of which 28,000 would eventually be wanted to supply vacancies: of the remaining 16,000 five were to provide against the loss of that number of ballotted men, whose period of service would expire in a few months; three to obviate the waste of three or four years, during which, ballot was to be suspended; and the remaining 8,000 were to consist of an addition to the militia of Ireland: a measure which, when brought forward early in 1804 (combined with the acceptance of offers from several Irish militia regiments, to serve in Great Britain), had been strenuously opposed by persons who had themselves recommended it to Parliament in the ensuing year, and some of whom concurred in urging the adoption of it at this time. To this plan he objected on various grounds: he objected to it, because the very attempt to execute it, must necessarily be accompanied by circumstances, which even its warmest advocates could not fail to lament. Persons, whether balloted men or substitutes, having entered into the militia, must suppose that they were not liable to be called upon to engage in any other military service: but being there, they are now to be tempted and importuned; their good and bad qualities worked upon; their spirit and loyalty piqued and flattered; their inclination to revelry and irregularity indulged and gratified; their subordination to their officers relaxed and suspended; and all this, to induce them to forego, voluntarily, as it is termed, their original conditions of service, and to enter into the line. Though this could not perhaps be justly deemed a breach of faith, it was not, he feared, strictly consistent with fair dealing! upon that account he felt a strong repugnance to it. He also objected to the measure on account of its uncertainty; for though it was probable that the men would be obtained, it was by no means clear that this would be the case; and nothing should be left to chance at such a time. But his objections to the plan were not so much founded upon the danger of its failure, as upon the consequences which were to be apprehended from its success. If effectual, it would deprive the militia, admitted to be now in the highest state of discipline, of 28,000 of its best and most active men; and with the residue consisting of 50,000, were to be mixed and incorporated 44,000 recruits, whose ignorance and inexpertness would furnish constant employment, during a long interval, to the non-commissioned officers, and necessarily suspend the efficiency of the whole body of militia, for a considerable period of time, and under circumstances the most critical. But weighty as these considerations appeared to him to be, there were others not less important; he adverted particularly to those arising out of the situation in which this measure would place the officers of the militia; a description of persons who had strong claims to the respect and gratitude of their country. On two former occasions they had surrendered their personal feelings to the exigency of the public service; and at those periods, when our domestic danger was far less, and when a sufficient number of troops could not otherwise be procured for foreign expeditions, then in conntemplation, the militia furnished the means of carrying into effect the wishes and plans of government; but the injury to the militia service itself was immediate and lasting. In 1805, the measure of recruiting from the militia arose from other causes: in the preceding year it had been provided by Mr. Pitt's Additional Force bill, that the militia should not receive any further supply of men, till casualties had taken from it a number equal to that of the Supplementary militia; and accordingly, in the spring of 1805, when the hopes which had been entertained of a large increase of the army from the Additional Force bill were disappointed; when 500 officers had quitted the militia service; and when the number of privates was wasting unprofitably, the measure of permitting a proportion of the militia, equal to the supplementary part of it, to enter into the line, was resorted to, but, as it appeared from documents upon the table, with incomplete success. What, however, must be the feelings of officers on seeing a renewal of this measure, not under such circumstances as those which he had just described; not with a view to foreign expeditions, on which militia regiments could not be employed, but when that species of service was likely to arise, for which they were peculiarly and exclusively calculated, and with a view to which alone the militia was instituted, and could be said to exist; and when a hope might be indulged by the honourable and high-spirited individuals to whom he had adverted, that they should reap the noblest reward of their exertions and sacrifices in the peril and the glory of defending at the head of those whom they had trained and disciplined, the laws, liberties, and independence of their country? Under such circumstances, though their loyalty and patriotism would remain unshaken and unabated, their zeal, their ardour, their becoming pride as militia officers, must be checked and subdued; and if these bills should pass, the life and soul of that valuable and distinguished branch of our military system would, he feared, be extinguished for ever. These reflections were the more painful to him, as he was convinced that the consequences he had described would be unnecessarily produced; inasmuch as the object immediately in view might be accomplished by another measure, which had been sanctioned by experience and success; and to which not only no such objections, but no objections of equal validity, could be justly stated to apply. The description of force to which he adverted, was that which had been called the Army of Reserve; though, if its services were confined, as he should recommend, to Great Britain and Ireland, it might properly be denominated the militia of the United Kingdom. The success of such a measure might be deemed certain, as in the year 1803, immediately subsequent to a ballot for 90,000 men for the militia, it produced, within a month after the passing of the bill, 15,000 men; 25,000 in two months; and in four months, 37,000. It would be executed in the same mode, by the same lists, and by the same agency, as the measure of constituting the militia: the appointment of new officers was unnecessary, as the second battalions were now, or might soon be, in a state to receive the men as they were raised. It was marked by fair dealing, as it would be known beforehand that all persons serving in such corps would be encouraged to enter into the army for general service, and that, if they thought proper to do so, they would receive a bounty for that purpose. But it had been stated by the noble baron (lord Hawkesbury), that the process of training such a force would be slow, whereas the men volunteering from the militia would be already in a high state of discipline: the latter part of this proposition was an assumption without proof, and without the possibility of it: for it was not certain that the expected number would be procured at all; and it was evident that government did not rely upon procuring the full number from those now serving in the militia, as there was a clause in the bill authorising newly ballotted men and substitutes to enter into the line. But admitting, that the whole number should volunteer, and that it should consist entirely of disciplined soldiers, the question was (and upon this issue he rested his view of the subject), whether the superior quality of men entering from the militia over an equal number in the Army of Reserve, was such as, on that account to render it expedient to suspend during a considerable and most critical period, the efficiency of the whole body of militia, consisting of more than half of our domestic force, and to incur the risk of so wounding the feelings of honourable and high spirited men holding commissions in that service, and of creating such a distaste for it, as to shake and endanger the militia establishment itself. On this point he entertained no doubt whatever. He thought it obviously preferable to leave the militia entire and undisturbed, in its present high state of discipline, and instead of raising the men wanted at this time, by a circuitous, and, as it appeared to him, most objectionable process, to resort to a mode direct and certain, which had been successfully tried under circumstances from which the present only differed in this respect, that the difficulty of carrying it into effect was then much greater, and the necessity of it considerably less. His lordship further stated it to be his opinion, that it would be desirable at this time to raise ten or twelve battalions upon a plan which had been successfully resorted to, upon a limited scale, in the year 1804, and which, but for the change of government, would have been carried to a greater extent. The plan to which he alluded, was that of trying the effect of personal and local influence, for he purpose of raising men for one step of rank: it differed materially from a measure adopted at an early period of the last war, as at that time almost any person might have acquired for the stipulated number of men, any military rank below that of colonel. By the measure he was now recommending, no individual would gain a step in the army, whose character was not free from imputation, and who was not of standing sufficient to allow him to obtain promotion by purchase. To this proposition he knew there were objections, but he had heard of none that appeared to him to be of sufficient weight to justify the rejection of it, under such circumstances as the present: as far as it went, it would lessen the number to be raised by ballot, which, he admitted, was a process not to be resorted to, except under the pressure of an urgent and overruling necessity.—The noble viscount then proceeded to take a detailed view of the military establishment of the country, and expressed his decided opinion, that, as lord Hawkesbury had also observed, it must unavoidably consist of diversified materials, and of different descriptions of force; and that the necessity of compulsion could only be diminished by resorting to various methods, for the purpose of drawing from a disproportionate population as much military efficiency as could be obtained, consistently with the inclinations, the habits, and occupations of the people. The regular army must unquestionably be considered as the foundation, and, as it had been called by the noble baron, the *substratum* of the whole: for the supply of it, great confidence might, he thought, be justly placed in the measure adopted last year, for altering the conditions of military service: the benefits of this system could only be progressive; but they were already sufficient to warrant sanguine expectations of complete success. With this opinion he greatly lamented the introduction of a clause in the present bill, affording to the militia soldier, on entering into the regular army, the option of serving either for seven years, or for life. A small increase of bounty would probably operate irresistably at the moment of enlistment, and induce a large proportion to accept the latter alternative: repentance would speedily follow; all the uneasiness arising from contrast would be soon, and continually, felt: discontent and desertion, he feared, would ensue, and the advantages of the system would, in other respects, be circumscribed, and materially impaired. He was apprehensive too, that this clause might be the forerunner of a similar provision in the mutiny bill of the ensuing year; and if so, a system founded on the soundest principles and the most enlarged views, must be considered as abandoned and destroyed. This would extinguish the hope, now reasonably entertained, of our being enabled, at a future period, to supply and keep up a large regular army, by no other means than those of voluntary service. But, under the most favourable circumstances, a regular army, sufficient of itself to provide for our domestic defence, as well as for the security of our foreign possessions, could not possibly be raised and maintained: and, for reasons unnecessary now to be stated, ought not, as he thought, to be desired: auxiliary means must be resorted to, without which in the, event of a landing of the enemy in considerable force, effectual resistance would be hopeless. These means were partly to be derived from the zeal and spontaneous exertions of a large proportion of the community, and from the application of a principle solemnly established by the act of 1803, of the right of the state to demand the military services of all or any members of the community, for the purposes of domestic defence. Of the first description were the Volunteers, a force which, considering its amount and the spirit which produced it, is without a parallel in the history of the world. Of the disposition of government to cherish and encourage that spirit, he had the satisfaction of being perfectly convinced; and in general he approved of the measures which had been adopted for that purpose. In the management of the volunteers, it was essential to manifest a strong and liberal sense of their value, to avoid, and to discourage, unnecessary expense; and to aim at such a degree of military discipline and proficiency as may be consistent with a due attention to their ordinary civil occupations. Of the militia (a description of force raised under compulsory authority), he would add nothing to what he had already said, than that he believed it to be impossible that they should long continue to exist upon their present footing, but that they ought to know distinctly what they were to expect in future. The extension of their services to the whole of the United Kingdom could not, as the establishment was now constituted, be reasonably expected; and, indeed, without far more consideration and indulgence than for several years past it had been judged proper, or perhaps been found practicable to show, for the personal convenience and comfort of individuals belonging to the militia, it would be fruitless to hope that a large number of ballotted men would serve, or that the regiments would be officered by a considerable proportion of noblemen and gentlemen from the counties in which they were respectively raised. He was strongly inclined to think that the connexion of the militia with the volunteers, for the purpose of forming local and provincial corps, which should remain in their different counties, except in case of actual invasion, or immediate danger of it, would, upon the whole, be the most useful purpose to which those branches of our military system could now be applied. But all the means of defence and exertion, to which he had adverted, ought to be considered as far from commensurate with the exigency of the present crisis, and with the permanent danger, for such we ought now to deem it, against which it was our urgent duty to provide. For these purposes, it was indispensably necessary to exercise the authority solemnly confirmed to his majesty by the legislature in 1803, of calling upon all or any of his liege subjects, not only to assist in repelling an invading enemy, but previously to submit to such a course of training and discipline as would qualify them for active service in the field. Under such circumstances as the present, our actual and prepared means of defence should know no limits, but those of our population: and considering the inestimable value of the stake for which we are contending, we cannot be justified, in suffering our internal preparations to be in any degree diminished by our confidence in our insular situation, or even in the undisputed superiority of our navy. Let our force at sea be what it may, whatever may be its distribution, it is well known, that no degree of skill, vigilance, or exertion, can ensure the confinement of the enemy in their own ports, and that it is also impossible to prevent their disembarkation in considerable numbers, on various parts of the coast of the United Kingdom. It is therefore necessary, for the purpose of being perfectly secure; of being, as far as human means can render us so, invulnerable, or at least invincible, that we should meet the enemy with what we cannot bring. He must find us an armed nation. With these impressions, it was to him a matter of astonishment and deep regret, to hear that the parliamentary measures, which, it appeared were still necessary for carrying the plan for a general training into effect, were not to be proposed till the ensuing session; and it had been said, from official authority, in another place, that no danger was to be apprehended till the spring. It was indeed evident, from the conduct, the language and measures of ministers, that they considered and treated the danger as remote: it might be so; but to delay, upon such a supposition, the adoption of measures confessedly essential to our security, was a species of confidence, to say the least, for which he was unable to conceive any rational pretence, or suggest any possible excuse. Was it founded upon the fact, that the great body of the French army was still in Poland? Let their lordships recollect the marches of the armies of France, in the autumn of 1805 and 1806. In 1805, they reached Ulm within a month from the time of their departure from Boulonge; and shortly after, 80,000 Austrians were prisoners of war. In 1806, they not only traversed in eight weeks, the vast tract of country between the banks of the Rhine and the Maine, and those of the Vistula, but crushed in their way one of the greatest military powers in the world. The approach of autumn, or even of winter, would afford no security: on the contrary, long nights were favourable, when the object was to elude the vigilance or pursuit of a superior fleet; and it must be recollected, that it was the depth of winter, when General Hoche, anchored in Bantry Bay. Let it not however, be supposed, that France is at this moment destitute of means of making a formidable attack. Independently of her native troops, of which, the march of 60,000 had been stopped, 40,000 Dutch troops are returned to the frontiers of Holland, and a Spanish army, of 25,000 men, on their route towards Poland, had halted on the borders of France. These were circumstances, which surely called for the serious and immediate attention of ministers, and imposed upon them the urgent and imperious duty of making the most of the time yet allowed for preparation. This view of our situation might perhaps be considered as too gloomy; but he assured their lordships, that he had never yet been guilty of the crime of despairing of his country: and even under the present circumstances his anxiety chiefly arose from the sentiments which government appeared to entertain of this momentous and unexampled crisis; and particularly from his conviction of the unfitness and inadequacy of the measures now brought forward; and not from any distrust of the actual sufficiency of our means to provide effectually for our security. We must however, by foresight, by vigour, by exertion, by perseverance, maintain ourselves on the eminence upon which we are now placed, or we should soon descend to the foot of the declivity, and in that state of humiliation, greater privations and sacrifices would be necessary, to enable us to make a comparatively feeble, and probably an ineffectual struggle, for our insular independence, than are now requisite, for the protection of our wide-spread dominion, and for the support of our formidable power. No plea, no pretence, for imperfect and incompetent measures, was to be found in the disposition of the people. They had not embarrassed the plans and operations of government, nor the deliberations of parliament, by complaints of the continuance of the war, and of the burdens which it had occasioned. On the contrary, their conduct had been highly honourable to the sound sense, the manly fortitude, and ardent loyalty of the country; and he was convinced, that, at the present moment, measures of efficiency and vigour, with a view to our domestic defence, would be hailed with approbation and joy by the united voice of the whole nation.—On the present occasion, he had discharged what he considered as an indispensable duty. He had expressed sentiments, which he had long entertained, and upon which he had formerly acted. A slight difference of opinion would not induce him, upon such an occasion, and at such a period, to oppose a measure of the government: but he now did so, from a firm and conscientious conviction, that it was highly objectionable in itself, and that it impeded the adoption of other measures, far better adapted, in all respects, to our present situation, and to the permanent security of the empire.

Lord *Borringdon* contended, that there was every probability of the measure being effectual to the extent of the whole number of men sought to be raised. That these men, when transferred from the militia into the regulars, would be at least equal to what they were in the militia, that they would even be equal to most regular troops, he thought could hardly be denied. The noble viscount had said, that a long time must intervene before the deficiency produced by the draughting of them from the militia could be supplied. This was, in his opinion, the very point in which the present system was most efficient, and that in which it had the most decided advantage over the measure of the noble viscount. By the noble viscount's plan, the new levies would be formed into separate corps, consisting entirely of untrained men. By that now proposed, the 28,000 newly raised recruits were to be engrafted into 100 different battalions, into which they themselves would infuse additional vigour, and from whose almost complete state of training, on the other hand, they must be brought in a comparatively short period to the use of arms. He confessed there was one part of the bill he did not like, and that was the clause by which any infringement was made on the improved mode of recruiting the regular army, introduced during the last year. He should have preferred it had the period of limited service been still adopted, raising the bounty progressively, as 7 guineas for seven years, 8 guineas for eight years, 9 guineas for nine years, &c.

Lord *De Dunstanville*, though he seldom found himself disposed to compliment the present ministers, could not refrain from giving them his thanks for any measure which went to add to the force of the country at this important crisis. To the mode, however, in which this additional force was sought to be raised, he felt himself called on to object. He would greatly prefer the measure recommended by the noble viscount; namely, the Army of Reserve. It had been tried, and found effectual. If, however, the present measure passed into a law, it should have his utmost assistance to give it effect; but at the same time it had not his approbation.

The Earl of *Selkirk* rose and spoke nearly as follows:*—My lords; Though I concur in many of the objections which have been stated to the particular provisions of the bill before us, yet I cannot consider these details as an interesting subject of discussion, when the measure is liable, in its very principles, to an objection of paramount importance—I mean, that it is totally inadequate to the exigencies of the crisis in which we are placed. The noble secretary of state who moved the bill, has opened the subject with many forcible observations on the dangers with which we are surrounded, and on the necessity which we are under, of making extraordinary exertions, in consequence of the recent great successes of the enemy. But when the noble lord proceeded to specify the exertions, which he wishes the country to make, I could not help thinking the measures which he proposed, a strange contrast to the exordium of his speech. When the noble lord, after taking such ample time to consider the subject, brings forward a proposal prefaced with such observations, we are surely led to expect, that the preparations to be made, should be in some degree commensurate with the exigency, and with the amount of the force, which we may expect to be brought against us. But, supposing that the measure now proposed were free from all the particular objections which have been urged against it—to what does it amount? All that is even proposed is, to raise 44,000 men in the course of twelve months; and that by a ballot, of which the acknowledged effect will be to impede and nearly to suspend the ordinary recruiting, by which in the same space of time at least one half of that number would be raised. The noble lord then considers an addition of 20 or 24,000 men to our regular and militia force, as a counterpoise to the increase of power, which France has obtained during the last three campaigns. With this additional number of men we are to be enabled to resist the gigantic power, which is now preparing to overwhelm us.—Good heavens! my lords, is it possible that the noble secretary can be serious in making such a proposal? or are we to believe that his majesty's ministers have never at all reflected on the nature and amount of the danger with which we are menaced? Have they forgot that we have to contend with the most formidable military power, which the world has ever seen?—that we have to contend single-handed, not against the power of France alone, but, I may almost say, against that of all Europe. Every resource, which the continent can afford, we may soon expect to see arrayed for the subjugation of this country; and all this immense power is in the hands of one, who is not apt to neglect his advantages. The conqueror who with such unexampled rapidity has crushed the most formidable powers on the continent—he who has humbled Russia, who has laid Austria prostrate, and has scattered the legions of the great Frederick like dust before the wind, is preparing, with still increased resources, to carry his victorious arms into England, urged on by every motive that ambition and revenge can dictate. This island is now the only bar that stands between Napoleon and the empire of the world. He knows that when England is crushed, no other power on earth will dare to give him any further molestation;—but that while England exists, he will ever have a jealous rival, a watchful and a formidable antagonist. Can we doubt, that every sinew will be stretched to accomplish the annihilation of a power, which has so repeatedly obstructed his views?—Nor is it by ambition alone that he is animated. He makes no secret of the implacable hatred he bears to this country, and the vengeance which he meditates for the repeated mortifications, which he traces to the enmity of England. Assuredly, it is now no ordinary war that we have to wage—no war of colonial contests or distant campaigns;—the blow is now aimed at our heart—our struggle is to be for the existence of Britain. It is not the humiliation of a rival that France now aims at,—it is the annihilation of a foe, that has for ages been the rallying point of her enemies. Nothing short of total and absolute conquest can now be expected to satisfy her ambition. To others the conqueror has shown moderation, only that he might direct his efforts with more security and effect against his main enemy. To others, he has shown moderation, only that he might the better accomplish our destruction. But if England be once at his feet, as Austria and Prussia have been—never—never will she be allowed to raise her head again. Calamities severe enough have followed the conquests of France in Italy, in Swisserland, in Holland; but the fate of these countries has been mildness itself, when compared with that which is now preparing for England. In these countries, ambition and avarice were the only motives to excess—here they will be aggravated by rancorous vengeance, and national hatred, not confined to the commanders alone, but extending to the lowest soldiers. Hitherto the French have been more or less restrained by motives of policy —but if they conquer England, they may safely give a loose to every brutal passion; and the Englishman that survives the ruin of his country, must expect to see every horror, to which rapacity and insolence can prompt a licentious soldiery, and a jealous usurper. —With such a prospect before us, from the gigantic power of the French empire,—with the task of guarding against the destruction of every thing that is dear to us, his majesty's ministers are satisfied with an increase of 20 or 30,000 men to the army. Surely, my lords, when we consider the horrors to which any deficiency in our preparations may lead, it is the duty of those who conduct the affairs of the nation, to see that at all events our means of defence should be amply sufficient. Were the chance of successful invasion but as one to a hundred, it ought not to be neglected. Where we risk every thing, we should guard against the possibility of defeat, with as much solicitude as, in cases of ordinary concern, against the strongest probability. The noble secretary of state seems to entertain doubts as to the probability of an invasion being attempted: even if these doubts were well founded, to act upon any such presumption would be an unpardonable breach of duty. Though it were ever so improbable, yet if there is the slightest possibility, that by any concurrence of chances the enemy can make good their landing, we ought to be ready to meet them. To act otherwise would be to trust our existence to chance, and to throw away the security that is in our power.—But, my lords, is the chance of invasion a mere possibility?—When we look at the vast extension of the resources of France, at the means of recruiting her navy, which she has acquired by her continental conquests, it would be blindness not to perceive, that her naval power must soon become far more formidable than it has ever yet been. France is now in possession of the finest forests in Europe, and of countries capable of affording ample supplies of every naval store: she may command the services of all the seamen which the continent can afford, from Memel to Cadiz, and from Cadiz to Constantinople. We may look too to the certain prospect, that the whole energy of the French government will now be directed to this object: we know in fact that during all the pressure of their continental wars, the most active exertions in ship-building have never been discontinued in their naval arsenals: they have now no other object to divide their attention; and we may be well assured that all the ability of the ruler of France will now be turned to naval affairs. The same genius, which has created such an astonishing change in the discipline and tactics of the French army, will now be unremittingly employed in the improvement of their navy; and if we recollect that the disorganized bands, which a few years ago were flying before Suwarrow out of Italy, are now the victorious legions of Austerlitz, of Jena, and of Friedland, we shall not be disposed to underrate the change, which the same genius may effect in the navy of France.—We have therefore every reason to believe, that the naval superiority of England must ere long be exposed to a more severe contest, than any which it has recently had to maintain. Whatever confidence we may entertain in the valour and skill of our seamen, it is not the part of a prudent politician, under such circumstances, to overlook the possibility of our navy being worsted. This, my lords, is an event for which we ought to be prepared; and fortunately there is room to hope that we shall have sufficient time to prepare against it. But any one who considers well what the state of this country would be, if the French had obtained a superiority at sea, will certainly not be disposed to think, that we can begin too soon to provide against such an emergency.—But, my lords, this is not all—we have dangers more closely pressing upon us, dangers which if we are to meet, we have not a moment to lose.—An invasion is certainly no impracticable undertaking for the French, even at this moment, notwithstanding all our actual superiority at sea. The ablest and most experienced naval officers have given their opinion of the practicability of the enemy landing in force on our shores. Repeated experience has proved the impossibility of effectually blockading the ports of the enemy, notwithstanding the greatest naval superiority; and when we consider the vast range of coast that is now under their influence—a range which ere long may have no other limits than those of Europe itself, it is evident that we may be threatened at the same moment from so many different points, that it will be more difficult than ever to watch them all, and that thus the chances are greatly increased, of the enemy being able to convey an armament to the most vulnerable points of our empire. Our ablest admirals have repeatedly seen the French fleets escape from them, even when their whole vigilance was directed to the single port of Brest: But what would be the case, if armaments were ready at the same time in Cadiz, in Ferrol, in

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* From the original edition printed for John Hatchard, Bookseller to Her Majesty, Piccadilly; 1807.

Rochefort, in Brest, in Cherbourg, in Flushing, in the Texel, in the Elbe, and perhaps even in Norway? What rational hope could be entertained that some one or other of them would not escape, and land either in England or in Ireland a force sufficient to put the existence of our empire on the hazard of the die?—But why, my lords, should I speak of armaments that are yet to be prepared? Have we forgotten that the enemy have already a most formidable one in full readiness, that they have only again to fill the camp of Boulogne to give us the most serious ground of alarm*? It may be admitted that the embarkation of an army to pass the channel, while our navy continues as superior as it now is, must be a hazardous undertaking; but we have every reason to believe that the attempt will be made in spite of every hazard. We know that our enemies are not very tender of the lives of their men; and though they were certain of the loss of one half of their army, they would not scruple on that account, if with the other half they can hope to accomplish their object. With such determination on their side, and taking into account the number of accidental circumstances which may favour their attempt, what are we to think of the blindness of those, who affect to treat this as a danger against which there is no need of guarding?—Three years ago, when the French armies occupied the camp of Boulogne, our wisest statesmen were sensible that invasion was no empty threat, and England was all alive to the danger. Yet in comparison with the present time the danger was inconsiderable. The ruler of France, if he had then made the attempt, would have staked the existence of his power on the success of the enterprise. His authority in France was ill secured; his enemies without were formidable. He had unequivocally pledged himself to lead the expedition in person; and even if he had not, the undertaking was too great to be delegated. An unfortunate result, though it had not been fatal to his person, would have occasioned a counter-revolution in France; and even a doubtful contest would have drawn upon him a dangerous attack from the continental powers. In the present circumstances, all these obstacles are removed. Napoleon has reaped an ample harvest of glory; and may now afford to delegate the conquest of England to some of his generals. He may take that course, without appearing to imply any doubt of its success, or any wish to avoid personal danger. The continental powers are so completely crushed, that there is no reason to apprehend any obstruction on their part; and the power of Bonaparte in France is so confirmed, that even the failure of the expedition to England would not shake it. When he has so little to apprehend from an unfortunate result, and when the effect of success will be to confirm Napoleon as the master of the world, have we not every reason to suppose that the greatest hazard will be run for such a prize?—In those who shut their eyes against the danger of immediate invasion, there is something like absolute infatuation. Because our enemy is at a distance, and has for a while had his back turned to us, we seem to imagine, that he can never again threaten our shores. His army indeed is now on the banks of the Vistula:—But have we forgot the rapidity with which he moved from Boulogne to Vienna, and from the Rhine to Berlin? Nor are France and the adjacent provinces left so entirely destitute of troops, but that a week or two, perhaps, would be sufficient to collect again at Boulogne, such a force as might be sufficient for the invasion. Even before the next winter sets in, it is not impossible that a French army may be on English ground; and if the blow is delayed, it will only be that it may be struck with greater certainty. Under these circumstances, not only is the nation sunk in apathy; but his majesty's ministers, setting the example of blind insensibility, are not ashamed of bringing forward such a proposition as the bill before us, telling the nation that 20 or 30,000 more troops are to ensure their security.—If ever, my lords, there was an example of that infatuation which seems to be the natural forerunner of the fall of empires, is not this one? In what are we more wise than the Prussians, who, a year ago, rushed headlong on destruction, and would not believe in the possibility of defeat? They thought that the legions of the great Frederick were invincible, as we seem now to think that the channel is an impassable barrier. Will no experience teach us wisdom? and is England destined to afford another terrible example that "quos Deus vult perdere, priùs dementat?"—Let us rouse, my lords, from this fatal security: let us trust no longer to a barrier that may be overcome. It is not to the channel that we must look for security, but to the hands of Englishmen fighting for their liberties, for the glory and the independence of their country. To put our trust in the sea, if it were not the extreme of folly, would be the extreme of cowardice. Shall the descendants of the men, who conquered at Agincourt and at Cressy, acknowledge that they cannot meet the armies of France hand to hand, and that it is only at sea that we can cope with our enemies? Away with the base idea, that England must entrench herfelf behind a miserable ditch, instead of coming out into the field! Let us look the danger in the face, and prepare for our defence, as if the cliffs of Dover touched those of Calais, or as if the fleets of France had been as victorious as her armies. Till we can hear without dismay that the flotilla of Boulogne has effected a landing on the coast of Kent; that a French army of 120,000 men are in possession of Dover, and that 20 or 30,000 more have made their way to Ireland—till we can hear all this without a well-grounded apprehension, I shall not consider the state of our defence as worthy of the name of England. The probability is, that a year may not elapse before such news will reach our ears: and when it does come upon us, what consequence can any reasonable man anticipate, if our state of defence remain such as it now is, or such as it will be, with all the addition which his majesty's ministers now call for? Let any man of military knowledge, who is acquainted with the present situation and disposition of our regular and militia force, calculate the time that would be necessary, for bringing together an army capable of opposing 100,000, or even half that number, of the troops of Bonaparte, flushed with all their late astonishing successes. Let him look back to the rapid marches of these troops in the campaigns of 1805 and 1806, and let him figure to himself what their movements would probably be, were they at this hour landed on the shores of England. Let him say, whether the enemy might not be in possession of London, and of all our military depôts, before our army could even be collected? whether, advancing with his usual rapidity into the centre of the country, he might not intercept our scattered battalions, before they could reach a rendezvous, or form the semblance of an army fit to oppose him.—Last year, we saw Prussia overwhelmed after a short and feeble resistance: Heaven grant that England may not shortly exhibit a parallel, or a still more disgraceful spectacle! Prussia at least fought a battle before she submitted to the conqueror—England may probably be overrun, before her army is even in readiness to take the field and to face the invader; and this far-famed empire may be crushed, without our having the glory of making one stand for the liberties we value so highly!—Great, my lords, as the dangers are, with which this country is now surrounded, nothing is farther from my mind than to say, that the contest is beyond our strength, or that the resources of this country, if well directed, are not adequate to meet all its dangers. But if that is to be done, it must be by very different measures from this that is now before us, and by exertions of which Englishmen have as yet been little accustomed to think.—In considering the means of resisting the now gigantic extent of the power of France, there is one point abundantly evident, that something more than a standing army, or any description of regular force, is absolutely necessary. I am perfectly sensible, that a strong regular army must be the basis of our defence; that every other description of force can only serve as accessories; that, without a large army, nothing can be done by volunteers, or any similar local force, or by any exertion of the zeal and courage of the civil population of the kingdom. On the other hand, my lords, it is equally clear, that if we trust to our regular army alone, if we cannot find means of giving effectual support to our army by some species of accessory force, we must be overwhelmed: it is physically impossible for us to raise a regular army strong enough, to meet that which may be brought against us.—It has been justly observed, that our army is already so numerous, as to form a greater drain on the population of this kingdom, than that of any other country in Europe has to supply. There is no other country, in which so great a number of men, in proportion to the total population, are employed in the military service of the state. In this calculation, the militia, and the seamen in his majesty's navy, must be taken into the account, as much as the troops of the line: for they are equally withdrawn from the pursuits of industry, in which they would otherwise be engaged. Thus, independently of foreigners, the total number of our own people, who have no other business but to defend the British empire and its dependenies, amounts to about 375,000, which is not less than one fortieth of our whole population. In several of the petty German principalities, where the princes were the most oppressively severe in their demands of military service from their subjects, it was found impossible to carry the numbers of their troops to a higher proportion than one sixtieth of the population, and few of the greater powers in Germany have ventured even this length. It has been argued from this fact, that we are already arrived at the utmost limit, to which the numbers of our regular force can be carried, and that no improvement in the system of recruiting, or in the condition of the soldiery, will enable us to make any very great addition to our army. The idea certainly has some plausibility; but whether it be correct or not, this at least is clear, that there must be some limit to the numbers of our regular forces—that there is some proportion to the population, beyond which no country can extend its army; and we have no reason to suppose that we can afford a greater proportion of our population, than our enemies can of theirs.—It is therefore quite impossible that the British islands, with a population of about 15 millions, can maintain a standing army equal to that, which may be drawn from the countries under the control of the French emperor, peopled with 50 or 60 millions: and the disproportion of numbers is too great to be counterbalanced by any superiority of personal prowess. If, therefore, we were reduced to the necessity of maintaining the contest against France by our regular armies alone, no hope could be entertained that we should ultimately prevail; and our subjugation would be inevitable. Happily, however, for the liberties of mankind, there is a natural and a material difference between the case of a nation which has to defend its own independence, and that of a nation engaged in offensive warfare. An invading power can act only by its regular armies; but the nation that is invaded may bring the great mass of its population to support its army. The bulk of the people, who are engaged in the pursuits of peaceful industry, can give no assistance in attacking a neighbouring country, but may be of great use in the defence of their own. To the employment of this great resource, France herself owed the preservation of her independence, from the dangers with which it was threatened in the early periods of the revolution. It was by the *levée en masse*, that the united Austrian and Prussian armies were repulsed; and it is only by similar means that we can now hope to save our country from still more imminent perils.—Here, my lords, I shall no doubt be told, that our government does not mean to trust to the standing army alone. The noble secretary of state has spoken of the necessity of a varied force, and has hinted at improvements which he has in view in the system of the volunteers.—I could have wished, my lords, that if such ameliorations are in contemplation, they had been brought forward for the immediate consideration of parliament, instead of being put off for months, as if it were a matter in which delay can produce no inconvenience. In my view of our situation, never was there a time when we could less afford delay. Whatever measures are to be adopted for our defence, there is not a month, not a week, to be lost in applying them to practice. A delay of no long period may be fatal.—Without waiting, however, till the noble lord may explain what his views are, I feel confident in asserting, that it is impossible to devise any plan, by which the volunteers can be rendered a defensive force adequate to the present crisis. I am far, my lords, from feeling the least disposition to undervalue the merits of a body of men, who have made the noblest and most patriotic sacrifices; but the system of their institution is liable to fundamental objections, which no exertions on their part can ever overcome. I have seen too much of the patriotic zeal of the volunteers not to honour the spirit which animates them, and not to trust that, when the hour of peril comes, they will meet it with all that determination, which an enthusiastic attachment to the cause of their country's freedom can inspire.—I am sensible too, that the volunteer establishment, even if it were to be broken up immediately, has already done important services to the country. It has diffused a military spirit, and no inconsiderable portion of military knowledge, throughout the nation. It has infused into the people a confidence in our own resources; and, above all, it has removed every clog to the full employment of these resources, by extinguishing totally, and I trust for ever, those jealousies which formerly prevailed between the government and the people, in regard to military force. Formerly there was an excessive diffidence on the part of government, to put arms into the hands of any but the standing army; while, on the other hand, a corresponding jealousy subsisted in the people and in parliament, against intrusting the crown with a considerable standing army. While this spirit mutually prevailed, the exertions of the country were cramped. There was no mode in which our military resources could be called forth, that was not, on one side or the other, an object of jealousy. This spirit is now at an end, and it is the volunteer establishment that has annihilated it. At the commencement of the present war, the government, with a magnanimous confidence in the spirit and loyalty of the people, threw itself upon their spontaneous efforts for support, and put arms into the hands of 4 or 500,000 volunteers. This act of confidence was met by a reciprocal confidence on the part of the people. Indeed it could not be otherwise. How could the people entertain any suspicion of a design against their liberties on the part of a government, which did exactly what a treacherous and designing ruler would be most afraid of doing? How could they fear that the army would be turned against their liberties, by those men who gave them the arms by which every such attack might be repelled? This great measure was not only a mark of confidence on the part of government, but an unequivocal earnest of the rectitude of their intentions; and as such it has been received by the country. We hear no more of scruple about granting to the crown the most numerous armies that can be raised. The only question now is, how their numbers can be most effectually augmented; and were any member of parliament now to repeat the declamations against standing armies, that were formerly so popular, what would he meet with but ridicule? The result then of this magnificent experiment has been, not only to prove the perfect safety with which the people may be trusted with arms, but to establish a degree of mutual confidence between the crown and the people heretofore unknown, and to fix it on an immoveable basis. If the volunteer establishment had done no other service to England than this, I should think the ministers, who had accomplished so noble a work, entitled to the lasting gratitude of their country.—But, my lords, while I pay a just tribute of praise, both to the individual merit of the volunteers, and to the utility that has been derived from the institution, I cannot shut my eyes on the intrinsic difficulties, which stand in the way of every attempt to form on this basis an efficient defensive force; and, at a moment like this, when every exertion of which this nation is capable, will not be more than adequate to the crisis in which we are involved, I should think it a very ill judged compliment, to persist in expecting from the volunteers, a species of service for which they are not formed, and to neglect the means that are in our power, of drawing from the mass of the people a more efficient species of defensive force.—It is admitted on all hands, that the discipline as well as the numbers of the volunteers has experienced a material decline. On this I should not be disposed to insist much, if it were merely an accidental circumstance; for I am well convinced, that when the necessity of renewed exertions becomes manifest, the energy of the volunteers may be revived in proportion to the apparent exigency of the crisis.—But, my lords, it would be deceiving ourselves, to consider this decline of the volunteers as an accidental circumstance: it has arisen from the very nature of the institution. A system, the efficiency of which rests so entirely on individual exertion, cannot be permanent and steady in its effects. At the period when the volunteer establishment was formed, the loyalty and patriotic spirit of the people had been roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. The apparent danger of the country called forth unprecedented exertions of spontaneous zeal; but as the exigency became less apparent, these exertions naturally relaxed. Even before there was any evident change in the situation of public affairs, the energy of this spirit had begun to decline. Such vehement efforts of enthusiasm could not be of long continuance: the public mind had been on the stretch, and naturally sunk back into a state of languor. To this is to be added, that military exercises were, to many of the volunteers, so great a contrast to their ordinary occupations, as to be a recreation while the attraction of novelty continued: but when that zest was lost, it has been found in general very difficult to preserve their attention unimpaired. From this cause, men of experience have observed, that the state of discipline in the volunteer corps, has in many cases followed an opposite rule, from that which is found to obtain among regular troops; among regular regiments, the oldest is generally supposed to be the best corps; among volunteers, it is more frequently the newest.—This instability must be expected in every institution, the efficiency of which rests on the efforts of voluntary zeal; and even if we could reckon with certainty on the revival of an enthusiastic spirit, upon every occasion of danger, that would not be enough. The danger of the country may often be seriously great, when it is not apparent to vulgar eyes. In the present circumstances of Europe, our danger may be considered as permanent; for, even if peace should be concluded, we must look to the probability that our enemy will renew the attack, if ever he can take us unawares. In these circumstances, our defensive preparations cannot be safely trusted to the desultory efforts of spontaneous zeal:

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* It has been the fashion to treat the preparations of the enemy in that quarter as a subject of derision: but some of the ablest of our naval officers have considered them in a very different light. Some details as to the nature and powers of the flotilla might here be stated, upon authority of the first eminence, and they are withheld only from prudential considerations, and from the apprehension that information might thereby be conveyd to the enemy. Were it not for this restraint, these particulars might be sufficient to convince the most sceptical of the danger of immediate invasion, perhaps in the very face of our fleet, but at least under circumstances, the occurrence of which could not be prevented by the utmost vigilance on the part of our commanders.

hey ought to be arranged on a permanent ystem, that shall never relax in its energy, nd that will keep our defensive force in a contant state of efficiency, in peace not less than n war.—For this reason, were there no other, he volunteer system must be considered as inadequate to the present necessities of the country; and it seems to be admitted, even by the warmest advocates of the volunteers, that here is a necessity of devising some establishment of a more permanent nature to replace them. In considering what that establishment ought to be, it becomes us to profit by the experience which has been already obtained; and that we may steer clear of the errors which have obstructed the utility of the volunteers, it is necessary to examine into the inconveniences, which have actually been observed in that system.—In the first place, the privilege of each individual to quit his corps, though essential to the idea of a volunteer force, is a material obstruction to the perfection of its discipline. The slender tenure upon which the officers hold their authority, compels them to humour every caprice of the men under their command: and though a corps, composed of men of education, sensible of the importance of the object for which they are associated, may be induced to pay that zealous attention, which will enable them to acquire a considerable proficiency in military evolutions; yet it is scarcely possible that the common run of men, placed under so precarious an authority, can acquire that steady habit of ready and implicit obedience, which is the most important and perhaps the most difficult lesson, that a soldier has to learn.—Secondly, from the composition of the volunteer corps in general, they are of less efficiency and at the same time of more inconvenience to the business of the country, than corps differently composed might be rendered. Many of the volunteers, though not beyond the age proper for military service, are yet so far advanced in life, as neither to have the same facility in acquiring new habits, nor to be capable of going through the fatigues and hardships of real service with as little personal suffering, as men in the prime of youth. From circumstances too in the original formation of the volunteer establishment, the greatest proportion of the men are above the lowest class. To serve in a volunteer corps, requires in most instances a pecuniary sacrifice, sufficient to deter the most numerous class of the people, while, on the other hand, many incidental motives have contributed to induce men in the middle classes of society to enter very generally into this service. In consequence of this, the men who are to be employed in repelling the enemy, are in a very great proportion heads of families, or persons whose superintendance is essential, for the management of various agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial establishments, of a more or less extensive scale. These men I have no doubt would fight with spirit, if they were led at once to meet the enemy; but if their absence from home should be protracted for a long period, the interruption of their domestic concerns might be of material inconvenience. From this cause it is a matter of great and almost insuperable difficulty to bring together a large body of volunteers, or to keep them embodied for any great length of time. The operations of the enemy may, however, render it indispensable to require this sacrifice from the persons who compose our defensive force. Previously to their grand attempt, the enemy may harass us by frequent false alarms. The volunteers may thus be fatigued by long-continued preparations, or may be disgusted by the frequent recurrence of a summons to the field, repeatedly terminating to no apparent purpose; and, under the impressions to which this may lead, they may perhaps be remiss in their exertions at the moment of the serious attack. This disadvantage would be in a great measure avoided, if the persons who compose our defensive force were of a different description. A young journeyman, or farm-servant, might certainly be spared from his occupation and his home with infinitely less inconvenience than his master; and he would probably fight as well, and stand the fatigues of service much better. There is another important consideration, which leads to the same conclusion. Since lives must be lost in the defence of the country, either the risk ought to fall equally on all; or, if any difference is to be made, those ought to be exempted from the post of danger, whose lives are of most consequence to the good of society. In the volunteer system, the very opposite to this rule takes place: those who are selected to be exposed to the weapons of the enemy, are chiefly men of the middle classes of society, upon most of whom there are many other individuals dependent for their maintenance and their welfare. By any great slaughter among men of this description, the œconomy of society would be deranged, infinitely more than in proportion to the mere numercial amount of lives lost. Such a loss upon a class of men, the peculiar pride and distinguishing feature of our country, would be a national calamity not easily to be repaired; and in this view the employment of a military force, composed as the volunteers in general are, must be considered as a species of profusion, for which no pecuniary advantage can sufficiently compensate. Lastly, it does not seem equitable that those who are, from their age and circumstances, the most suitable persons to defend the country, should be exempted from this duty, merely because they are not so well disposed as others, who are perhaps by nature less qualified. Still more must it be reckoned unfair, that the pecuniary burthen of the defence of the country should be made to bear harder on the loyal and zealous, than on those who are otherwise. In the establishment of the volunteer corps, a preference was shown, from very natural motives, of public œconomy, to those corps which agreed to serve on terms apparently the least burthensome to the public revenue. It cannot however be overlooked, that any advantage which could thus be gained to the revenue, could only arise from the individual volunteers taking upon themselves a greater share of the actual expense of their own establishment. The burthen, to which many of them have thus subjected themselves, is of very serious amount, and is evidently a real and effective tax, not less than if it were collected from them, and paid out again from the exchequer, and this tax is levied exclusively from the liberal and the zealous. It must surely appear more consistent with justice, that the whole expense of the defence of the kingdom should be paid by the public at large, and raised from every man according to his pecuniary means; and also that the personal service required should be fixed by law,—that a general rule should point out the description of persons on whom this duty ought to fall, and impose it on them without partiality. For all these reasons, my lords, I think the volunteer system is inferior in equity as well as in efficiency, to the system of training the people at large, first laid down by the act of 1803, commonly called the Levy en Masse Act. That act, though its principles are in my opinion unquestionably just and important, has unfortunately not been carried into execution, and was replaced last year by a new training bill, differing from it in no essential point, and in scarcely any that can be deemed an improvement. Both acts, however, distinctly lay down and proceed upon the great and important principle, that military service for the internal defence of the kingdom is a general duty on all the subjects of the crown—that it is the right of the state to call for that service, in any way that may be deemed most proper and expedient.—The rules for apportioning this service among the people, appear to me to be founded in juster principles in the act of 1803, than in that of last year. A classification is made of the male population of the kingdom, within the ages of military duty, according to the age and domestic circumstances of each individual; and it is the clear intention of the act that the youngest of the men who are come to the age of maturity, and those who are least incumbered with families, ought to be the first called on for military service. The evident propriety of this principle is such as to need no commentary; but in the application of this principle I would incline to deviate in a small degree, from the provisions of the act to which I have alluded. By this act, the first class is to include all unmarried men between the ages of seventeen and thirty. The age of seventeen is perhaps too young:—that of eighteen is low enough to be taken as the standard of manhood: and I should think the first class sufficiently extensive, if it included all from that age to twenty-four or five. Within these limits it does not appear necessary to make any distinction of married or unmarried. The number of married men of this age will not be very numerous: and there is no probability that they should have such numerous families, as to call for any relaxation in their favour. Those who have paid a due attention to the valuable speculations of Mr. Malthus, certainly will not think it a politic measure to make any distinction, that might operate as a temptation to premature marriages among the common people; and, since we must consider the measures now to be adopted as of permanent continuance, these remote effects are not to be overlooked. At all events, the number of married persons of this age cannot be so considerable as to occasion much inconvenience, even though it were necessary to adopt some means of providing for their families at the public expense; and this would be preferable to the allowance of an exemption, which might have the effect of deranging the whole system.—Calculating upon this principle, from approved tables of the ordinary duration of human life, the population of Great Britain would afford nearly 600,000 men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five; and from the returns made under the Levy en Masse Act, there is ground to believe that, after deducting sea-faring men and all others exempted by that act, there will remain liable to military duty upwards of 500,000 men within the description of the first class here laid down. This number, my lords, I am inclined to consider as sufficient for the object in view; and on this account it appears to be unnecessary to extend the first class any further. Perhaps, however, it would be advisable to form the men between the ages of twenty-five and thirty into a second class, or body of reserve, to be resorted to in cases of extreme urgency.—The most important question, however, relates to the measures to be adopted for giving these men a sufficient degree of training. It is certainly of more importance, to give a complete training to a moderate proportion of the people, than to extend over the whole that slight degree of instruction, which will not render them capable of the service that may be required from them. The men who are to be trained ought, in my opinion, to be rendered complete soldiers; and I think it a very ill-judged œconomy not to give them a sufficient allowance of time for becoming so. The provisions both of the Levy en Masse act, and of the Training Bill of last year, are in this respect equally objectionable. The duty required is limited in both of them within such narrow bounds, that it is scarcely possible to expect from it any real practical utility. The men are not to be called out more than twenty-four days in the year, and even these can only be reckoned half days, as the men have to go and return from their homes. The limitation too, provided by the Training Bill, that the men are not to be called to a greater distance than five miles from their homes, will, in most instances, effectually prevent the assemblage of any considerable body of men together, without which, the exercise in petty platoons will be of very little use in preparing men for real service.—The anxiety of the framers of these bills, not to interfere with the ordinary avocations of the people, in the attempt to give them military instruction, appears to have been carried to excess, and has led them to adopt regulations calculated totally to defeat the principal object they had in view. A training so very slight and desultory, as that which is provided for, would, in all probability, prove entirely useless; the whole expence would be thrown away; and all the inconvenience arising from the interruption of labour, would be to no purpose. Thus, by an over-anxiety to economize the time of the people, an absolute waste is occasioned. In fact, something like this is ever the result of an attempt to reconcile objects that are incompatible. To train men to military discipline without interfering with their civil avocations, is an absolute impossibility. If men are to act as soldiers, a portion of their time must be devoted to the object of learning the duty of soldiers;—for a certain length of time they must be separated from their families, and cease to be any thing but soldiers. The truth of this principle is fully evinced by the experience of the volunteers. The testimony of every volunteer officer, who has paid attention to the improvement of his corps, is uniform upon this point, that the greatest number of days, devoted to drilling in an unconnected and desultory manner, has never enabled them to make the same progress, that has been obtained in a very small space of time, when the men were assembled in quarters at a distance from their homes, and kept on permanent duty under military law.—In making arrangements, therefore, for training the people to arms, we must reckon upon a considerable sacrifice of their time as absolutely unavoidable. No unnecessary sacrifice ought to be required; but, on the other hand, we ought not to hesitate to make the sacrifice to the full extent that is necessary for the complete attainment of the object. We have then to enquire, what length of time devoted to military discipline may be considered as sufficient, to form new recruits into good soldiers. This is a question on which professional men only can pretend to judge; but on the authority of officers of eminence I am led to believe, that three or four months, when well employed, may in general be found sufficient. An advantage will certainly be found, in this respect, from the description of men who are proposed to be trained. Young men below twenty-five are at a period of life when new habits are easily adopted, and when impressions readily become permanent. Men of this age will probably become good soldiers in a much shorter time, than men of a more advanced age, and will also retain more permanently what they learn. When they have once thoroughly attained the habits of military discipline, a very little practice will be sufficient to keep up these habits even to a late period of life.—Upon these principles, my lords, I would propose to arrange the details of the measure. There should be formed in each county a corps, to consist of all the young men from the age of eighteen to twenty-five. They should be fully officered, and regularly organized as a local militia, but should remain peculiarly under the superintendance of the lieutenantcy, not to be called out of their respective counties, except in cases of emergency. The young men, who have recently entered into this militia, and are in the first year of their service, should be considered as forming a separate class, to be kept embodied for at least three months, and during this time assiduously employed in military exercises. Those who have gone through their first year, and have attained the requisite degree of proficiency, would not require more than a few weeks practice in the course of each of the succeeding years of their service, to keep up the habits of discipline, and ought not to be called out on duty for any longer period than is necessary for this purpose. The most advantageous arrangement would be, that for a few weeks in every summer the whole of this local militia should be assembled in suitable encampments. Being thus collected in considerable numbers, they could the better practise those exercises, which have the nearest resemblance to the operations of real service against the enemy. All officers are agreed as to the importance of collecting men in large bodies for exercises of this kind; and to obtain this benefit in a higher degree, it would be proper that during this general assemblage of the local militia, those of two or three adjacent counties should join in the same encampment, and carry on their exercises in one body.—Immediately after the breaking up of this general assemblage, the annual enrolment should be made of the young men who, in the course of the preceding year, have attained the age of service. Instead of collecting all of them at once, it would be preferable, that they should be classed into different divisions, to join their corps in rotation. By this means the labour of training them would be less burthensome, and a smaller number of officers would be sufficient for the task. By this means, also, a certain proportion of the local militia of each county would always be embodied. Corresponding to this proportion, there should be, in each county, a permanent establishment of officers, drawn from the regular army, and acquainted with real service, whose duty it would be, not only to direct the training of the men, but to instruct the younger officers. The superior officers of the local militias ought to be selected, like the officers of our present militia, from among the principal landed proprietors of the county. Of the subaltern ranks, a considerable proportion would naturally be composed of the young men of superior station, who are enrolled in the local militia, as falling within the ages of service. Young men destined for a military life could not perhaps have a better school, than to be thus employed for a few years, under the superintendance of men of experience, in training a continual succession of recruits to military exercises.—According to the arrangement which has been proposed, there can be little doubt that these corps of local militia would be rendered completely effective, and little inferior even to regular troops which have not actually seen service. This would be done, too, with as little interruption to the ordinary avocations of the people, as could perhaps be reconciled with the effectual accomplishment of the essential object. In the beginning, indeed, a great and extraordinary effort would be necessary: but after the proposed measures had been brought into a regular train, the burthen of duty would be very light on all except the young men of eighteen or nineteen, who are in the first year of their training. There is no other description of men whose absence from their homes and their ordinary occupations would so little interfere with the business of the country. The men of this description may be calculated at between 90 and 100,000 over the whole of Great Britain; and if they join their respective corps according to a plan of rotation, each for three months, there would only be one fourth of these constantly embodied, *i. e.* never above 25,000 men at one time; and the interruption to the ordinary business of the country would not be greater, than would be occasioned by an addition of this amount to the regular army. To this are to be added the few weeks during which the whole of the local militia would be assembled. If this should be reckoned at three weeks, the individuals subject to this service, would not be called upon for a greater sacrifice of their time than many of the volunteers submit to,—all of them, indeed, who are in any degree fit for real duty; so that this plan cannot be considered as a greater burthen on the country, than an establishment of an equal number of volunteers. It would indeed be less burthensome; for the volunteer corps are in great part composed of men, the real value of whose time is far greater than that of the young men, of whom it is proposed to form this local militia*.—An exception must no doubt be admitted, for the first moments of this establishment, when a great and extraordinary effort will be necessary, for bringing our state of preparation up to what it would have been, if this system had been sooner adopted. If it had already gone on for some years, all the young men from the age of nineteen to that of twenty-five would now be in a state of full preparation, having entered the local militia at eighteen, and having undergone a thorough training during the first year of their service. As matters actually stand, however, there is a great arrear to be cleared off; and to make up for the tardiness which we have shown in resorting to the system, we have no choice but to take immediate measures for training all the young men below the age of twenty-five—a great and a burthensome effort, no doubt, but one which the exigency of the crisis imperiously demands. —When the system which has been proposed, is compared with that of the volunteers, no doubt can be entertained that its efficiency must be incomparably greater. The men within the ages that have been stated, cannot be reckoned at less than 500,000; and to this extent we should at all times have a force ready at an hour's warning to march against the enemy; a force regularly and systematically disciplined, and on which a commander might fully rely; a force composed of men in the full vigour of life, and animated with all the ardour which characterizes the prime of youthful manhood. With such a force to back our regular army, we might bid defiance to all our enemies. A local militia, constituted in the efficient manner that has been proposed, would certainly be alone sufficient for the defence of all those parts of the coast that are not peculiarly exposed, and where the principal descent of the enemy is not to be expected. The whole of the troops of the line, and of the regular or old established militia, might then be concentrated in one powerful army, in a position calculated to meet the main invasion. If the enemy should succeed in landing an army of such force, as to be an overmatch for that which is thus prepared to receive him in the first instance, the skill of our commanders would be tried, in avoiding a general action as long as possible. Our army retiring from one strong position to another, towards the interior of the country, would be continually approaching to their re-inforcements, and the local militia pouring in from all sides, would soon form such an addition of force, as to be capable of overwhelming the most powerful army, that the invader would choose to risk in the undertaking. In the course of these operations, indeed, some part of our country would unavoidably be left exposed to the ravages of the enemy, but it is not likely that we should be under the necessity of abandoning the metropolis; for the metropolis itself would furnish so large a re-inforcement, as might, in all probability, decide the fate of the campaign.—The measures that have been suggested, would thus be of great importance in enabling us to meet the immediate exigency, which now presses upon us. But this is only a part of the benefit to be expected from them. Were they established as a permanent system, our means of defence would go on, in a continual progress of improvement. Every year a new crop, if I may use the expression, of nearly 100,000 youths would enter the local militia to begin the acquisition of military discipline; every year a corresponding proportion would quit this militia, but would carry with them habits firmly fixed in that period of life when lasting impressions are most easily made. Every year, therefore, a greater and a greater proportion of our people would be ready to take up arms in defence of their country; and if the dangers of our situation should continue to increase, so that even a force of 500,000 well-disciplined men in aid of our regular army should appear insufficient for our security, the second class of local militia would soon be composed of men who had been thoroughly trained in the first class, and who would still be perfectly capable of doing the duty of soldiers. In process of time, the whole people will have gone through a course of discipline; we shall become, like our enemies, a nation of soldiers; and then England will assuredly be invincible.—There is no reason for apprehending that this institution will ever relax in its efficacy. Established on a systematic plan, the training of the local militia must go on in peace as well as in war. If there be any probability that peace can be obtained, on terms which this country can accept without disgrace, we must assuredly look upon it as a hollow and insecure peace, as a mere truce which the enemy will be ready to break, whenever he can see an opportunity of taking us unawares. But, with the institution that has been sketched, we never can be unprepared to meet an invader. Whether therefore we look to the continuance of war, or whether we may hope for peace, it is of equal importance that we should establish our defence on a system of this kind; a system of permanent efficacy, commensurate with the prospects that are before us, of a long period of unabated danger.—It is not perhaps the least of the recommendations of this proposal, that it will render it possible for us to make peace with a prospect of security. If a peace should be made, we have no reason to suppose that our enemy will abandon his views of conquest, or relinquish his naval preparations. His means of making a successful invasion will be continually on the increase; and an interval of peace will only enable him to augment his naval force with the greater rapidity. On this account many persons, who on general principles are sincere friends of peace, are now advocates for the continuance of war, as being, under our present circumstances, absolutely necessary for our immediate safety. If however we adopt the system which has been proposed, our means of meeting invasion will also be on the increase; and whatever addition our enemy may be able to make, during an interval of peace, to his naval power and his means of attack, we shall be able fully to keep pace with him in the improvement of our means of defence by land. Being thus under no danger of losing in our relative strength during an interval of peace, or of being obliged to renew the war under circumstances of greater disadvantage, in the comparative state of our own force and that of our enemies, the obstacles which now stand in the way of peace, will be in a great measure removed. We may then conclude a peace, with the prospect of undiminished security, and therefore with a prospect of permanence. Perhaps, indeed, if such a system as that now proposed, had been established ten years ago, Europe might have been spared the whole of the present war, and all its disastrous consequences. Our rupture with France might have been avoided, if our internal situation had been such, as both to deter the enemy from hostile designs, and to enable our own government to entertain a confidence in our means of defence. Soon after the rupture it was emphatically observed, that we were at war because we *could not* be at peace. But if our means of defence in the year 1803 had been such as the system now proposed might soon establish, we should not have been under the necessity of resorting to measures of hostility, with a view to our immediate security; neither would the enemy have been disposed to give the provocations which he did, to a power in a contest with which, he could have entertained but little hope of any great or signal success.—When I compare the system which I have now ventured to propose, either in its immediate or its more remote effects, with the measure which has been brought forward by his majesty's ministers, I can scarcely imagine how there can be a doubt in deciding between them, or how your lordships can be satisfied, in such a crisis as the present, with a mere temporary expedient for making a small addition to our regular force: nor is it easy to comprehend on what principle his majesty's ministers can hesitate to adopt this or some other plan of equal efficacy, if it be not that they dread the unpopularity of calling upon the people for severe and burthensome sacrifices. If this idea has really been entertained, I am persuaded it is a mistaken one. The people of this country are not so dead to every feeling of patriotism, they are not so insensible to the value of what they have to lose, as to be unwilling to make the sacrifices that are necessary for preserving the name and the privileges of Englishmen, provided they are made distinctly to perceive the necessity, and are fully persuaded that the sacrifices they are to make will secure their object. On this ground I am persuaded they will acquiesce with more cheerfulness, in such measures as those I have now suggested, than in those which his majesty's ministers call for.—The ballot for which we are desired to vote, lays upon the people an oppressive, because an unequal, burthen, without affording any reasonable probability that our liberties are thereby to be preserved. The ballot, under the name of a demand for military service, we all know to be in effect nothing more than a mode of compelling individuals to pay for substitutes; these substitutes differ in nothing from the recruits who enter the army by voluntary enlistment, except that the one case the bounty is paid out of e general revenues of the state, in the her the payment is imposed on indivi- uals, without any regard to their ability pay : the ballot is thus nothing more an a tax, the most objectionable in prin- ple that can be imagined—a mere poll- x, the most unequal and oppressive form which money can be levied. When this rthen is laid upon the people to make a ifling addition to our regular force, such addition as will scarcely diminish in a erceptible degree the perils of our situa- on, can it be supposed that the people will ubmit to it with the same alacrity, as they ould to an effective demand of real mili- ary service, imposed according to an equal nd impartial rule, on those to whom it ill be least burthensome, and the opera- ion of which must be to put an end to all nxiety respecting the security of the king- om ?—But in truth, my lords, I cannot ring myself to believe that in such a crisis s the present, his majesty's ministers can e actuated by such a despicable motive as he fear of unpopularity—that their anxiety or the preservation of their places can go o far, as to make them overlook the danger to which they expose themselves, as well as their king and their country. The ituation of things is now such, that there s no possibility of saving the nation, without resorting, in one form or another, o burthensome and severe measures. It would be mere state quackery to delude the people with any different expectation. The time is past when a minister might have indulged a tenderness for the comforts and the convenience of the people. We have now to make our measures effectual, —to that consideration must every other bend ; and of those who complain of hardship there is but one question to be asked, whether the hardships imposed on them are worse than the rigours of French despotism ?—Perhaps, however, it may be alleged, that I am now proposing a superfluous and unnecessary degree of preparation. But this, my lords, I cannot admit. When we consider the immense military resources that may be brought to bear against us, when we consider the number of points from which we may be assailed, and the extent of coast which we must be prepared to guard ; above all, when we consider the hazard in which the whole empire is involved, from the prevalence of disaffection in Ireland, the force that would be gained by the adoption of the measures I have now suggested, cannot be deemed extravagantly great for meeting the exigencies to which we may ere long be reduced. But were it otherwise, it is right that our preparations should be superabundant : if the least shadow of doubt can remain as to their sufficiency, they are not what they ought to be. Even on principles of œconomy, our defensive force ought to be ample and superabundant. Granting that a more scanty plan of preparation should ultimately prove sufficient, and that the invader should in the end be repulsed ; yet if this is to be done after a severe contest on English ground, our country would suffer from the desolation of a protracted warfare, far greater losses than would be sufficient to balance the utmost inconvenience, that could possibly be apprehended from preparations unnecessarily great. By providing ample means of defence, we have the best chance of deterring our enemy from the attempt at invasion, and thus saving our country from the ravages of war, or at least of shortening their duration by insuring the speedy overthrow of the invader. But can any one reflect for a moment upon the countless horrors that would ensue if our means of defence should prove inadequate, can any one reflect that it is for the liberties, for the very existence of England that we are to fight, —and be content with scanty preparations? Who is there that can imagine without horror, our aged and beloved monarch weltering in his blood,—his place occupied by a heptarchy of French usurpers, the minions of the conqueror,—the family of our sovereigns, along with the sad remains of all that is now eminent and dignified in England, wandering as exiles in foreign lands, while the mansions of our nobility are parcelled out to French generals, and every thing that is desirable in England becomes the prey of a Frenchman,—all the comforts which industry and œconomy have accumulated around the dwellings of our yeomanry, our tradesmen, and our manufacturers, scattered to the winds, the pillage of a licentious soldiery,—all the civil and religious institutions, that have hitherto been the boast of Britain, trampled under foot,—our people left to groan under the oppression and contumely of insolent and domineering strangers, forced to submit to every wrong and to every insult, with the sad reflection, that they have no longer the protection of English law, of an English magistracy, or an English jury*? All this, my lords, and yet more than this, we have to guard against; and shall we then consider the inconvenience, of making preparations rather greater than absolutely necessary, as deserving of a moment's thought?—By the adoption of the measures which I have detailed, our situation may be rendered perfectly secure; and if our activity and resolution be commensurate with the exigency of the crisis, a very few months may be sufficient to bring our preparations to maturity. With such a local militia, as I have suggested, to back the efforts of our regular force, I should consider our army as already sufficiently numerous; or at least there would be no necessity, of resorting to a measure so objectionable as the ballot, for obtaining an immediate augmentation of our disposable force.—I am ready to admit to the noble secretary of state the advantages, which a regular and disposable force must have over an equal number of troops of any other description, even for the purposes of defence. But these advantages may be purchased too dear: and certainly, if ever there was a conjuncture of affairs, in which these advantages were of less value than usual, it is the present. If ever there was a time when the immediate defence of the kingdom ought to engross our thoughts, to the exclusion of every distant object, it is now. But, from the observations of a noble lord, who spoke in support of this bill, it would appear that ministers are thinking of Alexandria, and the Cape, and South America, when they should be looking to Kent and to Essex. Gracious heavens! is it possible that infatuation can be carried to this length?—that when the existence of England is in question, her strength is to be wasted in distant expeditions and colonial conquests? Gladly would I hope that the noble lord has misconceived the ideas of his friends; but the extreme anxiety which is manifested for a disposable force, and the whole tenour of the measure before us, form such a commentary on the observation that dropped from the noble lord, as fills me with dread and anxiety. As if our internal defence were not already sufficiently precarious, his majesty's ministers propose to make a trifling augmentation to our disposable force, at the expense of disorganizing the militia, suspending its efficiency at a most critical moment, and disgusting its officers; and to gain a momentary addition to the total amount of our force, they propose an expedient which will give a serious interruption to the measures, that have lately been adopted, for the permanent improvement of the regular army.—Looking, my lords, to the dangers of our situation as likely to be permanent, I cannot agree to sacrifice to a mere momentary convenience the lasting and important advantages arising from the measures I have alluded to—measures, founded on a just and profound view of human nature, the benefits of which every year's experience will render more apparent, and which will do lasting honour both to the administration which carried them into effect, and to the enlightened individual with whom they more particularly originated. The observation of the noble secretary of state, that the interference will only be temporary, is not in my mind a satisfactory answer to the objection; for the benefit to be expected from these measures depends in so great a degree, on a general belief in the permanence of the new system, that any thing which has even the appearance of tampering, must have a destructive effect in shaking the confidence of the country. I am the more inclined to insist on this objection, because the interference which I deprecate, is wholly unnecessary. I have stated, my lords, that by the establishment of an extensive and well-trained local militia, we should preclude the necessity of any great and immediate addition to our regular force. But it is not on this alone, that I rest my objection; for if such an addition be necessary, and if a compulsatory levy for the immediate augmentation of our regular and militia forces be unavoidable, that levy may be enforced, without affecting in any degree the success of the new system of enlistment.—The mode in which the ballot interferes with the recruiting of the regular army, has been repeatedly and amply illustrated. It is now admitted on all hands, that the demand for substitutes establishes a competition against the recruiting service; and that when an extensive ballot is to be enforced, the price of substitutes will be so high, that no recruits can be expected to accept of the low bounty now offered for the regular army. This is the unavoidable effect of a ballot accompanied, as ours now is, with the power of substitution; but it is evident, that this effect arises from substitution and

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*According to the plan which has been here sketched, the expense incurred to the public would not be very widely different from that of the volunteers, when their establishment was at its height.

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* This is but a faint and feeble sketch of the

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consequences of French conquest: but the picture has been drawn in detail, and with a masterly hand, by the author of The Dangers of the Country;—a picture which Englishmen would do well to look at, while yet the danger *may* be averted.

t from ballot,—that no such effect would
se from a ballot, if the individuals bal-
ed were to serve in person.—I know
lords, that the power of serving by sub-
ute is considered as necessary, for mi-
ating the severity of the ballot, and for
viating the excessive hardship which
ght be occasioned in particular cases, if
individual whose name is drawn were
der the absolute necessity of quitting his
me and his business. But this hardship
y be obviated by other means less ob-
tionable than the power of serving by
bstitute. I would propose, my lords, as
commutation for this power, that those
o are anxious to avoid the necessity of
rving in person, should be allowed, upon
yment of an adequate pecuniary fine, be-
re the ballot takes place, to take their
me out of the list of those subject to be
awn. When every individual has thus
opportunity of withdrawing himself be-
rehand from the operation of the ballot,
ere would be no necessity of leaving any
ower of serving by substitute, and those
hose names are actually drawn, should be
und to serve in person. It is evident,
at by this arrangement, we should avoid
e pernicious effect of the ballot, in draw-
g off, as substitutes, persons who would
therwise be disposed to enlist into the
roops of the line. At the same time, it
oes not appear that such an arrangement
ould occasion to individuals any greater
ppression than the present form of ballot,
ince the payment of a fine before the bal-
ot would not be a more severe tax, than the
urthen of paying a substitute after it.—I
lo not mean, my lords, to argue, that this
rrangement would be sufficient to do away
every objection to the ballot. That is
ertainly an institution which I think it
vould be very desireable to avoid alto-
gether; and I would anxiously wish that
he supply of men, for our regular force of
ll descriptions, could be trusted entirely to
he operation of voluntary enlistment. If,
however, that is impracticable; if a com-
ulsory levy must be made, and if ballot
must be resorted to, I cannot but consider
his as a less objectionable form of ballot
han that now established. Perhaps, by
some further ameliorations, the oppressive
severity of that institution might be still
more alleviated. The age of the men sub-
ect to the operation of the ballot should
be reduced, and ought not, I think, to ex-
end beyond twenty-five years: the period
of service imposed should also be limited
to three years, as in the original institution of the militia. The unavoidable hardship of the ballot, its interference with the personal liberty of individuals, ought to be compensated by great liberality in pecuniary bounty. In particular, all the fines paid for exemption from the ballot, ought to be applied, by the magistracy of the district in which they are levied, to the use of the balloted men, or of their families.—The ballot, thus mitigated, would be liable to infinitely less objection than it now is; and might perhaps be used for obtaining a much larger addition to our regular domestic force, than that now proposed by his majesty's ministers. There are some parts of the empire, to which a local militia, such as I have proposed, could not perhaps be safely extended. The inhabitants of these parts would thus be exempted from the burthen of a military duty, imposed on the rest of their fellow subjects; and as a commutation for this duty, it may not be improper, that the corresponding class of men there should be subject to a ballot in the mitigated form, which I have now pointed out. The population of the districts, to which I allude, might afford a large supply of men, without any material interruption to agricultural or manufacturing industry: and all the supply that can be obtained would be doubly useful, both as directly adding to the military force of the empire, and as draining off a leaven which may eventually become dangerous.—But, my lords, whatever compulsory levy may be resolved upon, I must concur in the opinion, which has already been urged with irresistible force of argument, that the balloted men ought to be placed in the second battalions of our marching regiments, on the principle of the Army of Reserve act, rather than in the militia. To ballot for an addition to the militia, in order to have an opportunity of drawing off a corresponding number of men from the militia into the line, seems to me to involve a very inconvenient complication, without any adequate motive whatever. The pernicious effects which may be expected, from disturbing the discipline and efficiency of the militia regiments at such a moment as this, have been clearly pointed out by a noble viscount (Sidmouth), as well as the effect which this measure must have, in undermining the present militia establishment altogether, by disgusting the officers. Their patience has already been sufficiently tried, in the frequent repetition of the same

expedient, tending to impress them with the idea that their corps are to be degraded into mere subsidiary battalions, to be employed in drilling recruits for the line. But if ever this expedient was objectionable, it is doubly so at this moment, when the defence of the kingdom should be our chief concern, and when the militia is more likely than ever to be called into that active service for resisting invasion, for which their institution was peculiarly framed.—These topics, my lords, have already been so ably discussed, that it would be presumptuous in me to suppose, that I could add any thing to the force of the arguments that have been urged. I shall conclude, therefore, with declaring that I cannot give my assent to the bill now before us, when its particular provisions appear to me so objectionable, when the advantages to be expected from it are so inconsiderable, and when its immediate objects would be rendered wholly superfluous, by the adoption of measures commensurate with the exigency of our situation.—The question being then put, that the bill be read a second time, a division took place: Contents 42; Non-Contents, 15; Majority, 27.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, August 10.

[WEST-INDIA COLONIES.] Mr. *Ellis*, pursuant to notice, rose to call the attention of the house to this most important subject. He did not mean to detain the house by going at any length into the question, because it must be obvious to any gentleman who should examine the report of the committee on the commercial state of the West-India Colonies, that some relief was necessary to maintain the interests of those colonies. It would be impossible to carry into effect, during the present session, any remedies to which that house was to be a party, but he must recommend it to the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, to direct his attention to this most interesting subject during the recess, in order that he might be prepared with some means of alleviating the distress of the West-India planters in the ensuing session. He wished to direct the attention of that right hon. gent. to the subject more anxiously, because he had reason to apprehend that it was the opinion of that right hon. gent., that a reduction of the duty upon sugars would not be any relief to the planter. The hon. member then went into a consideration of the Report, to shew that all the duty laid on sugars, after a certain amount, fell on the planter, and not on the consumer; and contended that even if the reduction of the duty should not immediately relieve the planter, it would have the effect of increasing the consumption, by which means the market, at present overstocked, might be cleared, and the increase of the consumption would augment the revenue. The employment of sugar in distilleries would also have contributed to the relief of the planters, by adding to the consumption of the article, but the objection that existed against it rendered that impossible. Whilst the market was unrestrained, the price of sugar had kept pace with the rise of the duty, but the contrary had been the case ever since the year 1800. If the ports of Europe were to be shut against them, the planters would have but the home-market to look to, and what would be their prospect with an import of 100,000*l.* above the consumption, unless that consumption should be encouraged? Another remedy suggested in the Report he should not then dwell upon, because he did not wish to force his majesty's ministers to any premature declaration upon the subject, nor was he disposed to give rise to any discussion which might assume that intemperate tone that characterized the proceedings in another country. He hoped, if a reduction in the duty upon brandy was in contemplation, that it would be accompanied with a reduction of the duty upon rum. On all these grounds he moved a resolution, "that the house should, early in the next session of parliament, take into consideration the report of the committee on the Commercial State of the West-India colonies."

Mr. *Rose* jun. seconded the motion. He expressed his conviction of the urgent necessity of the case, and was sorry, that the state of the session would not allow the house to go into it.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* had no objection to the motion of the hon. gent., and certainly the handsome and candid manner in which he had brought it forward claimed the attention of the house. For himself, he could answer, that the subject should have his most serious attention. He did not think it necessary to go further into the question then, though he should say, that it was impossible to read the Report without feeling how interesting the subject was from the circumstance of so large a mass of property being involved in difficulty, not to use any stronger terms. He could therefore assure the hon. gent. that his majesty's ministers would not lose any time that could be profitably applied to this subject, and that next session some measure would be brought forward to obviate the difficulties at present existing.

Mr. *Lushington* was glad to find that the attention of the house was at last directed to West-India interests. The circumstances in which the colonies were placed by the abolition of the slave trade, contrary to the opinion of the planters, gave them a claim upon the legislature. The Report said, that unless some immediate remedy were to be applied, ruin would be the consequence to the West Indies; but it would be five or six months before any legislative remedy could be applied, and this was one of the circumstances that contradicted that passage, which ministers had introduced into his majesty's speech at the close of the last session, that the dissolution took place at a time when no material inconvenience to the public business would arise from it.

Mr. *Hibbert* was happy to observe the very candid manner in which this subject had been brought forward, and which was much more calculated to produce an impression on the house, than the use of stronger language. The hon. gent. then warmly urged the claims of the West-India proprietors on the legislature, agreeing with the hon. member who preceded him that the dissolution of parliament had been the cause of inconvenience in this respect; and contending, that the justification of that measure was unsatisfactory to the West-India interests, as well as to many persons in that house, who had no ambition to obtain any place in the administration.—The resolution was then put and agreed to.

[Committee of Finance.] Mr. *Bankes* brought up the second report of the committee of finance respecting the Bank. The report was ordered to lie on the table; but on the motion that it be printed, the hon. gent. thought it necessary to say a few words. It was not in consequence of any inattention on the part of the committee, that this report had not been presented sooner, but, from the various details into which it was necessary to enter, it had been found impossible to present it sooner to the house. Yet if the report had been laid before the house as early as he at first had reason to expect, i twas not his intention, nor, he believed, that of any member of the committee, to ground any motion upon it in the present session, because it would require much time for gentlemen to make themselves acquainted with the whole of the circumstances. As an individual member of parliament, and not as a member of the committee, he might feel himself called upon to submit some resolutions to the house on the subject, though such a proceeding might, and probably would, be rendered unnecessary by the regulations which might be adopted by the governors of the company.—The report was then ordered to be printed.—The hon. gent. next presented the third report from the finance committee, respecting sinecure offices, places, and pensions, held under the crown. After the report was brought up and read, the hon. gent. observed, that this report had been prepared by the committee pursuant to an instruction from the house of the seventh of last month. Immediately on receiving the instruction, the committee had issued its precepts, and the return to these precepts formed the matter of the report which was just read. It would be for the house to judge whether any vote should be founded on the report, and he did not know whether he should move that in its present state it should be printed, because returns had been received only for a small part of Scotland, and but one or two from Ireland. He hoped, however, that the whole would be completed by next session, when he should be able to take such a course as might seem most eligible.—The Report was then ordered to be printed.

[Petition of Dr. Highmore.] Mr. *W. Smith* observed, that he had a Petition in his hand containing matters of a very grave and serious nature. The statements in the petition were such, that though no man was more disposed than he was to lay any complaint before the house, he would have hesitated to present it were it not that it contained matter of great moment to the public in general. The petitioner Nathaniel Highmore had studied the civil law for 11 years at Jesus college, Cambridge; had performed his exercises with applause, and taken out his degree of doctor. The grievance was, that he was not permitted to practise in Doctors Commons, in consequence of the refusal of the archbishop of Canterbury, to give him the proper authority. He had applied for redress to the courts of law, but could not be heard; he had, therefore, no appeal, though rejected without any reason assigned. This was an affair of so serious a nature, that if the allegations of the petition should be proved, it ought, perhaps, to be made the subject of legislative regulation hereafter. But he meant to give no opinion on it at present. He imputed no blame to the metropolitan or his officer. They had not acted without precedent, for it was not the practice for 7 years past to give a reason in cases of rejection. He was happy to see those opposite to him (the advocate-general, &c.) who might, perhaps, explain this business. The practitioners of the common law were admitted by the benchers; but they never rejected without reason, and there lay an appeal to the 12 judges. But the present petitioner had in vain attempted to be heard before any court, and that was the reason that he had now come to parliament for redress. The reason privately assigned for this, for none was publicly assigned, was, that the petitioner was in deacon's orders. Even if owing to this he was to be considered as a spiritual person, it was not a reason why he should not practise in a court of civil and ecclesiastical law, and more especially as the practice was, till the 37th of Henry the 8th, entirely confined to spiritual persons; and the chancellorships of the dioceses were still in the hands of spiritual persons. The public had a strong interest in this case, for it appeared to be decided by a side wind, that persons in deacon's orders were unqualified for practising in the ecclesiastical court, and that without any legislative provision on the subject. The hon. gent. then adverted to a book written by one of the Civilians, so late as 1804, which contained a passage, stating that, in 1764, a person, in deacon's orders, had applied to archbishop Secker, and was rejected, because it was more agreeable to the doctor's practising; and the reason was, that they apprehended the society would become too numerous if this was permitted. Doctors, therefore, appeared to differ on this point; but this writer seemed to think, that being in deacon's orders was no objection; but that the rejection was because it was more agreeable to the actual practitioners, who were apprehensive that the society would become inconveniently numerous. Now, that a gentleman, who had studied at Cambridge, and therefore might be considered as in this instance standing up for the privileges of the university, should be neglected merely because it might be more agreeable to the society that he should be so, was a point that required some attention from the legislature. They apprehended that the society would become inconveniently numerous. As to that point, there certainly appeared no reason to think that those who were to study 11 years at Cambridge before they were admitted, would incommode the society, supposing that this were an argument worthy of any attention. The power to reject without appeal was too great to be entrusted to any man. This gentleman had gone through all the forms, and if the power of rejection without appeal was to be allowed, the principle would go this length, that not only those who desired to be admitted, but those who were already admitted, would be dependent entirely on the archbishop. But it was said that the archbishop had granted his fiat, without knowing that the petitioner was in deacon's orders, and withdrew it upon receiving information that this was the case. This, however, was not alledged publicly. All that was alledged was, that the thing was not agreeable to the practising doctors. He had some other things to state, but as he had taken up the time of the house so long, he would finish for the present, trusting that the house would take up the matter with that seriousness which its importance seemed to deserve.—The hon gent. then presented the petition, which was read at the table. It stated, "that the petitioner, Nathaniel Highmore, doctor and professor of civil law, and member of Jesus college, Cambridge, was, during 11 years, a student of civil law in the university of Cambridge, in consequence of which he obtained the degree of doctor and professor of civil law; and that this degree has ever been held, as by the statute and canon law ordained, a qualification for, and as giving a right to exercise the profession of, an ecclesiastical advocate in the courts of civil and canon law, holden in Doctors Commons, and which courts are placed under the administration of the archbishop of Canterbury; and that the rights, privileges, and immunities of the university of Cambridge are guaranteed and secured by divers royal patents and charters, confirming the same to its different members, and to their several academic degrees; by one of which charters, it is especially provided, that doctors in civil law shall experience neither hindrance nor obstruction in their admission into all ecclesiastical offices, whether with or without the cure of souls, the latter of those, as the petitioner conceives, including the office of an ecclesiastical advocate; and this, together with the other charters of that university, was confirmed by an act of the 13th of Elizabeth; and the petitioner further states, that having received from the register of the said university a certificate of such his full and complete qualification, he did, in consequence thereof, duly and regularly obtain the fiat of the archbishop of Canterbury, in pursuance of which his grace's rescript, or commission, appointing him to this ecclesiastical office, was made out, and sealed with the seal of the vicar-general of the province of Canterbury; and that having, notwithstanding such his qualification and his commission, been refused admission, to exercise thereunder his spiritual and canonical profession, and having in vain appealed to the archbishop of Canterbury, as also to the visitors of the college of doctors of law, applying to his grace, and to the said visitors, for an hearing of his case, and for redress of the injury by him sustained, he did carry his suit into the court of king's bench, and did apply for a rule to shew cause why a mandamus should not issue for his admission: which application was however refused by the said court, for the reason that the petitioner had not been able to shew his right to be admitted to this ecclesiastical office, on any grounds of which that court could take cognizance; and unable as the petitioner thus was to obtain, in a court of civil jurisdiction, a discussion of his title and of his qualification for this spiritual office, he applied to the archbishop of Canterbury for permission, in a court of spiritual jurisprudence, to plead his case, but with which application for such public hearing it was deemed unadvisable to comply; and that having been thus excluded from the exercise of his canonical and clerical profession, on the ground of his having formerly taken the orders of a deacon, he has, by the refusal of an hearing to his case, been deprived of the opportunity of shewing, in the first place, that he was duly authorized to divest himself, and did divest himself, of those orders and of his clerical character; and secondly, that although he were even still a clergyman, he would not thereby be disqualified; and therefore praying the house, to take his case into consideration, and grant him relief."—On the question, that the petition do lie upon the table,

The *Advocate-General* observed, that as the hon. gent. did not mean to institute any proceeding immediately upon the petition, it would not be necessary for him to go at length into the consideration of it. He had only to state, that the petition was founded upon a great misapprehension of facts, and a great misapprehension of legal principles, as applicable to those facts. He did not mean, however, to charge the misapprehension on the hon. gent.

Mr. *W. Smith* stated, that the allegations in the petition were founded on the allegations in an affidavit made in the court of king's bench.—The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

[Offices in Reversion.] Mr. *Bankes* rose to submit, pursuant to notice, a motion on the subject of granting offices in reversion. If he might assume, and he hoped he might, that the opinion of the house had undergone no alteration on this point since their late resolution, he thought it would be unnecessary for him to trouble them at any great length, as he might expect an unanimous concurrence in the proposition which he was about to lay before them. It would be waste of time for him to address them at any great length, when he expected no opponent: but because he heard that it had been surmised that the object of the bill passed by the house against the granting of offices in reversion trenched on the just prerogative of the crown, and that it would be of no real service to the public in point of economy, he begged leave to say a few words on these topics.—With regard to the prerogative of the crown, he was firmly persuaded that the object of that bill touched upon it but very little, and could not be properly said materially to trench upon it at all. There was at present an opportunity for an undue dissipation in that prerogative, and he was convinced that it would be more full, better exercised, and much more beneficial, if the granting of offices in reversion should be restrained in the manner pointed out by the bill. It would certainly be rather strengthened than weakened, for the gratitude of persons entering upon the reversions, would naturally be small when they considered them in some measure as a vested right, rather than a favour conferred solely for services to the public. There were some instances where these reversions were held by persons perfectly unfit for whatever trust might be attached to the offices, and more especially in the cases of reversions held by persons of the other sex. The incapacity was, indeed, in some cases so palpable and glaring, that no ministers would have ventured to recommend the grants in the first instance, without the danger of creating the strongest sensation in the public mind, and of exposing themselves to the severest animadversions.—But it had been said, that in point of economy this object would be of no advantage to the public. Directly it might not. But certainly the committee expected, and he was persuaded that the expectation was well founded, that the establishment of the principle would ultimately lead to much practical economy. Several offices afforded very large emoluments, while they had no duties attached to them. The committee might judge it proper to review these offices, and see reason to subject some to new regulations, and advise the total abolition of others. But, if, in the mean time, the practice was persisted in of granting these reversions, the labours of the committee would meet with increased difficulties; and parliament seeing no prospect of any immediate benefit from whatever arrangements they could propose, might be more callous and indifferent respecting this important object. On these principles, he presumed, the house had adopted the resolution formerly submitted to it on this subject, and on the same principles concurred unanimously in the provisions of the bill which he (Mr. Bankes) had the honour to carry up to the house of lords. What the fate of that bill had been, the house had an opportunity of ascertaining from the report of the committee appointed to examine the lords' Journals, for their proceedings upon it. It appeared that it had been put off to a term to which there was no probability that this session would extend, and consequently that it might be considered as totally lost for the present. In order, therefore, that no inconvenience might arise to the public service, as the legislative measure had failed, and what had before been the prerogative, might now be considered as in force, he thought it the duty of that house to address his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased not to grant any offices in reversion, till both houses should have an opportunity of considering the subject most fully. It was on this ground he proposed to move the address. It might be thought that it would be better to bring in the bill, but both he, and those with whom he acted, were of opinion, that the house ought not to resort to any act, which might betray a disposition to usurp the legislative functions of the other house. The constitution had defined the duties of both, and he could not contribute more to the interests of that house, than by confining it within its just and natural limits. It had been suggested to him, therefore, that if a bill were to have been brought in, it might appear to be an attempt to do that by the single act of that house which should be done by the act of the legislature. The mode he proposed to adopt was altogether free from such an objection, and there were several instances on record, in which, whilst enquiries were carried on by that house, it had addressed his majesty to suspend the exercise of certain prerogatives until the result of such enquiries should be known. With such a view he had framed his motion, and if the house was disposed to support the principles when it agreed to the resolution last session, and passed the bill this session, he was convinced that there would be an unanimous concurrence in his motion. He then moved, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased not to grant, in any part of his majesty's dominions, any office, place, employment, or salary, in reversion, or for joint lives with benefit of survivorship, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament." Before the question was put, he had one observation to make, which he would take the liberty to add by way of notice, namely that he meant, in an early period of next session, to move for leave to bring in a similar bill to that which had passed that house this session. —On the question being put,

The Hon. *J. W. Ward* said it was not his intention to enter upon any long discussion at present, and he now only rose to express that surprise and regret which he could not help feeling at the result of the enquiry of the committee which had been appointed to examine the Journals of the lords, relative to their proceedings upon the Reversion bill. From this it appeared, that that important bill had been rejected. But he could not help being very much surprized at this, because it was an unusual thing that a bill which had met with so very slender an opposition [none, none, from several quarters of the house,]—which had met with no opposition in that house, which was directed against public abuses, n object so peculiarly necessary in the present circumstances of the country, should be rejected in the other house. It was a subject of very great regret, too, with him, both on account of the failure of most important object, and also on account of the indication that was manifested of a want of disposition in the other house to co-operate with the house of commons in restraining the undue expenditure of the public money. Of course, the house could know nothing of the detail of the proceedings in the other house on that bill; and, if it could be known by any indirect means, it would, of course, be irregular to allude to it here. But, one must naturally suppose that it was maturely considered and amply debated in a full house [hear, hear]; that the whole proceedings were conducted with that gravity and serious deliberation which the importance of the case required, that all the ministers of the crown attended in their places, [hear, hear,] as it was their duty to do, in order manfully and openly to oppose the bill, if they thought it an improper one, or to support it with all their strength, if they were of a contrary opinion! It must at least be supposed, that if the house was not so full as it might be, their lordships, out of respect to their own character, and a due regard to the unanimous opinion of the house of commons, would have consented to an adjournment of the debate on the bill for a short time, in order to enable those who might be absent to attend their duty! [hear, hear!] It must be supposed that the discussion on so important a bill was not disgraced by an empty house, lest there should be an appearance of gross neglect, nsufferable insolence, or some motives of a worse description! Of course the commons could not be supposed to know who proposed the rejection of that bill, or by whom that motion of rejection was supported. But they might be fully assured that it could not have been by a person who was himself in the possession of a reversionary office of great emolument. [hear! hear!] They might be assured it was utterly impossible that the motion of rejection could not have been supported by a person who was already gorged with the spoils and plunder of the country;—by a person loaded with reversions three deep in his family already. Far less could he suppose, that the motion for its rejection should be seconded by another person, whose name stood recorded in the journals of the house—as one who, with a keen and avaricious eye sat feasting upon the hopes of reversions to himself, his family, and dependents—[hear! hear!]—or a person whose delight was to hunt after that species of property called by the civilians the *hereditas luctuosa*. In that house of parliament, which consisted of 400 members, it was quite ridiculous to suppose that only 22 were present at the inglorious and indecent rejection of this bill. He insisted, that notwithstanding the voice of the aristocracy, the house of commons should discharge its duty to the country, and adopt a mode to prevent any thing similar from occurring. He hoped that the house would persevere, and bring forward a similar bill, session after session, until they convinced the house of lords, that the people and the commons of England were not to be trampled upon.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did not feel any objection to the motion of his hon. friend, and had risen only in consequence of what had fallen from the hon. gent. who had just sat down, to state why he did not object to the present motion, and the grounds of the conduct which he had observed with respect to this measure, when it had been before in its progress through that house. And he thought this the more necessary after the ingenious course which the hon. gent. who had just sat down had taken, by which, in a way certainly perfectly parliamentary, he contrived to throw out the severest animadversions on the servants of the crown. The reason for the non-attendance of the ministers of the crown probably was, that they had not thought the bill of such importance as necessarily to require their attendance. Two opinions seemed to prevail respecting the importance of the bill. Some thought it of vast importance, with a view to purposes of œconomy, while others considered it formidable, as trenching on the prerogative of the crown. In neither of these opinions did he concur. He thought there was nothing in it that materially trenched on the prerogative of the crown, for he considered it as a matter of nice calculation, whether it increased or diminished the prerogative. If it diminished it in one view, it certainly increased it in another; and where the matter was so nicely balanced, he did not think there could be any reasonable grounds for supposing that the prerogative could be materially trenched upon. As to the economical effects of the bill, he could only regard them in the view that had been stated by his hon. friend (Mr. Bankes); some offices might in this way be saved for the reward of services. But it ought to be recollected, that this method of reversions was the best way of making provision for the families of meritorious servants of the public, without imposing any new burthens on the public. It was once a mode of providing for lord chancellors, to whom, for instance, the reversion of a tellership of the exchequer might be granted, instead of the provision now in use in such cases. On the one side, therefore, he thought there was no great advantage to be expected from the bill in point of economy, and on the other he saw no reason to fear any danger to the prerogative of the crown. If it was assumed, that this was a measure of great importance, on one hand, in point of economy, or on the other with a view to an infringement on the prerogative, it certainly might be considered as the duty of the ministers of the crown to attend. But those who adopted neither of these opinions, would of course act as if they considered it as a matter of no uncommon interest. When, therefore, his hon. friend had proposed the measure, he had not thought it necessary to oppose it, but at the same time he did not regard it in that great and favourable light in which it had appeared to others. The hon. gent. over the way, had expressed his surprise at the rejection of the bill, but he saw no reason why he should be surprized at the exercise of its rights by any branch of the legislature. It was the right of the other house, undoubtedly, to reject or approve, and nothing could be more prejudicial to this house than to assume a dictating authority, and to attempt to do by its own act what could only be properly done by an act of the legislature. As to the disgrace imputed by the hon. member, for the manner in which the measure had been disposed of in another place, he should leave that to others to decide. But certainly no person could be more disinterested on such a question, than one who enjoyed an office that had devolved upon him by a reversionary grant. He had never understood that it was in contemplation to deprive such persons of their offices, and he was therefore at a loss to conceive, why persons of that description might not as well as any other persons exercise their discretion upon the general question. The individual to whom the hon. gent. alluded (lord Arden), and of his connection with whom he had himself reason to be proud, had on this and every other occasion exercised his own judgment with a view to the public interest. Nothing could be more unfounded or ridiculous than the statement, not that he had heard in that house, but that had reached his ears from another quarter, that, instead of manfully opposing the measures themselves, ministers had sent others down to reject it. If that statement had made any impression either there or in the country, he was glad to take that opportunity of removing it. There was no candid mind that would not allow, that if he were to be actuated by such feelings, he could never have selected a worse person for the purpose, than one so nearly connected with him as the person that had been alluded to. He was ready, however, distinctly to state, that he certainly had known that it was the intention of that person to oppose the measure, on what appeared to him great constitutional grounds of objection. This he had known from a conversation which he had with that person on the subject, in which that person had expressed surprise that he had suffered the measure to pass that house without opposition. But, if he could not produce any change in that person's opinion, so neither had any been effected in his own, and he admitted that he had felt surprise at the active opposition made to the measure from that quarter. Nothing could be farther from his thoughts than to influence any person on the subject; so far from it, that he had assured his hon. friend in a communication which he had with him since, that whether he should bring forward his motion for an address or not, no act on the part of his majesty's government would be resorted to, that could interfere with his views. Before the present motion was brought, he had given his hon. friend his assurance, that even if he should not bring forward any motion, the practice of granting places in reversion, should be discontinued until the subject should come again fairly before the consideration of parliament. If the motion, however, appeared to him at all to interfere with the just respect due to the other branch of the legislature, he should have resisted it; but as it appeared to him to have no such character, he gave it his sincere support.

Mr. *Bouverie* expressed great satisfaction at hearing what had fallen from the chancellor of the exchequer. He had this morning received a letter from his constituents on the very subject now before the house, requesting him to give his strenuous support to the revival of the reversion bill; and indeed the feeling was general throughout the whole country.

Lord *Henry Petty* expressed his difference in opinion from the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, as to the importance of the bill to which the motion then before the house referred. That right hon. gent. was of opinion, that it was a matter of extreme doubt, whether the prerogative of the crown received any additional strength, or was diminished by the provisions of that bill; and also, whether considered as a matter of public economy, it was to be considered as being advantageous or disadvantageous to the interests of the public. In fact, that right hon. gent. thought it to be so unimportant, that he was rather inclined to believe that he did not attend in his place in that house, on the different discussions which took place upon the subject. Now, he (lord H. Petty) was of a very opposite opinion; he did conceive that two most important principles were involved in the consideration of that question. Was it not, in the first place, of some importance, that persons of ability should be appointed to fill different offices in the service of the public; and was it not of some importance also, that the legislature should provide that his majesty should not be deprived of the fair exercise of his prerogative, in selecting such only as he thought qualified to fill the offices? This power, the practice of granting places in reversion might deprive him of, in many instances. And in the second place, was it not of some considerable importance, with a view to public economy that if at any particular time an office should be declared to be useless with respect to public service, and such as ought to be abolished, was it not of some very material importance, that it should be in the power of the servants of the crown to abolish the office upon the office becoming vacant? There was, for instance, a case that occurred last year, in which it would have been well if the measure, which was then spoken of, had been so long in force, as that places were entirely free on the death of the present occupant. The place of Customer of the port of Dublin became vacant by the death of the last officer who filled that place. That was one of the places which it was recommended by the committee of finance to abolish. The duke of Bedford, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, being influenced by the same spirit of economy which actuated the minds of his majesty's confidential advisers in this country, would have abolished the office if it had been in his power so to do; but, he found on enquiry, that a reversion was entailed upon him; he did then all that was in that case left for him to do; he took care that during his administration of the affairs of Ireland, no reversionary interest of that situation should be granted. The right hon. gent., however, stated, with reference to what was supposed to have passed in another place, that a noble lord, who already possessed a reversionary interest, might be considered one of the most fit persons to speak upon the subject. Now, to make out this case, the right hon. gent. should at least have proved, that a person in such a situation must be completely satisfied that the measure of his desires must of course be full. Until he did this, which would be extremely difficult for him to do, he could not support his proposition. Unfortunately, however, for his argument, an instance was glanced at in the course of the debate, in which the person alluded to had two reversionary interests; and it naturally followed that, where this strong desire for emolument was manifested, the person might very probably be ready to accept a third, or would even have no objection to the acceptance of a fourth for himself or some branch of his family. In every point of view in which he could consider the subject, he thought it to be such as deserved his utmost approbation, and from every additional discussion that it underwent, he was strengthened in his former opinions on this subject. The house had itself declared its opinion almost unanimously, they had done what they conceived to be essential to the public interest, and he hoped that that house, the great inquest of the nation, would continue to proclaim its opinion with all the weight which it carried with it, to the other branch of the legislature, to the crown, and to the country, in the most firm and dignified manner. He hoped that the other house might by next sessions of parliament, view the subject in a more favourable light, and that then the bill would have a better fate.

Sir *John Sebright* owed it to his country, to his constituents, and to himself, to declare his full and entire concurrence in the motion of the hon. gent., and he could not but express his extreme surprise at the manner in which the bill had been disposed of in the other house.

Mr. *Whitbread* observed, that the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer had now put the question in a different point of view from that in which it had before been looked at. He gave his support to the present motion in order that the business of reversions might not interfere with the labours of the committee of finance. Now, this appeared certainly to throw some new light upon the subject; it was to him matter of information, as the silence of his majesty's present ministers heretofore on this subject would rather have inclined him to believe that they were rather averse to the measure, if it had not been for the words that had been put into the king's speech, recommending the continuation of the finance committee. Then, with these apparent inconsistencies before them, he would beg leave to bring to the recollection of the house, that the only measure which was recommended by the finance committee to be put into execution, was that which passed that house in the form of a bill, which was afterwards lost in the other house. It was reported that at least all his majesty's ministers who belonged to that house were not present on that occasion, and indeed the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, confessed that he was not certain whether or not he attended all the discussions that took place on that subject. But now that the right hon. gent. did happen to be in his place when the subject was mentioned, he should have thought it would have been more natural for him to have defended the measure on the principle itself, on the same ground that it might be supposed to have been recommended in the speech from the throne. However, at the same time he must declare, that he most cordially agreed with the right hon. gent., that if there had been any thing like a trick in the business; if there had been any thing of management in the matter, the noble relation of that right hon. gent. was, of all others, the most improper person to select for giving the measure any kind of secret opposition in another place. But the right hon. gent. considered it to be one of those indifferent, milk-and-water measures that it was hardly worth his attention; however, to oblige his hon. friend (Mr. Bankes) when he did speak upon it, he gave it a sort of cold support. There was one circumstance, however, that was to him a matter of extreme surprise, which happened to escape the notice of his hon. friend (Mr. Ward); it was to him matter of extreme surprise, if it could be possible that the lord chancellor, who delivered the speech in the name of his majesty, in which the labours of the committee of finance were most graciously noticed; if it were possible that the same lord chancellor could afterwards ever have thought of opposing the first fruits of their labour, which was brought before him in the form of a legislative proceeding. It would also be to him a matter of extraordinary surprise, if he should be told that a noble lord, who could not certainly be a stranger to official proceedings, taking up a paper, and on looking at it, expressed his surprise most innocently, saying, "Oh! dear; so the reversion bill has been rejected in the lords!" If he should happen to be informed of such circumstances, he must confess that he should be a good deal surprized. But then, some said that the measure would trench on the royal prerogative, and therefore it was objectionable. Now, he did not hesitate to say, that with him an objection of that sort had very little weight, as he was decidedly of opinion, that in many instances the prerogative of the crown, inasmuch as it obtained influence, ought to be diminished. Some gentlemen, however, took it in another view, and talked of coercing the other house of parliament. This was what could not bear a serious answer—to talk of coercing them was ridiculous. But so much would he say, that it was the acknowledged right and duty of the house of commons, to guard the public purse; and that, as guardians of the public purse, they ought, in a measure of finance, which was peculiarly their province, to persevere until they might possibly at length convince the other house of the strength and propriety of their arguments. He should be glad, if it were possible, that a resolution should be framed, expressive of what appeared to be the unanimous opinion of the house on this subject, that it should be carried up to the house of lords, and that their lordships should then be called upon deliberately to express their opinion on it.—The question was then put on Mr. Bankes's motion, which was carried, *nem. con.*; and it was ordered that the address should be presented to his majesty by such members of that house as are also members of his majesty's privy council.

[General State of Affairs.] On ie motion, that this house at its rising adjourn to Thursday next,

Mr. *Whitbread* rose. He observed, that this ountry being at present surrounded by the ost gloomy prospects which perhaps ever fered to any nation, events were not unkely to occur which might induce irremeable distress, if the utmost vigour and gilance were not employed by all the deurtments of the state to avert the evils aat menaced us. In such a crisis, of ourse, he deprecated the prorogation of arliament; pregnant, as the crisis was, ith events which might render it peculiar- desirable for prudent ministers to resort parliament for advice. He hoped, thereore, it was not intended by ministers to dvise his majesty to prorogue parliament n Friday next, as rumour stated. Among ae causes of gloom and alarm which this ountry at present witnessed, the hon. gent. oticed the state of our relations with a parcular power—he meant Turkey; with reard to which, that house and the country ere really unable precisely to decide wheher we were at peace, or whether we were t war. An ambassador had been appointd to that state, and yet what was the naure of our connexion with it, or our future prospect regarding it, was quite unertain. But he did not propose to press ny embarrassing questions upon his maesty's ministers as to this topic. There were, owever, other points upon which he was nxious, in common with the country at arge, to receive all the information which ministers could consistently afford. The first and most important was with respect to the Russian treaty. In that treaty he observed an article specifically referring to the mediation of Russia between this country and France. Now, he wished to know whether any direct communication had been reeived from the court of Petersburgh, in consequence of this article? At the same time, he could not help observing, that here was something in the present juncture peculiarly favourable for the restoration of peace upon honourable terms, if ministers dexterously availed themselves of it. Thinkng so, he strongly recommended ministers to accept the proposal of negociation; and, if they would enter upon it in the spirit of peace, he had no doubt that it would terminate in the establishment of that invaluable blessing; but if ministers proceeded upon a different spirit, he had serious fears that it would lead to great and permanent calamity.—The next point upon which the hon. gent. felt extremely anxious for information, was with regard to America: whether communication had been made by the American government upon the subject of a recent event on the American coast; and whether any steps had been taken by ministers in consequence of such communication? This was a question with regard to which the country felt extremely interested, and particularly as to the probable result. These were the two important points upon which he thought it his duty to apply to ministers for information, not only for the satisfaction of that house, but of the country. But with regard to the proposed prorogation, the hon. gent. called the attention of ministers to other important considerations, which appeared to him strongly to forbid that proceeding so early as was expected. According to the conditions of the Prussian treaty, it was stipulated that our commerce should be excluded from all the ports subject to that power, and it was understood that, in consequence of that stipulation, a large expedition had been sent out, with an object in view which exposed us to the liability of having a new enemy. The probability even of such an event ought, in his opinion, strongly to impress upon the minds of ministers, the impropriety of proroguing parliament, particularly as that probability must, in the nature of things, be so soon determined. While the result of such a proceeding was suspended, and with a just impression of the consequences, should the result be unfavourable, it would obviously be wise in any ministers to keep parliament together, in order that they might occasionally resort to the aid of its counsel. But, there were many other reasons which should impress this advice upon ministers. Among others, the incidents which might arise either out of a negociation for peace, or a continuance of war—the consequences which might result from the state of our present relations with America, and from the nature of our prospects with other powers; all of which it might be proper and necessary immediately to communicate to parliament, enforced the propriety of postponing the prorogation. But another, and a forcible reason for such postponement, was suggested by the present alarming situation of our West-India trade, through which we were likely to have so considerable a portion of our revenue cut off, and with regard to which, immediate proceedings ought of course to be taken by parliament. Under all these circumstances, the hon. gent. expressed his hope and wish, that ministers would not attempt to counsel his majesty to prorogue the parliament so soon as was reported.

Mr. *Canning* rose, and spoke to the following effect:—I do not rise, sir, for the purpose of offering any argument to justify the exercise of his majesty's prerogative, with regard to the prorogation of parliament, or to state the reasons which may influence his servants in the counsels which they may deem it advisable to offer upon such a subject. Any attempt at that sort of justification is, according to my judgement, in the present instance, totally unnecessary. But I rise to make such replies to the hon. member's questions, as I feel consistent with my public duty; and I am happy that I do feel enabled to afford a full answer upon those points to which the hon. gent. appears to attach the most importance. First, then, as to Russia; the hon. gent.'s interrogatory is—whether any direct communication has been received from the court of St. Petersburgh, conformably to a certain article in the treaty recently concluded between that country and France? Undoubtedly, a direct communication has been received from the Russian court, by his majesty's government, containing an offer of mediation between this country and France. But, I think it right, at the same time to state that this communication was unaccompanied by any copy of the treaty lately concluded, or any of its conditions—but specifically not the article alluded to by the hon member. This communication was received on the 2d of this month, and at that time his majesty's ministers had no knowledge whatever of the terms of the Russian treaty; but least of all of a certain article in that treaty. Nor had they, indeed, any intelligence upon the subject, until they received it through the same medium as that which conveyed it to the public, namely, a French newspaper. Under these circumstances, ministers received the communication I have mentioned from Russia, and to that communication, they returned, what in such a state of things must have been expected, only a conditional answer. What the nature of that answer was, the hon. gent. will not ask me to state; but I can assure him, that the answer of ministers was given in the most perfect ignorance of the Russian treaty, and particularly of the article alluded to by the hon. gent.—The next interrogatory of the hon. gent. alluded to America: now, upon this point, I can have no difficulty in communicating to the house and to the public, the fullest information in my power; and I am peculiarly glad of the opportunity which the hon. gent. has afforded me of so doing. But, before I enter into the transaction to which the hon. member's question more particularly refers, I beg to state, that any circumstances which may have occurred with regard to America, can, in no degree, have arisen out of the conduct of his present ministers. For this reason, that finding upon their accession to office, certain relations subsisting between this country and America—finding a treaty pending, though not yet ratified, and the public faith of this country solemnly pledged—they felt no duty so sacred,—they saw no line so clear, as not to interfere with the course of these relations; but to proceed according to the impulse given by their predecessors. Whatever our own feelings were upon the merits of the measure, we felt it our duty, and formed our resolution, to give the fullest effect to the stipulations of the treaty which our predecessors had concluded; such, in fact, both collectively and individually, was our determined purpose. Under these considerations, I can assure the house that no alteration whatever was made in the course pursued by our predecessors—nothing whatever was done that could bear on their treaty, or the objects they had in view. No new instructions whatever were sent to our minister at the American court; and as to our naval force off the American coast, they had precisely the same orders as those which prevailed under our predecessors. Upon the conduct of that force, I cannot as yet attempt to pronounce an opinion. Until a recent transaction shall be enquired into, and the fullest and most accurate examination shall take place, it would be premature to decide upon it. But, whatever the conduct of this naval force, or the nature of this particular transaction may have been, the present ministers are no more responsible for it than as the representatives of the government. In the present stage of the business, I have nothing more to say upon this question but to add, that the British government have not received, either through its minister at the American court, or through the American ambassador here, any official communication whatever relative to the transaction alluded to by the hon. gent.

inisters received the first authentic ac- ount of this affair through the American ewspapers, transmitted by our minister, hich contained the president's proclama- on, and in consequence of this publica- on I thought it my duty, no later than is day, to enquire of the American am- assador, whether he had any official com- unication from his government to make pon the subject; but was answered in the egative. In such circumstances, of course, inisters have no communication to make o parliament on this topic.—Upon these wo points, with regard to which the hon. ent. professed to be particularly anxious, have endeavoured to answer as fully and atisfactorily as my duty enabled me to do. With respect to the other points to which he hon. gent. referred, the house must eel that it would be impossible for me, consistently, to state any thing with regard o the measures which he supposes ministers to have taken in consequence of the Prussian Treaty with France, or as to the object of the expedition which government has lately sent out; particularly as no intelligence has as yet been received from that expedition. Upon another subject of the hon. gent.'s allusion, I mean Turkey, I shall only repeat the words of his majesty's speech at the commencement of the session, namely, "that his majesty has taken such measures, as may best enable him to take advantage of any favourable opportunity for bringing the hostilities in which he is engaged against the Sublime Porte, to a conclusion, consistent with his majesty's honour and the interests of his ally."—The right hon. gent. observed, that he had communicated as fully upon all the points adverted to by the hon. gent. as he was enabled to do consistently with his duty. Having no official communication to make to parliament; seeing no probability of an event that should render an immediate communication with parliament necessary, and considering that the public business was over, he could not conceive the reason of acceding to a principle so new, as that of continuing the attendance of members—of preventing a prorogation, particularly at the present season, when, according to the ordinary practice of parliament, his majesty exercised his unquestionable prerogative in allowing to both houses a certain recess.

Mr. *Whitbread* expressed himself obliged to the right hon. secretary for the candour with which he had answered the questions he had thought it his duty to ask, but disclaimed any intention to interrogate the right hon. gent. as to those points, which he could not be consistently expected to answer—he meant particularly with respect to the destination of the expedition. With regard to his majesty's prerogative to prorogue parliament, he had no intention whatever to question it. But at the same time he must repeat, that the exercise of it in this instance, under the circumstances which he had stated, would be extremely ill advised.—The motion, that the house should at its rising adjourn till Thursday, was then agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, August 11.

[PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS BILL.] Lord Holland moved the second reading of this bill.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he should move, that the bill, instead of being read a second time now, be read a second time this day 3 months: first, because he thought the preamble of the bill absolute nonsense; secondly, because many of the motives alleged for introducing it, as well as the allegations upon which it was founded, were not true in the extent alleged, and were, in many respects, highly objectionable; and, thirdly, because the subject was one which, in its various bearings, called for more serious and deliberate discussion than was practicable at the present period of the session, to justify their lordships in its adoption. He would not deny, that education to the lower orders of the community, in the extent proposed, under proper directions and limitations, might be desirable; but he could not agree with the framers of the bill, that education, blended with morality, was more extended amongst the lower classes of the Scotch population, than amongst those of this country; for, however superior the Scotch might be in the former, he could not admit their superiority in the latter. He objected also to the bill, because it did not propose to place instruction more upon a religious footing; and though it was certainly less objectionable now than in its original form, which rendered the plans it proposed compulsory upon the parishes throughout the kingdom, yet the modification was, in his view, not much less inadmissible; for it placed the adoption of such schools at the sole discretion of the majority of parishioners in number, without any reasonable discrimination of rank and property, in the parish, which certainly ought, in such a matter, to have their proportionate weight, and the want of which would be a subject of constant dispute and division.

Lord *Holland* thought the bill, in the form it had reached this house, was so totally devoid of all possible ground for objection, that he was surprized at the hostility of his noble friend. He did not think the preamble liable to the objection that it was nonsense. In substance, at least, it was indisputably true; and the mere error of a single word might be remedied in a committee. He should have thought it an insult to the understanding of the house to go into elaborate arguments, for the purpose of proving that educating the people would improve their morals and their comforts; and as to the argument of want of time to discuss so important a subject at this period of the session, this was one among the many instances which had already occurred to falsify the pompous assertions of his majesty's ministers, and the public papers in their interest, that the late dissolution could cause no material interruption to the public business, nor impede any of those great and salutary public measures to which the country looked, and of which this bill was certainly one.

Lord *Redesdale* disapproved highly of the bill in its present shape, though, with his noble friend, he cherished the principle, that a good system of education properly regulated would be of great public utility. His principal objection to the present bill seemed to be the little reference it had, in his view of it, to the religious establishments of the country. Such a principle should, in considerations of the kind, be kept primarily in view. To some of the provisions of the bill he also strongly objected. The enactments had no reference to the extent of the parish. Some parishes, particularly in the northern counties, were 25 miles long, and 14 or 15 broad. A great number of the parishioners, therefore, could reap no possible benefit from the establishment of one school. Besides, the bill would go to interfere with several scholastic establishments of private institution, which were now productive of great benefit in different parts of the country. In Ireland there was a legal provision, which, he regretted, was so ill attended to; that the parish ministers should either themselves keep a school, or appoint a schoolmaster directly for the instruction of the parishes. In that case, the instructors were, either directly, or indirectly, the ministers of the established religion. This principle was not sufficiently attended to in the present bill, and was, with him, a strong ground for its rejection. Almost all its provisions were likely to be productive of much practical mischief, if the bill passed in its present shape, without the least probability of its being attended with any new benefit. Viewing the bill in this light, he must agree with the noble secretary of state, who moved that the consideration of it be postponed.

The *Lord Chancellor* opposed the bill in its present shape, though he was by no means unfriendly to the principle of diffusing instruction as generally and as widely as possible. He was fully sensible of the benefits arising from the system of education in Scotland, and as he himself was one of the borderers on that part of the country, he felt himself indebted to that system for the benefit of his own education: still, he could not approve of the present bill, because it was miserably deficient in the means of accomplishing the great object which it seemed to have in view. Besides, it tended to a departure from the great principle of instruction in this country, by taking it in a great measure out of the superintendance and controul of the clergy. Nor were these his only objections; in whatever shape any bill of the kind might appear, he never would agree to any that left matters of this nature to be judged or and decided by the majority of the inhabitants of a parish. To what confusion might not such a mode of decision open a door? Would it not give rise to all the mischiefs of an election, among the majority of the inhabitants of every parish, of whatever description of people they might be composed? What endless litigations! Had there not been, not long since, an example of it in the election of a minister for the parish of Clerkenwell; and had not that contention lasted 7 years at the bar of this house? He had also to object to the clause, which gave to the court of chancery the disposal of the money for these establishments, when it amounted to a certain sum. It should be recollected, how such sums so entrusted were sweated in that court, and how in the end, when the oyster came to be divided, the real owner got nothing but the shells. He could never, therefore, assent to the bill in its present form.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* trusted he hould not be considered as hostile to the rinciple of diffusing instruction among the oor, although he should oppose the further progress of this measure. In his opiion, the framers of it had no conception of he vastness of the task they had undertaen. Something widely different, indeed, must be done to further and accomplish he object which they seemed to have in iew. He had himself bestowed of late no mall degree of attention upon this subject, nd he proposed to himself to follow it up o a certain extent. His enquiries had already embraced a large district, and for the atisfaction of the house he could affirm, that the advantages of education were extended more generally than it appeared to e thought, and he would venture to say, that in the parish alone in which he resided, these advantages extended to no less a umber than 4000. Perhaps, when his lan was more matured, he should have the honour of submitting it to their lordhips. In the mean time, he must agree with the noble and learned lords who preeded him, and who truly observed, that he provisions of the bill left little or no controul to the minister in his parish. This would go to subvert the first principles of education in this country, which had hiherto been, and he trusted would continue o be, under the controul and auspices of he establishment, and their lordships would feel how dangerous it might be to nnovate in such matters. Their lordships' prudence would, no doubt, guard against innovations that might shake the foundation of our religion, and it would be a chief object of their vigilance and care, "ut castâ maneant in religione nepotes."

Earl *Stanhope* was sorry to differ from the right reverend prelate, and several other persons in that house, on wat he must call the abominable principle, that no part of the population of this country ought to receive education unless in the tenets of the established church. Was it reasonable or just to say that the children of catholics, presbyterians, quakers, and all the other innumerable sects of dissenters from the established church in this country, were to be debarred all sources of public education, supported by public benevolence, unless they were to become converts to our established religion? Would the right rev. prelate contend, that because the catholic religion was the established one in Canada, no poor Protestants should be educated there unless he was allowed to be brought up a catholic. The noble lord upon the woolsack objected to this bill, lest it might lead to litigation in the court of chancery; he himself had no very great wish to promote litigations in that court; he once had a suit in the chancery of Ireland, which had lasted *only* 42 years; he had once voted upon an appeal in that house from a chancery suit in England, which had *only* lasted 500 years, and he was of opinion that the tedious progress and procrastinated decisions of that court, were well described by the story of a man, who, insettling a contest between two beggars aboutan oyster, took the fish to himself, and gave a shell to each of the parties. But, while he entertained no such fears for the result of this bill, he could not see that its purpose had any thing to do with sects of religion. It was merely to teach its objects spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic for purposes useful in life; and in a manufacturing country like this, when so much of excellence in our productions depended on a clear understanding and some degree of mathematical and mechanical knowledge, which it was impossible to attain without first receiving the rudiments and foundation this bill proposed, the superiority of workmen with some education, over those who had none, must be sensibly felt by all the great manufacturers in the country. His lordship was for committing the bill, rendering it as perfect as possible, sending it forth to the public in that shape, and taking it up again for completion in the next session.—The question was then put on lord Hawkesbury's motion and carried without a division.

[IRISH ARMS BILL.] The house resolved itself into a committee on the Irish Arms bill.

Lord *Holland* thought it singular that they should have arrived at this stage of a bill of such great importance, without any reasons being alleged to prove the necessity of the measure. Not four-and-twenty hours had elapsed since they had been considering bills, the objects of which were to contribute to arm a large portion of the people, in order to meet the exigencies of the country, and now it formed a singular contrast that they were in a committee on a bill for disarming a large portion of his majesty's subjects in Ireland. He could not suffer a bill of this nature to be proceeded in without again calling the attention of the house to the causes of those discontents which rendered these measures of coercion necessary. He did not wish to go over at length the grounds he had before taken when another bill was before the house, but he could not help urging the importance of conciliatory measures as the best mode of allaying the discontents of a large portion of the population of Ireland. When discontents existed amongst a large portion of the people of Scotland, it was proposed to sir Robert Walpole to enlist them into regiments in the service of the country, and give the commands to the principal families who were then hostile to the government. The idea was eagerly seized by that great statesman, but was rejected by the cabinet. Many of those persons afterwards joined the standard of the rebellion. When, however, subsequently, a milder and more conciliatory policy was adopted, that people became loyal and zealous in the service of their country; and finally, all the measures which had been thought necessary to enact were repealed in the administration of the great earl of Chatham. Similar results offered themselves in Hungary, where a large portion of the people, in consequence of being of a religion different from the established church, were kept under degrading restraints that necessarily produced discontents. When, however, those restraints were put an end to, the utmost loyalty and zeal prevailed. With respect to the bill, he thought it placed by far too great powers in the hands of the magistracy of Ireland. The reason which induced him reluctantly to give his consent to a bill recently passed, did not operate in the present instance; that was a measure only to be used in case of necessity; but the present bill was to be continually operating, and might in many instances produce great oppression and hardships, particularly by the powers given to search for arms by night. He did not mean to say, that there might not be cases in which it might be necessary to take arms out of the hands of disaffected persons, but the present bill was in his opinion inadequate to its purpose, as it would operate to produce a greater concealment; the best mode he thought would be to compel the magistrates to keep a registry of arms, and to grant licences for keeping them. He thought, however, that the bill recently passed for suppressing Insurrections, gave amply sufficient powers to the government, and he did not see the necessity of passing this bill in addition. He should therefore move, that the chairman do leave the chair, meaning afterwards to move to postpone the bill for three months, conceiving that as it could not be many months before parliament would again assemble, there would then be ample time for discussing this subject.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he had not introduced the bill with any arguments in support of it, because it contained nothing new in its principle or provisions, and not many weeks had elapsed since the principle of this bill had been distinctly recognized by the late administration, who proposed a bill for continuing an act commonly called the Gunpowder act, and which contained provisions equally oppressive, if so they could be called, with the present bill. That bill was passed by which the act was continued for 7 years, whilst it was only proposed to continue the present act for two years. His noble friend had been unfortunate in his allusion to Scotland, as in that country the acts of restraint and coercion had continued for 50 years, and it was only by a steady course of government upon these principles, that the discontents there were at length put an end to; but then they could not be made the subjects of party politics here, as the sources of these discontents was, in this part of the Island, treason. With respect, however, to mild and conciliatory measures, nothing could have satisfied the discontented in that country, but the restoration of the Pretender. It was only by a steady system of government, together with old prejudices wearing away, that at length the necessity for measures of coercion ceased, and the population of Scotland had since served his majesty with the utmost bravery and loyalty. The circumstances of the two countries were, however, materially different. It was only of late years that Scotland had been trusted with a national militia, whilst in Ireland there had long been a national militia of high character; and there was a brave and loyal yeomanry; a great number of the population of Ireland were likewise enlisted in the army. He did not wish to enter into a long discussion of the subject; he should merely observe, that wherever discontents existed, those discontents were not likely to be decreased by being made the subject of party politics. The necessity of this bill, from what was known of the state of Ireland, he conceived to be obvious.—The motion for the chairman leaving the chair being negatived, Lord *Hardwicke* proposed an amendent, for the better promulgation of this w; as he conceived, that in the manner e laws were now promulgated in Ireland, any persons would be completely ignont of the provisions of this act.

Lord *Redesdale* said, that the registering arms had been so long the law of Ireland, at it was impossible they could be ignont of the most important parts of this t. He relied upon the moderation of the agistracy for not abusing the power vested them.—The amendment was negatived, nd the bill passed through the committee.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, August 12.

[MILITIA TRANSFER BILL.] The orer of the day being read for the third reading of this bill,

Lord *Sidmouth* rose chiefly with a view o re-state the opinion he had on a former ccasion expressed of the tendency of this neasure, and to correct a misconception f it, which some noble lords seemed to laour under. It was acknowledged by his oble friend (lord Hawkesbury), that it had ately been matter of consideration with is majesty's ministers, whether at the resent crisis it were better to resort to he principle of the Army of Reserve bill, r to adopt the new one now under discusion. Much enquiry was said to have been nade respecting the subject; but after maure deliberation, the opinions of the cabinet revailed in favour of the present measure. He also had instituted enquiries into the matter; the result of which most completey decided his preference to the principle of the Army of Reserve bill. The country was now almost precisely in the same situaion as that in which it was placed in 1803, when that bill was adopted. The crisis at present was perhaps more urgent, and the state of the continent less favourable; but, till, under such circumstances would he have looked to the operation of the Army of Reserve act. The beneficial effects of that act became more visible every day, and promised the fairest success; but it was thought proper to substitute a measure in its room, which at the end of 20 months did not produce more than 8000 men. The noble viscount then entered into a comparative statement of the operation of the two acts, the Army of Reserve and the Additional Force bills, which he compared with that now under discussion, and declared it to be his conviction, that there could not be a moment's hesitation in preferring the principle of the Army of Reserve bill. The success of the measure was at best but contingent. It would avail but little, unless peace were concluded within 5 years at farthest. With what probability such an event could be looked for, he was unable to conjecture. Now, the whole benefit to be expected from its fullest success was that it would raise 28,000 men for the line, and thus far increase our disposable force; that he confessed to be no small advantage, if it could be acquired to that extent, which, however, he doubted: but, even if it did so far succeed, still the advantage was too dearly bought by injuring an establishment of 77,000 men, or rather by unhinging or perhaps destroying that constitutional force altogether—and to answer what end? to increase our defensive force? and was not the militia a main portion of our defensive force? and would not the present bill tend to frustrate all the hopes that could reasonably be reposed in that body, an excellent body of men as it now stood? but what might it become when 28,000 of its best disciplined men were suddenly withdrawn from it? He must protest most seriously and solemnly against the adoption of such a measure.

Lord *Hawkesbury* acknowledged having said that it was matter of deliberation with ministers, which of the two measures they should prefer, and the present was not resolved upon without full conviction of its being preferable under all the circumstances of our situation. It was allowed by the noble viscount, that the bill might in a great measure, if not fully, accomplish its object, but that still its benefit was contingent. Granted. But what was the wish of government? Was it not to meet the pressure and diminish the evil of the present moment; and how? by increasing our defensive and disposable force. This, then, would be, in some degree, accomplished, even in the view of the noble viscount: and so far then it would succeed. But he had little or no doubt of its complete success, and then our military means would have received a very great increase indeed. For those who well understood the condition of a soldier, and of a disposable force, would readily acknowledge that by such an addition to it as that of 28,000 men, not only was our defensive force considerably increased, but also considerably strengthened, which was a distinction not to be overlooked.

The *Lord Chancellor* did not think that his habits authorized him to aspire to great military knowledge; but, he would, however, venture to concur with the noble viscount (Sidmouth) in giving the most ample praise in favour of the Army of Reserve act. At the time it was brought forward, that act had most certainly his concurrence, and even now he did not hesitate to say, that it was one of the most able military plans that had ever been produced in this country; but while he made that acknowledgement, he must also observe, that there was room to think otherwise of that measure at present. It was not so well adapted now to the crisis of affairs, and it should be remembered, that the effects which at first it might have produced must now be considerably altered, not only by the change of the actual circumstances of the country, but by the operation of the other different measures that had since been introduced.

Lord *Mulgrave* thought the noble viscount had laid too much stress upon a distinction between a disposable and defensive force. No doubt, a disposable force was also a defensive one; but from every kind of defensive force, the same services, the same resources, could not, under all the circumstances that might call for these services, be reasonably expected. He was, however, of opinion, that at a moment like the present, there was no room to hesitate between the two plans.

Lord *Sidmouth* in explanation, again insisted that the principle he laid down was, that the advantages gained by the bill would be more than counterbalanced by the inconveniences that must arise.—The bill was then read a third time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, August 13.

[DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.] Earl *Stanhope* rose to make the motion of which he had given notice, respecting a resolution that all independent nations should be treated upon the principle of perfect equality and complete reciprocity. In proposing this resolution to the house, he had not merely in his eye the circumstances in which we now stood with regard to America; the principle to which he alluded should, in his opinion, be extended to all states and nations indiscriminately. He could not help noticing the absence of ministers on this occasion; but he had already occasion to observe that they seemed anxious to avoid all discussion on this topic. He would not say that their conduct was not prudent; but, whatever it might be, he felt it incumbent on him to express his sentiments, when the voice of an imperious duty called upon him to express them. He must, therefore, most earnestly deprecate a rupture with America, and the house would, no doubt, unite with him in deprecating that calamity, when they duly considered the many difficulties and dangers with which we were already beset. They must recollect that in times of scarcity our principal relief was derived, first from Poland, next from America. Poland was now shut against us by the influence of the enemy; would we also shut against ourselves the ports of America by our own folly? Whence were we to derive materials and stores for our naval arsenal, if the north of Europe and North America were to refuse us these supplies? Where was the greatness and security of England, when our navy, the source of our pride, the source of our strength and wealth, was gone? These were serious considerations. He should now only remark, that as all individuals, whether high or low, poor or rich, were the same in the eye of God, so nations, whether powerful or weak, whether opulent or poor, should be the same in the contemplation of the law of nations. This was the principle upon which his motion rested, and upon which he grounded the resolution he had now to move. The noble lord then concluded with moving, "that it be resolved, that the principle upon which we should act towards independent nations at peace with the British government, should be a principle of perfect equality and complete reciprocity."

The *Lord Chancellor* could not but commend the serious manner in which the noble earl had expressed himself on topics of such importance. As however, no authentic documents were before the house, to guide an opinion upon matters of such magnitude, he thought it more prudent not to agitate them under such circumstances. The noble earl would therefore, he hoped, excuse him for moving the previous question.

Earl *Stanhope*, in explanation, thanked the noble and learned lord for his kind attention, and observed that what he advanced, not only referred to the present state of America, but to all independent nations, at all times, when at peace with us.

Earl *Morton* objected to the motion, as tending to legislate, upon abstract principles 'hich was contrary to the spirit and the pracice of parliament.—The question was then ut, and the previous question was carried ithout a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, August 13.

[STATE OF IRELAND.] Mr. *Sheridan* ose to make his promised motion, and poke in substance as follows: I rise, ir, under some degree of apprehension nat, from the lateness of the hour, and ne quantity of less important business hich the house has already gone through, I nay be felt to trespass on your attention: ut it was, I assure you, not less my inention this night, than it was on Monday, o address you at a much earlier hour of he evening, had other business permitted. he lateness of the hour on Monday was, ndeed, one of the causes which induced ne to postpone my motion until this evenng; and I cannot but regret that on this, he last day, nay almost the last hour of he sessions, it should become necessary or me to arrest your attention; because I now that at such a time to delay your itting cannot be agreeable to your feelings r to your habits. I am aware that it nust have somewhat of an ungracious apearance to postpone your separation at uch a season; and, believe me, I am as villing to enjoy the benefits of that separaion as any one among you; but I am oo strongly impelled by a call of imperious uty to yield to any desire of accommodation. he necessity which gave rise to that call, vas not created by me—nor was the postonement of the proposition I am about to ubmit, from Monday to this late period, y any means my fault. The propriety of dopting it, is to my conviction rendered erfectly obvious by the circumstances of he two bills which you have recently pased with regard to Ireland. When you ave determined to suspend the constituion and laws of Ireland, is it not reasonble to propose to you some enquiry into he causes alleged for such suspension, nd how far such causes are removable—is not wise, when you are sending such acts Ireland, to communicate at the same me some assurances of your resolution to ke the state of that country into your conderation? I am confident that such conuct would be at once consistent with pocy and humanity, and that much of the pprehension and irritation which acts of arliament may be naturally expected to produce, would be mitigated if accompanied by the adoption of a motion of the nature of that which I hold in my hand.—With regard to the intentions entertained by the last administration, to propose two acts similar to those I allude to, or to the character of the persons to whom the execution of the extraordinary powers which these acts confer might be intrusted, by either the late or the present governments, it is my intention to say very little indeed. Because I do not wish to touch upon any topic of irritation, I will not enter much into comparisons. My hope and desire is, to obtain an unanimous assent to the motion, as unanimity is necessary to give it complete effect. I shall abstain cautiously from any thing that resembles invidious distinction. I know that to no set of men could power have been more safely confided than to the members of the late administration. I am sure that in the hands of none would power have been less liable to abuse; and whatever my disinclination to comparison may be, to them cannot be denied this just distinction, that power might have been granted to them with the less reluctance, as they manifested a disposition to accompany its existence by every means of concession and conciliation. When I reflect in whom the power of these acts was to have been invested in Ireland—when I consider that it was to have been exercised by the duke of Bedford, who was not likely to call it into action, unless the necessity was irresistible, and who was in no case likely to abuse it; I must feel that he was peculiarly entitled to confidence. The character of that nobleman formed a guarantee against the apprehension of abused authority. But I have a great respect for his successor also (the duke of Richmond), I know that nobleman well enough, to be certain that he has no disposition to cruelty—that he has no malignant passion to gratify, and that he is above being affected by that gloomy suspicion, or party rancour, which might unnecessarily call for the execution, and materially embitter the operation of such power as these acts ordain. I have no doubt that this nobleman will follow the wise example—will be actuated by the same liberal principles which served to render his illustrious predecessor so much the object of panegyric and attachment. I should not, therefore, be very materially influenced as to a comparison of persons in power, as to my opinion the very unconstitutional powers which characterize these bills. I am adverse to the principle of such measures, and could never be persuaded to accede to them, unless the necessity were strong and glaring indeed.—Upon Monday last I had an opportunity of shewing my motion to several gentlemen on both sides of the house, and had the satisfaction of observing a general disposition to concur in its principle and object. But some gentlemen expressing a wish for time to consider its structure and tendency, I was therefore for postponing the motion until this day, influenced by the request of those who required such time, in the hope that consideration would serve to remove their doubts and secure their support. In this opinion at least, I acquiesced in the proposed delay, hoping that the effect of it would be to produce the proposition perhaps of some remedy for any defect in the motion, and that delay and deliberation must determine every man in favour of its main object. Retaining still a little of that hope and opinion, I do not think it necessary to take up much of your time, by entering into a detail of the reasons which have induced me to bring forward the motion, and which should urge you to adopt it. Indeed, I cannot conceive a ground upon which the rejection of such a motion can be justified, and I am not bound to conjure up objections or anticipate arguments, upon the strength of which no reasoning man can rely. It is impossible that any thinking man should seriously insist upon as an objection to my motion, that which I have heard on other occasions, namely, that danger was to be apprehended from the discussion of such affairs in this house; that it is a topic which ought to be touched as little and as seldom as possible. But I deprecate such a ground of opposition, as full of error and mischief. For, assuredly, until we get completely rid of the folly and fallacy of such an objection, it will be quite impossible for us to apply a remedy to the disorders of that country, and for this obvious reason, that we cannot know the nature of those disorders. What! that we should go on legislating for Ireland in the dark—that we should reject light and information upon a subject to which we are called upon to apply the law —and that law too most penal and severe in its character!—When I hear the ministers of the crown declaring without shame, that they know nothing of the state of Ireland—when I hear the same declaration from the law-officers, when, in fact, no man can speak decisively upon the subject, is it possible, I would ask, to devise a stronger argument than such declared ignorance suggests, to urge the united parliament to an investigation of this important question? It is not consistent with even the decent appearance of respect for the rights, interests, and liberties of the people of Ireland to legislate for that country in such total ignorance, or at least such inconsistent contradictory information as we have before us. We have heard one set of gentlemen assert that Ireland is perfectly tranquil, loyal, and united; and this assertion is corroborated by the authority of a noble lord (Hawkesbury) in another place; and with such authority before us, is it right that the constitution of Ireland should be suspended? But, farther, in support of the allegation that Ireland is undisturbed, and requires not such an act, I find that in a very populous county, where disaffection was supposed to exist, I mean Tipperary, judge Fox at the late assizes congratulated the people upon the state of the calendar, upon the acknowledged tranquillity of the district, and upon the general good order of the county. I find that not a single charge of disloyalty, sedition, or treason, was to be seen on the calendar throughout the county. I find at Kilkenny the public resolutions of the Grand Jury testifying, not only the peaceable disposition of the county, but a general and cordial harmony between Protestants and Catholics, with a strong declaration from a body of the former in favour of the claims of the latter. All these testimonies appear on the one side; on the other, to be sure, we have a very high authority—an authority certainly of the highest character in my estimation, I mean the member for Dublin (Mr. Grattan); I hold his authority high, because I respect, not only his talents and information, but his integrity; and I feel towards him as warmly as any resident of Ireland, the gratitude to which he is so eminently entitled, for obligations he has rendered to my country. Ministers, I perceive, are willing to ground their proceedings upon the authority of my right hon. friend. Under his great name, they would shelter the creation of enormous powers, for which there may be no necessity. At all events, with the information I have received both from public and private sources, I must contend that no necessity appears. Why, then, should we t enquire? My object is to awaken the use to what I conceive, with deference, be a just sense of its duty—to procure om it a pledge that an enquiry will be in- tuted, and thus to hold out to the people Ireland some prospect of redress—some surance of the friendly disposition of the gislature. That enquiry is necessary, no an can deny; and without full informa- on, I must say, that it is not becoming in to take such serious measures with re- rd to Ireland. We have, in fact, been gislating for that country upon hearsay thority alone, and mark, with much more hearsay authority against, than for the urse you have pursued. All this, too, ile you have had the means of ample en- iry within your reach. Upon what grounds en, do you shrink from that enquiry? It preposterous to pretend that you fly om it because you apprehend danger from scussing the affairs of that country. The ct is, that no topic requires or deserves ore of your discussion or investigation. o far from avoiding knowledge upon such subject, it is highly culpable not to seek

I profess myself as much in want of owledge as other persons, and I take some ame to myself on that account; but I shall deavour by all the means in my power obtain information, and it is with a view remove my own defect upon this head, well as the defects of others, that I ish for enquiry. I wish for enquiry, be- use it is essential, as well in respect to ur own character as in justice to the peo- e of Ireland. It is our duty to enquire on such an occasion, and we should not rink from that duty through any objec- on to the trouble that might attend it, or rough any idle fear of danger; but least all through a timid apprehension of the uth.—With regard to the motives which ve urged me to stand forward upon this casion, I have been prompted to it by ty and by feeling. My object, to serve e cause of justice and my country, with- t exciting any passion or flattering any ejudice. I hope I may take credit for ing as little inclined as any man to the e of inflammatory language—as little sposed to promote sedition, or mutiny, disaffection. For this I think I am en- led to take credit. There is not, per- ps, a man more strongly convinced than am, that the very existence of the two is- nds depends upon the continuance of eir connexion. I am quite assured, that there be any party in Ireland of any denomination, which would advocate an opposite principle, that party is decidedly hostile to the interests of that country—and should call forth the vigilance and vigour of the law. But I must say, that all appearances are against the belief of any such disaffection, much less of organized treason. Indeed, if I could imagine an observer totally free from prejudice upon the subject, his inference would, I am persuaded, be of quite an opposite tendency. If I could imagine a foreigner well disposed to Great Britain—if I could believe such a foreigner to exist, I am satisfied he would be forward to rather congratulate Great Britain upon the present state of Ireland. There are four symptoms of loyalty and attachment to Great Britain visible in Ireland, which would naturally attract the attention of this foreigner. Having heard that the duke of Bedford was applied to by some rash individuals to proclaim a county, at the time of the insurrection of the Threshers, that noble duke rejected the application, and trusting to the ordinary operation of the law, put down the insurrection; the foreigner would, in the first instance, consider this a very good symptom of the disposition of Ireland. Well, in the second place, he would be told that there had been no disturbances whatever in that country since the duke of Bedford had put down the insurrection alluded to, and that the disposition of the people had been particularly proved by the rejection of the Catholic bill. A short description of the nature of that measure would readily satisfy his mind that the laying it aside, after it was promised, was very likely to have an irritating effect in Ireland. But instead of irritation he would witness the most perfect good order, although all the ingredients of insurrection were flung among the people, wrapped up in a proclamation for dissolving parliament. The third object of the foreigner's attention would be judge Fox's address of congratulation to the people of Tipperary, upon the peaceful state of the county; together with that judge's expression of surprise that it should be otherwise described by any person; and the fourth symptom would, more than all, satisfy his mind that no apprehension whatever could be entertained of disorders or insurrection in Ireland. For he would see the army taken away—he would see that formidable body, the German legion, which was sent to Ireland to save it from sedition, embarked for the continent. Now, if this foreigner were to state these sentiments to the minister, and express his surprise that any suspicion could any where be entertained of the loyalty and tranquillity of the people of Ireland, what would the right hon. gentleman say to him? Perhaps the right hon. gent. would tell him that the duke of Bedford acted injudiciously in refusing to proclaim a county under martial law, and restoring the peace by means of the common law of the land—that the circumstances of Ireland being understood for some time back, was mere matter of accident; that judge Fox knew nothing at all about the state of the country. But, would not the foreigner be apt to ask, why, if Ireland were in such a state of disaffection, should the military force be taken away from it, and two oppressive and arbitrary bills sent there, still more to irritate that disaffection? Perhaps the right hon. gent. might say, that he relied more upon these bills for preserving Ireland, than he did upon a military force; that when he marched out an army, he would march in an act of parliament; that when he withdrew a legion, he would substitute a law. But above all, what was the foreigner likely to say to the right hon. gent. when he found that, while every endeavour was using to arm the English, the Irish were disarming? With such a remarkable contrast before him, would not the foreigner—would not any man interested for Great Britain, or possessing common sense, be disposed, particularly at a crisis when the invasion of a powerful enemy was to be apprehended, to put this plain question to the minister? If you take away the arms of the Irish, what are they to fight with? And if you take away their constitution, what are they to fight for?—It has been said, that there exists a French party in Ireland; but when was it that such a party did not exist in that country? Since the days of Elizabeth, from the very commencement of those foul and tyrannical measures which originated in national jealousy, political prejudice, or religious dissention, but particularly the latter, which drove Catholics of high spirit from their native country, numbers of such exiles found an asylum in France, and hence a correspondence between them and their relations in Ireland, which naturally led to the creation of a French party in Ireland, and an Irish party in France. But the existence of such a party cannot for a moment be insisted upon as a justification for the oppressive laws it was quoted to support. For what policy could be more mischievous and inhuman, than a perseverance in the same persecuting measures which originally created that party? Let the state of Ireland be enquired into—let persecution and injustice be put an end to, and the French party would soon cease to exist. But, I cannot admit the danger of such a party in a political point of view. The correspondence of family connections may exist altogether independent of national attachments and prejudices, and perhaps this talked-of French party may consist solely of mere family connection, abstracted from all political views. At all events, there is no evidence upon the subject to direct the judgment of this house. There is, I must observe, a principle contained in the argument which the alleged existence of this party was adduced to support, that bears a most fearful character for Ireland indeed. For the Irish exiles having found an asylum in America, in Denmark, and other states, it would follow from the use made of this principle, that whenever Great Britain should be at war with either of these states, Ireland would be liable to have her constitution suspended, there being to be found an American and a Danish party in Ireland, as well as a French, and all arising from the same cause; which cause it is the tendency of the bills I have objected to to continue and increase.—The cause of emigration and exile from Ireland has been considerably diminished under the auspices of our present most gracious sovereign; but still a great deal remains to be done to reconcile to their country the great body of the Irish. What has been done was no doubt calculated to do much good, but yet it is to be recollected, that there is a great deal in the manner of doing a thing. There is such a case as conferring a favour without obtaining any acknowledgment—of rendering a service without exciting any gratitude—and such a case may be as making concessions when it is too late. I recommend these considerations to the reflection of ministers. When they and others complain of the discontents of the Irish, they never appear to consider the cause. When they express their surprise that the Irish are not contented, while, according to their observation, that people have so much reason to be happy, they betray a total ignorance of their actual circumstances. The fact is, that the tyranny practised upon the Irish has been throughout unremitting. There has been no

ange but in the manner of inflicting it.
hey have had nothing but variety in op-
ression, extending to all ranks and de-
ees of a certain description of the people.
you would know what this varied oppres-
on consisted in, I refer you to the penal
atutes you have repealed, and to some of
ose which still exist. There you will see
e high and the low equally subjected to
e lash of persecution; and still some af-
ct to be astonished at the discontents of
e Irish! But, with all my reluctance to
troduce any thing ludicrous upon so se-
ous an occasion, I cannot help referring
o a little story which those very astonished
ersons call to my mind. It was with re-
pect to an Irish drummer, who was em-
loyed to inflict punishment upon a soldier.
While he was flogging the soldier, the poor
ellow, writhing with pain, intreated him
o change his mode of lashing him. Some-
imes he called to him to strike a little
igher, and sometimes a little lower. The
rummer endeavoured to accommodate
im as far as it was in his power; but find-
ng it to no purpose, at last cried out,
' Upon my conscience, you are a discon-
ented fellow, for whether I strike high or
ow, there is no such thing as pleasing you."
This is precisely the case with respect to
reland. Notwithstanding the infinite va-
iety of oppression exercised against them,
here are still a number of them who are so
nreasonable as to be discontented.—As to
he conduct which ought to be pursued with
espect to Ireland, do not let it be imagined
that I should not desire to have a strong armed force in that country. I would have such a force stationed there, much as I rely on the loyalty of the people. But this force should be the protectors and advocates of the people: it should not be placed there to act as executioners, but as a guard of honour upon the constitution, the liberty and the property of the people. I do not wish to have the fate of Ireland entrusted to an inadequate force, particularly at a period when no one can tell the hour at which the enemy may arrive. I wish to have such a force in Ireland, as well as in every other quarter of the empire, as should assure our foreign enemy of the impossibility of success; and at the same time serve to discourage the operations of domestic enemies, by convincing them that it is in vain to hope—that his prospects and calculations were vain. With this view and object, I would have a large army in Ireland; and such an army would serve still more to render the bills I have referred to, quite unnecessary. Because, if invasion or rebellion should take place, the peace of the country would be vested in the army. For it is a prerogative of the crown in such cases, to put the country under martial law, and in such cases only can martial law be necessary, particularly if you keep a large force in the country. The prerogative of the crown, then, is fully competent to meet any real danger, without these bills, which are in fact nothing but martial law in masquerade.—As to the plan of arming the people at large, which, it seems, is not to be extended to Ireland—although the principle is so perfectly congenial with the spirit of the British constitution—for it is a part of the king's prerogative to compel the people to arm in case of invasion or rebellion, I contend that the policy of disarming the Irish is bad, even for the purpose that measure professes to have in view. For a people that are armed are in general, or almost always, more peaceable and less discontented than those who are left defenceless and disarmed. If the king should, under his prerogative, call out the people of Ireland, or the sheriff were to summon the *posse comitatûs*, in what state, I would ask, are that people likely to be found after the operation of those acts of parliament? It is, however, pretended that these acts are only to continue for a certain time; that they only involve a suspension of the constitution, in which the people have a reversionary interest. But I do not know when the suspension is to cease. It began in 1795, and since then it has continued without interruption, and the lease has just been renewed for three years longer. I am of opinion that a people who can submit so long to such a measure must be tolerably well prepared for slavery. Indeed, it cannot be difficult to reconcile them to the loss of freedom. In renewing the loan to government of the Irish constitution, I remember that ministers would not attend to the advice of my right hon. friend (Mr. Grattan) as to the duration of the lease. No; where his authority suited their view, they adopted it and took shelter under it, but where that authority was against them, they rejected it. But the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer has promised that the constitution shall be restored to Ireland; I should like to see a receipt and promise of return for a free constitution, from the hand of the right hon. gent. I dare

say, as he is a lawyer, a financier, and a statesman, it would be a curious production, running, perhaps, in these terms—"Whereas it has been deemed expedient for the peace and good of Ireland, for good and valuable considerations, to take the constitution of that country into the keeping of the crown: I on the part of the crown do promise and declare that it shall be returned when it is deemed expedient." But suppose a project formed to withhold this constitution altogether—suppose it were resolved to establish absolute despotism, such as would justify the resistance of a free people—how is that resistance to be made after the arms of the people have been taken away?—What ministers ultimately mean to do with respect to Ireland, it is really difficult to divine. They promise, to be sure, to restore the constitution, and to do many other things; but the people of Ireland know by whom the promise is made. They remember those who promised so much at the time of the Union, and never kept their word in any one point—No, not one. Indeed, their conduct towards Ireland in this respect, puts me in mind of the promises made to children. The parent presents a favour to the view of the child; but declines to give it. No, no, the child would spoil it, and the parent keeps it, for fear he should. Thus precisely are the people of Ireland trifled with as to promises; and thus are those promises fulfilled. How have they acted upon the subject of the Catholic question? I am not now going into the discussion of that question; but was not the grant of that measure held out as one of the first consequences of the Union? Such was to be collected from the words of several of the principal advocates of that measure, and, among others, even Dr. Duigenan. Mr. Pitt, and the noble lord (Castlereagh) held out a hope, upon their retirement from office in 1801, that their return to office might be deemed the signal for Catholic emancipation. But yet they returned to office, and no such grant was proposed. Were not the frequent disappointments of the Catholic body—their hopes deferred—one of the principal causes of the Irish discontents?—Here Mr. Sheridan entered into a review of the conduct of the several members of the present cabinet with respect to the catholic question, and contrasted those who formerly promised so much to the Catholics with those who had lately endeavoured to put an eternal bar to their hopes, and had raised the abominable yell of "No Popery." There were some of the latter who were, no doubt, actuated by conscientious motives. He was most sincerely disposed to do credit to the motives of his majesty, and had no doubt he was actuated by the purest dictates of conscience. In his honourable mind he was confident there existed as much abhorrence of the authors of any cry which could disunite and distract his subjects as any man in the nation could feel. He had no hesitation in saying, that those men who would raise any thing like eternal obstacles to the views of the Catholics, must act disagreeably to him whose scruples upon the subject might be removed by time and consideration. The right hon. gent. concluded this part of the subject by referring to the conduct of the last administration, whose promptitude in dropping the bill respecting the Catholics he approved, perhaps much more than he did of their original introduction of it.—I think, said Mr. S., they began at the wrong end. They should have commenced the measure of redress in Ireland at the cottage, instead of at the park and the mansion. To have gone first to the higher orders of the Catholics—to have sought to make them judges, and peers and commoners—I do not know that such a proceeding, had it taken place, would not rather have served to aggravate discontent, as it might have been construed into a design to divide the interests of the Catholics. Sure I am, that with a view to serve or to conciliate the Catholic population, I mean the poor, the peasantry, its effect would be nothing; indeed it would be quite a mockery. It would be like dressing or decorating the top-masts of a ship when there were 10 feet water in the hold, or putting a laced hat on a man who had not a shoe to his foot. The place to set out with in Ireland for the relief of the people, is the cottage. The distressed state of the peasantry must be first considered, and above all, the tithes. I should hope that every man of good sense and sound heart would be forward to devote some part of his attention to this important question. A great deal of information with respect to the state of the Irish peasantry, and the best means of relieving them, may be collected from private sources. I have had many communications on the subject, and I have looked into several valuable books and pamphlets respecting the Irish peasantry, but have been particularly terested by Mr. Bell's treatise upon them. t would not require much reading after is book to make gentlemen fully ac- uainted with the state, habits and cha- acter of these poor peasantry, whose suf- rings have so long and forcibly appealed o the humanity and justice of the legisla- ure. I have heard it said, and I have al- ays been shocked at the assertion, that e Irish peasantry might be comfortable they would, if they chose to be indus- ious; and that it is idle to attempt any nprovement of their condition. It is bominable to hear blame laid on Provi- ence instead of laying it on man. Can ny set of men, I would ask, be found who anifest so much of the qualities of which ese cruel calumniators would deprive em, as the Irish peasantry? But they are nly calumniated by those men who would egrade them below the level of the human reation, in order to palliate their own in- umanity towards them. We were told in ngland, that the unhappy Africans were in- ensible to the ordinary feelings of humanity, n order to render us indifferent to their ufferings, and to the custom of the slave rade. On similar motives the character f the Irish peasantry is so foully misre- resented by some men in this country and n Ireland also. But what palpable evi- ence do the Irish peasants, wherever you neet them, afford of the falsehood of their landerers. Can any men exhibit more of nterprise than those peasants, in coming o this country in search of employment, or more of affection for country and amily, in returning home with the pit- ances they earn here? Is it not manifest o every one of you, that the charge of in- disposition to industry cannot apply to hose poor men, who, in fact, do all the ard work of this metropolis? When, then, he Irish exhibit such a character in this country, it is impossible that such a dif erence at home as some gentlemen assert to exist, can proceed from any other than gross misrule. If I were proposing this enquiry in time of profound peace, I should expect your acquiescence in it. But in the difficulties which now surround the country, the claim is, in my mind, irresistible. I know it has been long the hacknied cant, that such and such is the most perilous period the country has ever known. But without any such cant—without any exaggeration whatever, I defy any man to shew me a period in our history so full of peril; and where shall we look for aid? I am sick of continental alliances, of hearing about your magnanimous emperor Alexander, and all the rest of them. When, however, I look at the conduct of that sovereign, triumphing at Petersburgh upon acquisitions of territory plundered from Prussia, her ally, to whom, were he really magnanimous, he ought rather to have given territory, I cannot endure the idea of turning to the continent for any thing to confide in for our existence. When I look at France, not as Mr. Burke described it, 'a blank in the map of Europe;' but when I see nothing almost but France—when I look to the state of the East Indies, and to that of the West also —I find, indeed, that on Monday you pledged yourselves to enquire into the state of property in those islands, and very properly too; but when you thus pledge yourselves to enquire as to the property of the West-India planters, is it too much for me to propose a pledge that you will take into your consideration not the property of the Irish, but their allegiance, liberty, and right—when I look at America, but in mentioning that country I should be sorry if understood at all to speak in terms ill calculated to encourage a disposition to surrender that privilege which we cannot surrender, without abandoning power and importance—when I have thus reviewed the state of our colonies, connections, and allies, and find the appearance so gloomy, is it unreasonable that I should ask you to look at your statute book, and to study the means of conciliating the alliance of your own subjects? While such menacing danger hangs over us, I cannot without serious pain reflect upon the manner in which you employ yourselves—one party charging the other, and *vice versâ*—"you did that job"—"No, but you did worse," —"My plan raised more recruits than your's"—"No, but it did not." As if men were recruiting for a wager, and the only object of debate was to criminate each other. I cannot patiently think of such petty squabbles, while Buonaparté is grasping the nations—while he is surrounding France, not with that iron frontier, for which the wish and childish ambition of Louis the 14th was so eager, but with kingdoms of his own creation—securing the gratitude of higher minds as the hostage, and the fears of others as pledges for his safety. His are no ordinary fortifications. His Martello towers are his allies—crowns and sceptres are the pallisadoes of his entrench-ments, and kings are his centinels.—In such a state of the world then, and with such an enemy, viewing this country as the almost remaining object of his ambition to destroy—surely the policy of looking to all the means of strengthening yourselves is too obvious to require comment. Let me then exhort you to consider the means of rendering that country really serviceable to you. I have heard of subsidies. Your subsidies to Prussia were considerable in amount, and yet quite unproductive in effect. Why don't you subsidize Ireland? And all the subsidies I ask for her is your confidence, affection and justice to her people. These, I call on you to grant before it be too late. If you refuse to see the danger that menaces, and will not consider in due time about the means which I propose to you for providing against it, it is a bad symptom. The first character of courage is to look at danger with a dauntless eye, and the next to combat it with a dauntless heart. If with this resolution we front our dangers, history will do justice to our feelings and character, whatever may be the exertions or the success of the formidable tyrant who would destroy us, or of those who succeed to his power and his views. The honest historian will not fail to yield a just tribute to our reputation. If faithful to ourselves, if united, we shall in these two little islands, to which, as to an altar, freedom has flown for refuge, be able to fight with all the valorous fury of men defending a violated sanctuary.—The right hon. gent. then concluded with moving "That this house "will immediately, on the meeting of "the ensuing session of parliament, proceed to take into their most serious and "solemn consideration, the State and "Condition of Ireland, in the anxious "hope, that such measures and remedies "may be safely adopted, in regard to the "discontents alleged to exist in that "country, as may render unnecessary the "continuance of those provisions which "the legislature of the united kingdom has "deemed it expedient reluctantly to adopt "at the close of the present session, and "the permanence of which would be a "violation of the rights of the people of "Ireland, and a subversion of the spirit "and practice of our free constitution."—After he had read his motion, the right hon. gent. expressed his readiness to acquiesce in any amendment which should leave its main object untouched. It did not matter to him by whom the object was taken up. His desire was to have the thing done; and if any gentleman on any side of the house, would follow it up, he would be entitled to the gratitude of Ireland, and should have his warmest thanks.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it did not seem to him to be necessary to enter into any argument on the subjects touched on by the right hon. gent. He begged leave, however, before he even troubled the house with the few words which he should have to offer on the subject of the right hon. gent's. motion, to correct a mistake into which he had fallen. The right hon. gent. had said, that the military defence of Ireland had been greatly reduced within a short period by the removal of troops from that country. Any reduction of this kind, however, which had taken place, was trifling in the extreme; and when he mentioned that there were at this moment in Ireland 50,000 men of the regular army and militia alone, independent of volunteers, gentlemen, he was convinced, would agree with him, that the military force in that part of the country had not been reduced in any improper degree. Having rectified this mistake in the statement of the right hon. gent., he should now offer a few words on the grounds upon which he called on the house to concur in the present motion. Great part of what had fallen from the right hon. gent. on this head seemed to him not so much applicable to the right hon. gent.'s present purpose, as to two bills lately before the house, and on which, as it would seem, the right hon. gent., having omitted, or not having seen, a favourable opportunity of delivering his sentiments, wished still to avail himself of that privilege. The harangue of the right hon. gent. taking it in this point of view, so far from being calculated to produce unanimity, could alone tend to discontent and division. When the right hon. gent. stated, that the renewal of the bills alluded to for a series of years was only to prepare the people for a total extinction of their liberties, was that not calculated to irritate rather than to reconcile? The measures, too, to which the right hon gent. alluded, had only lately passed through that house, and had been regarded universally as acts of imperious necessity. It was, therefore, rather an extravagant expectation in the right hon. gent. that having so recently declared the measures necessary, the house should now, with the circumstance fresh in their recolction, contradict what they had so lately nacted. The house had lately discharged n important duty to the people on this and n the other side of the water: it was extra- agant in the right hon. gent. to hope that ey should so soon falsify what they had one. That the house would be ready at all mes to consider every thing that could be one for the good of Ireland, there could be o doubt; and this being the case, there ould be no necessity for entering into a edge to that effect. It was only for the ght hon. gent. at any time, to bring for- ard any measure which in his judgement ight be for the good of the united kingdom general, and Ireland in particular, and e should be ready to give it every support his power. He denied that the right on. gent. was correct in saying, that ever nce the union the interests of Ireland had een treated with indifference. He knew at the house would be eager at all times shew every attention to the state of that art of the country without the necessity of ny pledge on the subject. He should erefore forbear from introducing any un- rofitable discussion on the present oc- asion, but should content himself with oving the previous question.

Mr. *Grattan* began by observing that he as glad that the present question had xcited so great a portion of the public at- ention, because it shewed that the people f this country were not indifferent to the ommon cause. Ireland was linked to that ause, and every thing which related to reland naturally excited the public in- erest. It was the cause, not of Ireland nly, but of the two islands together; the reatness, that is, the being of this great mpire, was identified with the cordial co- peration of Ireland, and every question at related to the one, naturally involved e dearest interests of the other. With egard to the term of the Insurrection bill, e had certainly voted for the shorter eriod, and he still believed that it would ave been more wise to confine within s narrow limits as possible, the period f the suspension of the British constitu- on. This much he said in confirmation f the assertion of his right hon. friend Mr. Sheridan), who had, on that night, e-asserted his claim to the due applause of ast times, and the disinterested admira- on of impartial posterity. He had fought good fight in the cause of Ireland; he had vinced a statesman's firmness and a pa- riot's love, and his display in the cause of his native country, was not the less luminous, because a commendable moderation served to augment its splendour and invigorate its force. He (Mr. Grattan) approved of that moderation, and approved of the sentiment—it was not in the sentiment he differed from his right hon. friend —no, far from it; he heartily coincided with him in the sentiment; it was in the application of that sentiment that he had the misfortune to differ from him. In the first place, he could not agree with his right hon. friend, that there were no just grounds for the passing of the two bills, the Irish Arms bill, and the Irish Insurrection bill, which had been enacted by parliament. His right hon. friend had said, that there was no just ground for passing the Insurrection bill, and yet had not his right hon. friend admitted that there was a French party in Ireland? He did more, he said that there had been ever a French party in Ireland. He allowed the justice of that statement; but he begged the house, and his right hon. friend, to recollect, that there was a very great difference between a party that had existed, and a party that now existed, and not only that, but there was also a great difference in the times, and now that France was become such a gigantic power, and a French party existed in Ireland, that was alone, in his opinion, a good reason for adopting a strong measure. There might be times when the common law of the land was by no means sufficient for the safety and security of the country; and when that was the case, strong measures must be resorted to. He did not mean to say that the people of Ireland were in general disaffected; on the contrary, he joined with his right hon. friend in the belief that they were generally loyal and firmly attached to the government of this country. It was not, however, sufficient to say that particular counties were undisturbed. Mr. justice Fox, he had no doubt, was very right in what he had said of the counties of Tipperary, Wexford, and Kilkenny, but there might be discontented parties in other quarters, which were sufficient to justify the extraordinary powers given by the bills lately passed. His right hon. friend had stated that the people of Ireland were in a state of perfect tranquillity, and that a person of the highest authority, in another place, had given it as his opinion that the Arms bill was unnecessary. That high authority might think so, but he could not agree with him on that head. The great object of the Arms bill seemed not to be fully understood; it had in view the disarming, not the great mass of the people, but certain portions of them who were rebels, and who went about the country to the houses of farmers, and gentlemen who were known to have arms, and plundered them of the same, to use them for rebellious purposes, and one of the chief objects of the bill was to take from those robbers the power of doing that. Anotherobject of the act was to prevent compulsory oaths from being administered, and other matters which tended to promote and diffuse insurrection. Was it oppression to check such a banditti in their career—the career that must finally arm them against all law and social order? He did not think it was, and he therefore voted for the enaction of the Irish Arms bill. But, it had been his crime too, to vote for the Insurrection act. He had done so, and he did not think he ever should have cause to regret that vote. It did go to suspend the constitution, but its operation was confined to a state of rebellion only; that is, an aweful emergency alone was to render its application necessary. The remedy was violent—granted—but the evil was deadly. The trial by jury, however, was not even in rebellion to be abolished, and the *judicium parium* was justly considered equivalent to any such emergency; with all this he was ready to admit that the remedy was unconstitutional. But at the same time he felt that it was necessary. It was no new or sudden remedy; the first insurrection act had originated with the late lord Kilwarden, chief judge of the king's bench in Ireland. He had drawn it up, and that person was no enemy to the established laws of his country, for at his death he had announced his wish that his murderers should be brought to justice by the law of the land only, and not by any extraordinary means of intervention. A still greater authority had supported the principle of the bill, the late lord Yelverton, viscount Avenmore, then the chief baron of the exchequer. That great constitutional lawyer had approved of the principle of this bill upon the ground of its urgent necessity. He spoke in the Irish house of lords in favour of the principle in 1796, in 1797 he supported the principle, and in 1798 proved that he was not wrong in supporting it. But, as to men yet living, they were not without authority: the late attorney-general for Ireland was known enough even in that house to be there the authority he was so justly in his own country; he had approved of the principle; the solicitor-general for Ireland had approved of the principle of the bill—a man, perhaps, of the first genius in that country, and of a spirit of patriotism liberal and enlightened as his talents. The present bill had been supported by them both; and was it so culpable in him (Mr. Grattan) to yield to his own impulse when sanctioned by such great constitutional authority? The bill he believed to be necessary, and so rooted was his conviction, that he should have supported that bill had he been left in a trifling minority—nay, continued Mr. Grattan, had I stood alone I should have voted for both bills—the state of Ireland justified them. I am not speaking against Ireland, but I am advocating the cause of Ireland against France. I would put Ireland herself against the distempers that would sap her constitution—it is a strong constitution—nature has done much, but something may creep in to abuse the bounty of nature—at the same time they are not to be looked upon as symptoms of weakness—the bodily habit is physically strong, and the eruptions on the surface prove rather a certain kind of inane violence, that may be purified into salutary strength;—correct the external pruriency, and you have all the advantages of inward health and substantial vigour—the pimple on the face of the fair one does not dim the lustre of her beauty or contract the fascination of her charms. In the same manner, if Ireland had expressed any indignant sense of measures that were deemed oppressive, the feeling that was strong in resentment for alledged sufferings, would be lively in gratitude for projected benefits. Ireland might murmur for what she had suffered, but would be grateful for what she was but promised. So much for Ireland. With respect to those two laws, they are enacted not against Ireland, but for the empire. If the suspension of the constitution is objected to, I answer that the Mutiny bill is a suspension of the constitution in England; of the dearest privileges of the Bill of Rights; yet, why was it enacted? That we might have an army—a standing army—in England, and why are those bills, the Irish Arms and Irish Insurrection bills, enacted?—why, that the French may not have an army in Ireland. It is good to talk of abstract principles; but it is better to apply such principles to existing difficulties. I would therefore suspend the English constitution in Ireland, that Ireland may have t and maintain it ever after. I like abstract principles most where they can be best applied; those wide, vague, cosmopolitan principles were useless if they did not apply, and perhaps were dangerous if they did. So much for the bills which I have supported; and now as to the general state of Ireland I would say a few words. If you would remedy Ireland, look to it in three points of view: look to it in its education, its agriculture, and its religion. The system of education is bad; it is, as far as relates to the free schools, a monopoly—the number of petty schools are injurious to the cause of literature. I would go not only to educate the rich but the poor. Eight thousand acres of land support but 18 free schools, averaging the 8000 acres at 10,000 pounds—those free schools have not succeeded; I am not prepared to say why. Many of the principals I know to be men of capability, assiduity, and learning; but yet the schools have declined. Perhaps it is owing to the niggardly policy that defeats its own object in the manner of the institution. The petty schools are too many, and the great ones too few. The result of such an economy may be readily anticipated. Two or three great public schools would be better than a horde of these minor inefficient schools. When you plant a little school in a wide extent, and yet a limited vicinity, you ingraft imbecility upon ignorance: it perishes by its own weakness. Whereas, colonize learning, and you assist its propagation. I would recommend, therefore, a principal school in each parish. As to the second consideration—the agriculture; it involved at once the question of tithes: tithes made the hot-bed of discontent in Ireland. I would propose some modification with respect to the mode of collecting them. Let the government, suppose, guarantee the payment to the clergy, and thus exonerate the struggling peasant from the many restrictions that at present hang over him, as to the culture or management of the little spot that gives him an interest in the fate of Ireland, by enabling him to feed his wife and family; this subject is peculiarly worthy the attention of parliament, because tithes have been the source of all past disturbances in Ireland. Tithes gave rise to the "Hearts of Steel." Tithes called together the "Right Boys." Tithes were the cause of the "White Boys." Tithes were the cause of the "Peep of day Boys." Tithes were the cause of "Threshers." Tithes were in a manner a kind of watch-word to summon the oppressed to act in common cause against their oppression. I would propose, then, a commutation of Tithe. This subject deserves the most serious attention, for if you remove this one cause of discontent, it will go in a great degree to fritter away the rest.—The third head is religion: upon this I shall be very brief, because it is too obvious to receive any elucidation from what I could offer here. I most heartily concur with my right hon. friend—the door is shut, and the population of Ireland is excluded—and excluded from what? from the means of defending you—from the generous spirit to defend what they have not, and the disinterested zeal of co-operating with you in defence of what you have and enjoy, and that too immediately by them; to whom you refuse the same blessings. The parliament have no right to refuse their religion to a people that obey faithfully and fight ardently in behalf of the laws that it enacts. No one set of men can justly dictate to another the creed of their own orthodoxy—no government has a right to obtrude into the sanctuary of the human mind, to decide between its God and its responsibility. But it has been said, that the faith of the Catholics of Ireland related to foreign powers and engendered foreign affections. It is denied by the Catholics in their professions and conduct. The leading sentiment among them is hostility to France and French principles. I will read the resolutions of the Protestant Grand Jurors of the county of Kilkenny—I will read also the answer of their Catholic brethren [here the right hon. gent. read the resolutions]. Is it, then, to be endured, that such men could in general be suspected of harbouring a thought favourable to French politicians? Let England look at her strength, and ask herself how much she owes of it to Ireland. The Catholics have gone hand in hand cheerfully with you in all dangers; will you now turn your back on them, and deny them a share of your privileges? If you object to them pigmy scruples of bigotry and party, how will you answer to their mighty appeal to the battles they have fought, and the victories they have shared in? It is a bad policy to tell the men covered with wounds in defence of your rights, that they shall have no rights to plead for; but my hopes are founded on something sounder than your provisions. If the people of Ireland see their situation with a mind truly great—if, as formerly, their strength of mind be but proportionate to the extent of their calamity—if with a dignified compassion they pity and forgive the pitiable virulence of party animosity—if they forget every thing but themselves and what they have been, and what they have done; in 1779, when they got a trade, and in the memorable 1782, when they got a constitution—if Ireland but remembers this, and looks to the present momentous crisis with the eye of a gallant general, and a high-minded nation, then will she best refute the calumnies of ignorance; she will not turn aside from the cause of Great Britain, of Europe, and the globe, to listen to the moody mutterings of any shabby mutineer—the night-boy, or the white-boy, or any other ragged rebel. She will look to what such a policy did for her in 1779; she will see constitution following commerce in 1782; she will ponder upon them and not disgrace the example of those hallowed times. French politics are their own remedy. Ireland need not look to Holland, where commerce invited plunder, but could not glut it. Ireland need not look to Genoa, where prostration was the consequence of an ill-placed and hasty confidence. She need not look to Italy, where all that was made sacred by time, by habit, by national prejudice, by religion, served only by the richness of the spoils, to heighten the splendour of the conflagration that consumed them. Let her remember that she has qualified herself in pursuit of the rights she has obtained, by the freedom that sought, and the allegiance that acknowledge them. Ireland has fought boldly and faithfully to secure to England the constitution Ireland so naturally wishes to share the blessings of; but she will continue in the pursuit of them, as she has done in the pursuit of a legitimate object—by legitimate means. Let it be for you to answer her accordingly, and let no narrow policy prevent you from making the Irish Protestants a people, by making the Irish Catholics free men. Such are my sentiments as to the state of Ireland; agreeing, as I do, with the sentiments of my right hon. friend, whose exertions this night in the cause of his native country, are above my poor praise, and do equal honour to his talents and to his patriotism; still I differ from him in the application of that sentiment. Besides, the motion in its present form goes to censure the late proceedings of parliament, with respect to that country; and I do not think that the house would readily acquiesce in imposing a censure upon itself. I am willing to give every credit to the motives of my right hon. friend in making the present motion, but it is not to be expected that I am now to censure my own act in voting for the two bills, which the present state of Ireland, and that of Europe, as affecting Ireland, in my mind rendered necessary.

Mr. *Dillon* declared, that the adoption of the proposition before the house, must be considered as a solemn pledge of a new system of policy to be pursued with regard to the government of Ireland. It was a question of two modes of governing a country, which was admitted to be in a perpetual state of radical discontent. With regard to the government of such a country, two modes only could be resorted to—the one which he should recommend, namely, by removing the causes of such alleged discontent; the other, by adopting such vigorous and restrictive measures as those lately adopted, the effect of which was to guard against the ill effects of the bad system of policy pursued—a system which would consecrate abuse and reign only by arbitrary power. As to the effects of such a system, he must be allowed to state an axiom which had been agreed upon at all times, and by all the eminent persons who had ever written or spoken upon political economy—this axiom was, that a state would sooner recover from the effects of war, and conflagration, and general devastation, provided the period which should ensue should be one in which such a state should have full advantages of excellent laws and excellent government—than a state which had not been afflicted by such calamities, but had habitually groaned under bad government, restrictive laws, or commercial and civil liberty, during a period of unprofitable monotonous peace. To illustrate this axiom, he had only to look to the history of Ireland during the period of the two last centuries; and he was constrained to give the preference to the former century, although disturbed and afflicted by frequent wars, over the last century, although a period of profound peace. Here he took a view of the state of Ireland from queen Elizabeth's reign to the year 1698, when the woollen trade was destroyed, and the articles of Limerick infringed, proving how much Ireland had comparatively flourished when laws had been passed in favour of commercial and civil liberty, though in a most disturbed period: and how low she had been since, owing to such restrictive laws, up to 1799, when she recovered her trade. He earnestly recommended the people of Ireland always to look to the period of the glorious æra of 1782, and not to the disgraceful one of 1798; in the one they obtained their liberties—in the other they lost them; that they should follow Mr. Grattan's advice, and pursue legitimate objects by legitimate means.—With regard to that intolerable grievance, the present tithing system, he anticipated objections on the part of the chancellor of the exchequer, on the score of danger to the church, by meddling with church property. But this had been done already by lord Castlereagh, who had brought in a bill at the time of passing the act of Union, exempting pasture lands from the payment of tithe of agistment, as it was called—a most invidious and oppressive exemption.—It was impossible to argue more at length, when the gentlemen opposite would not condescend to notice any observations from his side of the house—there was nothing for him to refute. He concluded by giving his warm support to Mr Sheridan's motion.

Mr. *Windham* thought the disturbances in Ireland were to be imputed solely to an ill-judged system of misrule in that country. The Irish had been long asking, not so much for the rights of the constitution, as the rights of nature. As to a French party in Ireland, he not only believed that there was a French party, but that there ever had been a French party there, and, was it wise to give that party strength by the refusal of concessions, to which the population of Ireland had so just a claim? At the same time, he did not mean in the least degree to call in question the propriety of the late two bills—the Insurrection and the Arms bills. It had been satisfactorily proved to every individual in that house, that there was an existing necessity in Ireland for the enactment of those measures, on the great and incontrovertible authority of his right hon. friend upon his left hand (Mr. Grattan). He had stated, that there was a French party in Ireland, and that those measures were necessary; if his right hon. friend had not information to be relied on with respect to Ireland, he (Mr. Windham) did not know who had; and if the same character had not an interest in every thing connected with that country, he was really at a loss to find out who had. He disapproved, too, of the manner in which his right hon. friend upon his right (Mr. Sheridan) had thrown out his objections with respect to the state of Ireland. In exciting Ireland to discontent, he was afraid it was spurring a willing horse, though he did not wish at the same time to have it understood, that he thought the conciliatory effort of his right hon. friend in making the motion he had submitted to the house, like the sly horseman; who,

> While his off-heel, insidiously aside,
> Provokes the caper which he seems to chide,

he did not mean to insinuate that; but he should certainly be very cautious how far he would hold out to a people promises of relief, when there were no means of relief in his power. The attempt of the late ministers had been defeated, and in a manner that left no room for hope. It was one thing to talk of relief to the great mass of a population, but it was a different thing to administer it. He acceded most cordially to the principle, that that house should not lose sight of Ireland. It was the out-post, and an out-post that endangered in its loss the safety of the place itself. He was convinced that their union was essential to the very existence of Great Britain. Ireland was the most vulnerable, and at the same time the most mortal part of the empire. He did not much like tampering with her. It was like the abrupt removal of bandages: the bad handling of the bandages might do a great deal of unintentional mischief by giving rise to a considerable portion of irritation. As to the specific object of the motion now before the house, he did not know well how to refuse his assent to it: he should hope that the pledge was unnecessary, but nevertheless, when required of him, he did not think he could consistently refuse it. He was willing to pledge himself along with the house, that the state of Ireland should have their early and most grave consideration; for he felt that such a pledge was due to the discontents existing in that ill-treated country. He earnestly hoped that the house would, in the present instance, have no objection to pledge itself to do what was acknowledged upon all sides to be its duty, and a duty of the first magnitude.

Lord *William Russell* felt peculiar regret at being obliged to differ, in the slightest degree, from his right honourable friends, as he hoped his sincere admiration for the talents and character of both would allow him the privilege of calling them, (messrs. Grattan and Windham); but he could not forbear expressing his dissent from some of the points they had respectively urged, in justification of the two bills which had lately passed that house, the grounds of which, it was the object of his honourable friend's motion to bring under the future revision of parliament: he felt indeed more imperiously bound to attempt some explanation of his sentiments, as one honourable gentleman (Mr. Grattan) had rested a main part of his argument on the circumstance of the persons who composed the late administration of Ireland having adopted a similar measure.—For that government, in all its parts, it would be easily believed, no person could possibly entertain a higher respect than himself; to the noble duke who had been at the head of it he was bound by every tie that could attach man to man, not only by the nearest consanguinity and the most affectionate intimacy, which had subsisted between them from their earliest infancy, but also from a perfect reciprocity of opinion on all political topics; the authority of that noble person was with him all but omnipotent: he had likewise so favourable a judgment of all those who were associated with his noble relation in the administration of his government, that, had they continued in office, he should have consented, by his vote, to the provisions lately enacted without hesitation, though certainly not without deep regret; giving full credit to their representation of the necessity, and entertaining an implicit reliance on their discretion and forbearance in the exercise of the extraordinary powers entrusted to their hands: but the confidence he should have reposed in them, he could not extend to their successors.—It had been the grand principle of the government over which his noble relation had presided, to conciliate all the differences, to allay the jealousies and animosities that had so long distracted that unhappy country; to restore the blessing of harmony, to unite all descriptions of men, and, above all, to establish that most important desideratum, a mutual confidence between the people and their magistrates and rulers.—He challenged a single instance in which they had departed from that wise and beneficent plan.—Of the noble duke (Richmond) who had been appointed to succeed him, he did not wish to insinuate any thing the least disrespectful; he knew him to be possessed of many great and excellent qualities, and of his merit in any respect he did not entertain the smallest doubt:—but that noble duke was now officially connected with a party in this country, whose system of policy he more than doubted; he was convinced it was fundamentally bad; the duke of Bedford's moderation had been condemned in that house, by persons now high in the administration of this country, who had deprecated the effects of what they termed his mistaken lenity.—What had resulted from the opposite course which had been pursued with little intermission for centuries?—The necessity of the late bills!—And was it really thought possible that the same treatment which had occasioned the disease should afterwards operate as its cure?—It would be an unwarrantable trespass on the indulgence of the house to go into a detailed examination of the plan on which Ireland had been governed ever since her conquest under Henry the Second, and deduce a regular train of consequences from a perseverance in the same line of conduct towards her, during a period of 600 years; though such an investigation would undoubtedly open a field of reflection from which many very useful lessons might be drawn: we had throughout treated her only as a conquered country, we had never appeared even to suppose the possibility of her interests being identified with ours; instead of nourishing her strength, as an addition to our own resources with the fostering care of an anxious parent towards a child; we had exacted her services as a task-master from a slave, and consequently, both nations had viewed each other with the natural distrust of persons standing in so odious a relation.—It was necessary, however, and sufficient for the present purpose, particularly to draw the attention of the house to the history of the last eleven years, during which the present laws had existed; they were first adopted, he believed, for 4 years;—did they in that time remedy the grievance?—No—they were then renewed for seven, still the condition of the country remained the same; and we had now been called on to continue them for three more.—We had had sufficient time to judge of the merit of the tree by the fruit it had produced, and surely it was now time to abandon a project that had so indisputably failed. Were we to content ourselves with ringing the changes on the number of years for which such measures were to be passed, and set with our hands before us in these times of danger, patiently waiting to see different effects, flow from the same causes? He feared those who encouraged such hopes would be lamentably disappointed:

> " Rusticus expectat dum defluet amnis; at ille
> " Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum."

Nothing short of a revolution in the whole moral world could bring about such a state of things, as to produce security from a long continuance of rigour and restriction; as long as the human mind remained as it was, so long would force alienate love, and oppression engender faction, tumult, and rebellion. His right honourable friend (Mr. Grattan) had dwelt with much force on the actual existence of a French party in Ireland; on such high authority he did not question the fact; and he thought the cause of its existence might be traced in the uniform neglect of that liberal counsel, which the honourable gentleman had himself suggested through an honourable and long political life. The honourable gentleman had drawn with his wonted energy of expression, a just and horrid picture of that misery, that had invariably fallen from French alliance, on the unfortunate countries who had been in their turns her victims or dupes, But, much as he admired the brilliancy of his eloquence, highly as he admired the principle from which it sprung, strongly as he felt the justice of its application; still he would take the liberty of saying, that it was at present almost unnecessary; since the fate of Holland, of Genoa, and of Italy, were so notorious and apparent, that even in the least informed classes of society there were few who were not in some measure acquainted with the atrocities that attended them: yet in spite of all this, in the face of such examples, it was said there still existed a French party in Ireland! Gracious God! was it possible to imagine a more irresistible argument for a grave, impartial, and thorough investigation into the whole state of that country, than a fact so monstrous, as that, in defiance of these terrible warnings, there were yet men so disaffected, so impatient of British dominion, as even to prefer to it the destructive aid and poisonous embrace of our implacable enemy, and this too among a people as brave, as generous, and naturally as affectionate as any race under heaven.—In the course of the debate, a great deal had been said of the concessions made to Ireland during his present majesty's reign; but he confessed, he wished the value of them was more apparent to him, or rather that he could think they were so considered by those on whom they had been bestowed. In the year 1782, he had indeed granted them, in the repeal of Poyning's law, the important boon of an independent legislature, but then he thought it could not be denied that, subsequently by the union, that valuable privilege had in fact been virtually cancelled; for it was obvious that in the united parliament, British councils, and British interest must predominate, and therefore he feared Irish objects were only to be attained by the adherence of her representatives to the ministerial side of the house. To that union, however, much as he had objected to it, he was, now that it was established, as desirous as any one of giving permanence and stability, but he was afraid it was the general impression in Ireland, that it had been obtained under false pretences. As the price of her consent, Ireland had been promised all the blessings in spirit as well as form of the British constitution, the Catholics of Ireland had been promised a free participation in all the rights and benefits enjoyed by their fellow subjects; and the name of a great departed minister had been pledged for the performance, but the pledge remained unredeemed. He saw on the opposite bench a noble lord (Castlereagh) who had been principally instrumental in carrying that measure into effect; but he did not see a right hon. gent. now high in the administration of the affairs of Ireland (Mr. Foster), or he would have wished to address himself to him. He remembered to have heard that hon. gent. charge the noble lord, directly, and to his face, with having carried the union by the means of corruption, and an undue exercise of arbitrary power.—They were now closely allied, and both holding high situations in the administration of the country: What were the Irish to feel when they saw nothing proceed from such a junction but renewed restrictions on them? when they received no attention from government, but for the purpose of coercion? He concluded by repeating, that, as he should readily have voted for the " Arms and Insurrection bills," had they been only as means of defence in prosecuting a system of a different nature, yet he had not been able to approve of them as a material part of the system itself—though he could have granted them as auxiliaries, he could not as principals, but as they were now passed, he thought all that remained was, if possible, to obtain some pledge, that parliament would resume that enquiry into the state of Ireland which the late government had set on foot; he thought the motion of his right hon. friend was well adapted for this purpose, and he was happy to find that he should concur in the vote with many of those friends, with whom, in a former instance, it had been so painful to him to disagree.

Mr. *Lockhart* was surprized at the indiscretion of the right hon. mover; for to represent Ireland as treated worse than a conquered country, and as having neither arms to fight with, nor any thing to fight for, and as oppressed or neglected by the legislature, contrary to the fact, tended to irritate that country, and to promote disunion between the united kingdoms. He was also surprized, that the right hon. gent. should represent the acts of a legislature, that was distinguished by cosmopolitan beneficence, as the evil of which Ireland had to complain. So far from being a suspension of the constitution, these acts were but the exercise of it. To call forth the powers given by the constitution for the protection of the peaceable and loyal subjects, was but to put the constitution in force. He was happy that the example of the right hon. gent. had not been followed by the other right hon. gent. who spoke from the same bench, and had pointed out certain measures for the relief of Ireland. As to the measure respecting education, he entirely agreed with that right hon. gent.; and as to a composition for tithes, if that should be necessary, he would not oppose it, provided that composition were to be progressive with the times, and as well secured as tithes were in this country to the clergy. As to the question of emancipation, his difficulty was, that the principles of the religion would, in the event of the Catholics getting power, be dangerous to the Protestant ascendancy. He thought that all governments, from which concessions or boons were demanded, should secure a due obedience to the laws before granting them, lest they should be received as proceeding from weakness, and not from wisdom and benevolence, and thus excite contempt instead of gratitude. He should vote against the motion, because it implied a dereliction of duty on their parts, and a censure upon acts of the legislature, the necessity for which had been admitted on all hands.

Mr. *Herbert* observed, that it was by the adoption of such plans as had been suggested by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Grattan), that the people of Ireland were to be gained over. He could not support the motion in its present shape; but, if the right hon. mover would consent to leave out all after the word "session," he should then vote for it.

Mr. *Lockhart* was surprized at the indiscretion of the right hon. mover; for to represent Ireland as treated worse than a conquered country, and as having neither arms to fight with, nor any thing to fight for, and as oppressed or neglected by the legislature, contrary to the fact, tended to irritate that country, and to promote disunion between the united kingdoms. He was also surprized, that the right hon. gent. should represent the acts of a legislature, that was distinguished by cosmopolitan beneficence, as the evil of which Ireland had to complain. So far from being a suspension of the constitution, these acts were but the exercise of it. To call forth the powers given by the constitution for the protection of the peaceable and loyal subjects, was but to put the constitution in force. He was happy that the example of the right hon. gent. had not been followed by the other right hon. gent. who spoke from the same bench, and had pointed out certain measures for the relief of Ireland. As to the measure respecting education, he entirely agreed with that right hon. gent.; and as to a composition for tithes, if that should be necessary, he would not oppose it, provided that composition were to be progressive with the times, and as well secured as tithes were in this country to the clergy. As to the question of emancipation, his difficulty was, that the principles of the religion would, in the event of the Catholics getting power, be dangerous to the Protestant ascendancy. He thought that all governments, from which concessions or boons were demanded, should secure a due obedience to the laws before granting them, lest they should be received as proceeding from weakness, and not from wisdom and benevolence, and thus excite contempt instead of gratitude. He should vote against the motion, because it implied a dereliction of duty on their parts, and a censure upon acts of the legislature, the necessity for which had been admitted on all sides.

Mr. *Sheridan* rose amidst cries of "question," and expressed his hope that the house would indulge him with the privilege usually granted to persons who brought forward a motion, and hear his reply to such arguments as seemed to him peculiarly to call for attention. Of this privilege he would not avail himself at any length. First, then, he should have no objection whatever to alter his motion in the manner proposed; and, indeed, to any alteration that did not destroy the substance of his motion, he had already pledged himself to agree—[The Speaker here interrupted the right hon. gent. and informed him, that consistently with the resolution of 1778, and the usages of the house, there could be no alteration in the motion after the previous question had been put].—Mr. Sheridan, in continuation observed, that in that case he had no doubt the right hon. gent. opposite would withdraw his motion, in compliance with the general wish of the house. He wished to have his answer. [No answer.] Well, the time for answering was not yet come perhaps. However, nothing in the world had been more misunderstood in this respect than the motion which he had submitted. Gentlemen seemed to suppose that he had censured the passing of the late bills, and thereby called upon the house to censure its own acts. He never had such intention, nor could his motion by any one who took the trouble to attend to it, be supposed to carry any such meaning. He had distinctly declared in his speech, that he had no such intention. But, it might be said, that though not in his speech, it might be in his motion. What, then, was his motion?—"That the house should take such measures as would render the provisions of the bills, lately with reluctance passed, unnecessary." What did his right hon. friend and his hon. friend over the way (Mr. Herbert) object to? They could not surely object to the word "reluctantly." His hon. friend over the way said, that he would join with him if he would strike out the latter part of his motion. What was that? Why, that the permanency of such measures would totally destroy the constitution. Did any one object to this? Then, he would be glad to see the man who would stand up in his place, and say that such enactments ought to be permanent, or that, if permanent, they did not completely overturn the constitution. These acts were to be in force for 3 years; and under these circumstances there was at least a reversion of the constitution. But, if you thought that the permanency of such acts did not infringe the constitution, then you ought to make them permanent at once, for in that case where was the use of hesitation? Such enactments could not be considered in any other light, than as infringements of the constitution; and therefore it was the duty of every man to limit their duration, as much as the necessity of the case would allow.—He felt it necessary to make some observations on what had fallen from the hon. gent. on the bench below him. With all the respect he had for that hon. gent.'s (Mr. Lockhart's) abilities; with all his deference to his means of information, and to the authority which he appeared to have with some, yet, not being intimately acquainted with the hon. gent., and not having an opportunity of observing those talents and information that had been ascribed to him by those who knew him better, he was perfectly excusable in not giving him that entire confidence that had been given by others. That hon. gent. had said, that he had listened with great anxiety to his speech, because he expected that he (Mr. S.) would have first stated the evil, and then the remedy. The hon. gent. might have listened to his speech with anxiety, but he had certainly done so with more anxiety than attention. He said, that he (Mr. S.) ought to have pointed out the grievance. Certainly not. He never thought that he was bound specifically to do that in the present instance. When ministers came to him, asking him to give his assent to such regulations as these, the *onus probandi* lay with them. They were to shew what grievances called for such measures, and that, too, before the measures were passed. "But no," said the hon. gent., "pass your bills first, and then let us hear of grievances." Enquiry ought to have preceded the passing of these enactments, and the necessity for them ought to have been proved. However, the house had passed the bills, and all he wanted now was, that they should give a pledge to enquire whether they had passed them on good grounds or not. This was all he asked. His object was to keep this subject perpetually before the house. If the bills had been enacted only for a year, there would have been less cause for his motion. But as the period of their duration extended to three years, his object was, and he hoped the result of an enquiry would prove it unnecessary, to continue them for more than one year. This, he was, for his own part, persuaded, would turn out to be the case, unless gentlemen chose to continue in ignorance, and rejected the means of acquiring information. But the hon. gent. dwelt a good deal upon general doctrine, and said that a boon ought not to be granted till you were strong, and had enabled yourselves to crush your petitioners if you chose! He (Mr. S.) had really thought that men could distinguish between good and bad treatment, and that the one produced gratitude and attachment, as naturally as the other did revenge and hatred! "But no," said the hon. gent., "make them fear you first, that they may love you afterwards!" Then the hon. gent. accused him of having said that Ireland had been used worse than a conquered country. Certainly, he had said that England had adopted a more ignorant and barbarous system of management with respect to Ireland, than ever any one nation with any pretensions to civilization had adopted with respect to another. The hon. gent. said, that he was taken a-back with regard to this statement, when he allowed that concessions had been made in the present reign, and consequently the system charged. This, he supposed, was meant, for he did not pretend to understand the phrase "taken a-back," not being a naval man, as the hon. gent. probably was. That the concessions had been made with a very ill grace, he had certainly said. He did not wish, as he had said before, to produce any irritation whatever; but if the times and circumstances when these concessions were made were considered, it would be found that they had rather been wrung from most unwilling minds, than conferred in an open, liberal, and generous manner. He (Mr. S.) deprecated waiting for such times and circumstances. He was for conferring favours when they might be ascribed to a sense of generosity and justice, and not for waiting till they could be demanded, when you would not dare to refuse them. Now, his right hon. friend on the bench near him, (Mr. Grattan,) had made a more able speech in favour of his motion than he himself could possibly do. That speech was characteristic of his wonted genius and eloquence, and every thing must be full of genius, animation, and eloquence, that came from him. This very speech was one great instance of the benefits to be derived from the motion now submitted to the house; for his right hon. friend had in the course of it thrown out more information respecting the state of Ireland than ever had been communicated by any other member, or at any period for some time past.—But, another member accused him of libelling the legislation of this country, and our cosmopolitan and philanthropic parliament! But what had our most philanthropic parliament done for Ireland? Why, they had legislated without enquiry for that country; but, if his motion had been proposed and agreed to, 2 or 3 years ago, parliament would have been better able to have legislated for Ireland. For the proof of this he would only refer to the speech of his right hon. friend, who had exposed the abuses with respect to tithes, the non-residence of the clergy, and the state of the Protestant schools. The hon. gent. seemed to be mightily offended at his saying that government had not been attentive to Ireland. For a proof of this, too, he referred to the speech of his right hon. friend (Mr. Grattan), who had stated that 8000 acres of land only supported 18 Protestant schools; and yet, with all this before them, some gentlemen pretended that government had paid the requisite attention to the state of Ireland! He hoped, however, that an attention of a different sort would be given it. Ireland expected this; England expected it; and the result, he had no doubt, would be beneficial to both countries.—His right hon. friend had adverted to the state of tithes in Ireland, and from the ill-constructed method of collecting and managing them, had deduced a great part of the evils under which Ireland laboured. The "Hearts of Steel"—the "White Boys"—the "Bright Boys"—and the "Threshers," all arose from the tithes which appeared the most cruel of the burthens under which the lower ranks of people in Ireland groaned. Why, then, did not this sufficiently account for the disaffection in Ireland, without having recourse to the idea of a French faction? His right hon. friend admitted the general loyalty of the people of Ireland; but still said, there was a French party in Ireland—a French party but contemptible—a miserable faction destitute of talents and energy, and of trifling numbers. What he wanted, then, was, to have the nature of this danger ascertained, to see in what it consisted, to find out the strength of this French faction, and, if so contemptible as his right ion. friend had said, to apply a remedy qual to the disease, and not to overturn the whole constitution of the country on account of a wretched faction. His right hon. riend close by him, (Mr. Windham,) had aid, that he seemed to hold the concessions to the Roman Catholics cheap. He certainly had never done so, and his ight hon. friend was mistaken. He had aid, that if what was called Catholic emancipation was granted without some other measures in favour of the poorer classes, it might excite envy and jealousy in them—the benefits to them they would consider as not running *pari passu*, with those of their superiors, and certainly without some caution what was intended to promote harmony, might become the excitement to contention. But, what did the bill proposed by the late administration in favour of the Catholics do?—It certainly did a great deal indeed when it proposed to abolish the restrictions on the Roman Catholic officer, when he came to a certain rank; an officer who stood in the singular situation, that he rose till he had an opportunity of doing some act worthy of preferment, and however great the services he might perform, there he stopped, and the disabilities under which he laboured, damped his ardour, and rendered him less fit or disposed for enterprise and exertion. The unfortunate Catholic officer might, therefore, be said to rise to his degradation. The removal of such restrictions was doing much, and the best effects would certainly have followed from the adoption of such a measure. Was it not better to put confidence in the Irish than to bind them down by restrictions? The enemy might hope to break their chains, but they could not expect to turn towards them those hearts, that had been conciliated by kindness and confidence. Instead, therefore, of putting them on trial, his wish certainly would be, to give them the benefits of the constitution before they mustered in the field. Instead of the yoke of slavery, he would hang the privilege of the constitution about their necks, and arm them with their rights. He again repeated, that if no other good effect should result from this motion, than an acknowledgment, on the part of parliament, of the importance of the subject, the motion ought to be adopted. Charles the First asked Seldon "What was the best way to put down a rebellion?" to which Seldon answered, "remove the cause." He begged of the government to apply this answer to Ireland, and put an end to disaffection there, by removing the cause.

Mr. *Fuller* thought that a proper and just view of the state of Ireland, could not be obtained without an enquiry.

Mr. *Cochrane Johnstone* supported the resolution; and thought that parliament would become discredited in Ireland, if on all occasions a deaf ear was turned to the complaints of the people of Ireland.—The house then divided; For Mr. Sheridan's motion 33; Against it 76.

List of the Minority.

Bradshaw, C.
Barnard, S.
Cavendish, Lord G.
Cavendish, W.
Calcraft, J.
Coombe, H. C.
Craig, J.
Dillon, H. A.
Dawson, R.
Folkestone, Lord
Gipps, G.
Grattan, H.
Herbert, H. A.
Hibbert, G.
Johnstone, C.
Johnstone, G. A.
Lambe, W.
Laurence, Dr.
Moore, P.
Maxwell, J.
Noel, G. N.
Petty, Lord H.
Parry, J. H.
Piggott, Sir A.
Phillips, R. M.
Romilly, Sir S.
Russell, Lord W.
Sheridan, R. B.
Somerville, Sir M. H.
Sharpe, R.
Windham, W.
Ward, J. W.
Wilder, F.

[Propositions respecting the State of the Army.] When strangers were readmitted,

Mr. *Windham* was on his legs, and stating that he meant to propose some Resolutions relative to the Army, merely expressing facts as they appeared by the papers on the table. He understood the noble lord had some resolutions to propose also, but they consisted of reasoning instead of fact. He did not like this reasoning in Resolutions. It was like turning the statutes into verse, or like turning the speeches of the noble lord into rhyme to amuse the house at 5 o'clock in the morning.—After some conversation between Mr. Windham, lord Castlereagh, and the Speaker, it was agreed that the Resolutions of each should be put separately, and the debate on them adjourned to this day se'nnight. They were as follow.

Mr. Windham's Propositions.

I.—That the effective strength of the army was,

	Regulars.	Militia.	Total
On the 1st of March 1807	173,600.	75,182.	248,782.
On the 1st of March 1807	181,856.	77,211.	259,067.

A reduction having in the mean time taken place, of a local corps of 3,000 men and upwards, in the island of Ceylon.

II.—That the provisions of certain acts

of parliament passed during the year 1806, and having in view the better ordering of the army, and the improvement of the condition of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, took effect from the 24th of June in the said year.

III.—That from the 1st of July following, the number of recruits raised for the regular army (exclusive of those raised for foreign and colonial corps, and 650 men for a regiment commanded by the hon. col. Dillon) was,

		being at the rate per annum of
In the first period of three months, ending on the 1st of October 1806 -	2,770	11,080.
In the 2d period, ending on the 1st of January 1807	3,496	13,934.
In the 3d period, ending on the 1st of April 1807 -	5,335	21,340.
In the 4th period, ending on the 1st of July 1807	6,078	24,312.

IV.—That on the 25th of October 1806, the bounty to recruits was reduced,

For the Cavalry, from £. 13. 8. to 8. 3.
For the Infantry - - 16. 16. - 11. 11.

V.—That the number of recruits raised for the regular army in Great Britain and Ireland, according to the adjutant-general's returns, was, in the first six months of

	By ordinary Recruiting:	Additional Force:	Total:
1805 - -	6,736. -	4,187. - -	10,923.
1806 - -	4,949. -	4,534. - -	10,783.
1807 - -	11,413. -	- - - - -	11,413.

VI.—That, amongst the numbers raised in the first six months of 1805, are included 3,089 raised by officers recruiting for rank.

VII.—That the men raised under the Additional Force act were for home service only, and might be of any height not less than five feet two inches, and of any age between 18 and 45.

VIII.—That in the regular army no man could be received but between the ages of 18 and 30, and of a height not less than 5 feet 4 inches; the standard for men not entering for general service, but choosing their own regiments, being 5 feet 5 inches, and for the guards and cavalry still higher.

IX.—That by recruits raised by ordinary recruiting, are meant men raised either at the head quarters of regiments, or by the recruiting districts late under the superintendence of the inspector-general.

X.—That according to the war-office return of recruits for whom bounty has been drawn as raised at the head quarters of regiments in Great Britain, and the inspector-general's return of the numbers raised by the recruiting districts, the produce of the ordinary recruiting was, during the first six months of

	At Head Quarters of Regiments in Gt. Britain:	By Recruiting Districts in Gt. Britain:	By Do. in Ireland:	Total:
1805 - -	1,470. -	2,327. -	912. -	4,709.
1806 - -	1,084. -	1,957. -	953. -	3,994.
1807 - -	2,536. -	6,115. -	2,396. -	11,047.

XI.—That the number of men who volunteered from limited to unlimited service was, during six months

Ending 1 July 1805 - - -	2,225.
- - 1 Jan. 1806 - - -	2,863.
- - 1 July 1806 - - -	2,413.
- - 1 Jan. 1807 - - -	7,081.

XII.—That the number of men who deserted from the army at home was, during the first six months of

	In Great Britain:	In Ireland:
1805 - - -	1 in 202. - -	1 in 204.
1806 - - -	1 in 217. - -	1 in 235.
1807 - - -	1 in 293. - -	1 in 205.

XIII.—That the number of men who deserted from the recruiting districts was, during the first six months of

1805 - - - -	1 in 10.
1806 - - - - -	1 in 10.
1807 - - - - -	1 in 12.

Lord Castlereagh's Propositions.

I.—That the increase of 8,256 men, as stated, in the regular army, between March 1806 and March 1807, has been produced by 2,908 men received from the Irish militia, and 3,542 under the Additional Force act.—Total 6,450 men;—without which aids (deducting our losses in Egypt and South America, viz. 2,185 men, which appear in the effectives of the army on the 1st of March 1807) the army would have decreased, under the regulations established in June 1806, in the number of 379 men.—That the regular army has been progressively increasing, previous to the establishment of the new system of levying men, as follows; the amount being,

On the 1st of July 1804 - - -	141,740.
Do. - - - 1805 - - -	162,997.
Do. - - - 1806 - - -	175,997.

III. A.—That the number of recruits raised quarterly for the regular army, between the 1st of March 1805, and 1st of March 1806, when the repeal of the Additional Force act was determined on, was (exclusive of foreign and colonial levies, and of men transferred from the militia) as follows;

	Number raised.	Rate per Ann.
1st Qr. ending July 1, 1805 - -	4,865. - -	19,460.
2d Qr. ending Dec. 1, 1805 - -	4,252. - -	17,008.
3d Qr. ending Jan. 1, 1806 - -	4,790. - -	19,160.
4th Qr. ending Apl. 1, 1806 - -	6,096. - -	24,384.

III. B.—That the number of men raised as above, between the 1st of April 1805 and ne 1st of April 1806, was 20,003; the umber between July 1806 and July 1807, 7,689, being 2,314 less than in the former year; whereas the number of boys ncluded in the 17,689, exceeded by 1,076 ne number included in the 20,003, the receding year's produce.

III. c.—That the number of men obained for regular service, including men ansferred from the militia (and excluve of foreign and colonial levies) was, etween July 1805 and July 1806, 33,693 men; between July 1806 and July 1807, 0,681, being 13,012 men less than in the receding year, exclusive of the services f the men raised in the latter years being eterminable in seven or ten year, accordng to the terms of their enlistment.

III. d.—That whilst the number of men evied in the latter year was less than in the ormer, as stated in the preceding Resoluions, an annual additional charge of 450,000*l.* n increased pay and pensions to the army has been incurred, as an encouragement to nduce men to enlist, being at the rate of about 25*l.* per man; on the number of men raised within the year; and which expence must be here after largely increased, in proportion as the pensions on 14 and 21 years service come into operation.

III. e.—That during the former year the recruiting parties did not exceed in number 405; that in the latter year they had been increased to 1,113, exclusive of above 400 extra recruiting officers; and from the 8th of Dec. 1806, 54 second battalions have been recruiting, under an intimation, that if they did not raise 400 men each in 6 months, the battalions would be then reduced, and the officers placed on half-pay; which extraordinary increase of the number of recruiting parties must be considered not only as highly prejudicial to the discipline and efficiency of the army, but as so much expence incurred for the levy of men, as distinguished from the performance of regimental duty.

III. f.—That whilst the number of men raised as above for the regular service, has in the latter year been reduced, the proportion of desertions in the army serving at home has been rather increased; the proportion being, in the five successive half-yearly periods, as follows;

Desertions in the Army at Home:

Jan. 1805 to July 1805 - - -	1 in 194.
July 1805 to Jan. 1806 - - -	1 in 152.
Jan. 1806 to July 1806 - - -	1 in 275.
July 1806 to Jan. 1807 - - -	1 in 243.
Jan. 1807 to July 1807 - - -	1 in 236.

IV.—That the expence of levy money for general service has been reduced—for cavalry, from 19*l.* to 15*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* and for infantry, from 22*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* to 18*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* But the term of service has also been reduced, from service for life to service for ten and seven years, which supposes two additional periods of enlistment, and consequently two additional bounties in the course of a service of 21 years, exclusive of the additional pay and pensions above referred to.

VI.—That among the number raised in the first six months of 1807, being 11,413 men, 8,035 have been raised by the 54 second battalions; that is, by officers recruiting to avoid reduction.

VII. and VIII.—That, with the exception of 6,242 men transferred to garrison battalions, all men raised under the Army of Reserve and Additional Force acts have been since enlisted into the line, being of the age and height required by his majesty's regulations; and amongst the men so transferred to garrison battalions, are included all men who did not choose to enter for general service, without reference to age or height.

XI.—That the men volunteering from limited to unlimited service, from 1st July 1806, to 1st January 1807, received ten guineas bounty for only extending their service from local to general service; whereas before that period (the bounty being the same) the men transferring themselves to the line, exchanged their service, not only from home to foreign service, but from service limited in point of time to service for life; and the men in the latter period, who refused to transfer their services, were ordered to be drafted into garrison battalions.

Transports.—I. That the transports at home on the first of March 1806, consisted of 380 ships, and 87,717 tons; of which 50 ships and 16,894 tons were fitted for foreign service, and including tonnage for 1,785 horses.—That the transports at home, on the 24th of March 1807, were 73 ships, and 16,468 tons, of which only 25 ships and 7,807 tons were fitted for foreign service; there being an excess of 307 ships and 71,249 tons at the former period, compared with the latter; and of 25 ships and 9,087 tons fitted for foreign service; in the latter period, the provision was only for 148 horses.

II.—That the above provision of tonnage on the 24th of March 1807, of 73 ships and 16, 468 tons, would have been further reduced under the orders of the treasury of the 22d of January 1807, in the amount of 29 ships and 8,586 tons, had not the full execution of the above orders been prevented by the contracts of 17 being such as to prevent their being paid off, and by nine being under quarantine, having returned on the 20th of March preceding from the Mediterranean.

III.—That the transports on home service, on the 8th of August 1807, consisted of 401 ships and 82,143 tons; of which 67 ships and 20,289 tons were fitted for foreign service, including also a provision for 4,089 horses.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, August 14.

[THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS' SPEECH]. About a quarter before four, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, earl Camden, and lord Hawkesbury took their seats as his majesty's commissioners. Mr. Quarme, the deputy usher of the black rod, was sent to the commons, to require their attendance. Shortly afterwards the Speaker and a number of the members came to the bar, and the royal assent was given to several bills. After which,

The *Lord Chancellor*, in his majesty's name, delivered the following Speech :—

My Lords and Gentlemen;

"We have it in command from his majesty to express the satisfaction with which he finds himself enabled to give you that recess which, after the great and diligent exertions you have made in the dispatch of public business, must at this advanced season of the year, be so peculiarly desirable.—His majesty has been graciously pleased to direct us to return you his thanks for the steady loyalty and attachment to his person and government, and the zealous devotion to the public service which have characterized all your deliberations, and most especially to thank you for the seasonable exertions which you have enabled him to make for the augmentation of the military force of his kingdom.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons;

"His majesty has commanded us to return you his warmest thanks for the supplies which you have granted with so much cheerfulness for the current year; and when he considers the provision which you have made for those contingent and unforeseen services which the events of the war may render necessary, his majesty has the greatest satisfaction in recognizing the wisdom wherewith, in a time of extraordinary difficulties, you have anticipated the possible demands which those difficulties may occasion.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen;

"His majesty commands us to assure you, that he deeply deplores the unfortunate issue of the war upon the continent.—The immense extension of the power and influence of France, and the undisguised determination of the enemy to employ the means and resources of those countries which he possesses or controuls, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of his majesty's kingdom, undoubtedly present a formidable view of the difficulties and dangers which this country has to encounter.—But his majesty trusts, that the loyal and brave people over whom he reigns are not to be daunted or disheartened.—From the recollection of those difficulties under which his people have successfully struggled, and of those dangers which they have happily surmounted, his majesty derives the consolation of believing, that the same spirit and perseverance which have hitherto remained unbroken will continue to be exerted with unabated vigour and success.—And while his majesty commands us to repeat the assurances of his constant readiness to entertain any proposals which may lead to a secure and honourable peace, he commands us at the same time to express his confidence that his parliament and his people will feel with him, the necessity of persevering in those vigorous efforts which alone can give the character of honour to any negotiations, or the prospect of security or permanency to any peace; his majesty, therefore, trusts that his parliament and his people will always be ready to support him in every measure which may be necessary to defeat the designs of his enemies against the independence of his majesty's dominions, and to maintain against any undue pretensions, and against any hostile confederacy, those just rights which his majesty is always desirous to exercise with temper and moderation, but which, as essential to the honour of his crown, and true interests of his people, he is determined never to surrender."—A commission for proroguing parliament to Thursday, the 24th of September, was then read. After which, the lord Chancellor, declared the parliament to be prorogued to Thursday, the 24th of September next, to be then there holden.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, August 14.

A little before four o'clock the deputy

usher of the black rod summoned the house to the house of peers, to hear the commission read. On their return, the Speaker called the members round the table, and having read to them the Speech delivered by the lords commissioners, the members separated.—Thus ended the first session of the fourth parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

[Militia Transfer Bill.] The following will be found a more correct report of the Speech of Lord Sidmouth on the 12th of August, than the one inserted at page 1181.

Lord *Sidmouth* said, there were a few points to which he was desirous of adverting previous to their lordships' final decision upon this bill. It had been acknowledged on a former day by the noble secretary of state (lord Hawkesbury), that his majesty's ministers, after having determined upon the expediency of augmenting our military force, had balanced between the present measure, and the renewal of the Army of Reserve. He had himself made such a comparison, but, for reasons which he had before stated, he had come to a different conclusion. He indeed recollected, and with great satisfaction, that all the members of his majesty's present government, whether in, or out of office, in the years 1803 and 1804, had supported the measure which he now preferred: and in the spring of 1804, when, in consequence of the high rate of bounties occasioned by the number of men (195,000, exclusive of volunteers) raised within 13 months, he proposed only a suspension of this measure, that proposition was resisted by a large minority of the house of commons, and particularly by a right hon. gent. now unhappily no more (Mr. Pitt), who declared that he should recommend the compulsory principle of that bill as the basis of a plan for the increase of our domestic force, and for the permanent supply of the army. This intention was indeed afterwards abandoned, under circumstances, into which, for reasons which, he trusted, were obvious, he did not now wish to enter. But even after this change of intention, the army of reserve was highly and continually applauded, and he was convinced that if the life of the distinguished person to whom he had alluded had been spared, that he would himself have recommended it to the adoption of parliament.—But the noble baron (lord Hawkesbury) had stated, that the chief objection to the renewal of this measure, was founded upon the remission of the fines in those places, where the required quota of men for the army of reserve had not been raised. This, he begged leave to say, was not accurate either in reasoning, or in statement. If such an example was injurious in its tendency, which he acknowledged it to be, however unavoidable in the particular case, the argument was as strong against a ballot for the militia, as for the army of reserve; as the remission of the fines afforded the same encouragement to neglect in one case, as in the other. But, in fact, the observation did not fairly apply to the army of reserve at all. It was true that under the act by which that force was to be constituted, penalties were to be levied where the number of men required to be raised by ballot, had not been procured; but by Mr. Pitt's Additional Force bill those penalties were transferred to a failure in procuring a number of men (equal to the deficiencies in the army of reserve), not by ballot, as under the Army of Reserve bill, but by voluntary recruiting, through the agency of parish officers for a limited bounty; and it was one of the numerous objections to that measure, that it inflicted punishment in cases where there might have been no neglect. This injustice had been illustrated at the time, by comparing it to that of directing a person, when wheat was 7*s.* 6*d.* per bushel, to purchase that quantity for 5*s.*, and to fine him if he could not procure it at such a price. And what in fact had been the operation of that bill? Of the intended and expected number a small part only had been raised, and of that part not a moiety by the means required by the bill, notwithstanding the official exhortations of the noble baron (lord H.), which had the obvious and recorded effect of checking the ordinary recruiting service, for the purpose of giving ostensible success to this favoured measure. It failed however in all respects; and it would have been the height of injustice to levy penalties where there had been no misconduct, and where the fault was not in the agents but in the measure itself. The remission of the fines must therefore be admitted to afford a striking comment on the inefficacy and injustice of the Additional Force bill, but no argument whatever against the renewal of the army of reserve. But the noble lord had laid great stress on the advantages which would arise from the possession of a large body of militia upon the restoration of peace; as in that event all who had served 5 years would be disbanded. This, however, has a contingent benefit: if the war continued 5 years longer, it would not occur; and the reasoning, upon which it was founded, went the length of asserting, that such a measure as the present, with all the inconveniences attending it, ought always to be resorted to, when hostilities had been of four or five years continuance; and that the country would be made weaker for a time during war, for the chance of being rendered somewhat stronger, than it would otherwise be, on the restoration of peace. This argument, however, appeared to him to be a feeble attempt to support an exceptionable measure, the execution of which, even if successful, would, by disturbing and unsettling the militia, impair, in the first instance, our actual means of defence, and afterwards afford an augmentation ill suited and inadequate to the present exigency, and to the perilous situation of the country.

LIST OF PUBLIC ACTS,

Passed in the First Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and in the 47th Year of the Reign of his present Majesty, George III.

1. An act to continue, until the 5th day of July 1808, several acts for granting certain Rates and Duties, and for allowing certain Drawbacks and Bounties on Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, imported into, and exported from Ireland.

2. An act to revive and continue, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, three acts, passed in the 37th, 45th, and 46th years of his majesty's reign, for carrying into execution the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his majesty and the united states of America.

3. An act to indemnify persons who have advised or acted under an order of council for making Regulations with respect to the Navigation and Commerce between his majesty's Subjects and the Subjects of the united states of America.

4. An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain Annuity to major-general sir John Stuart, &c.

5. An act for empowering the Commissioners of Kilmainham Hospital to make Rules and Regulations for the Payment of Pensions to Soldiers on the establishment of that hospital.

6. An act for raising the sum of 3,000,000*l.* by Loans or Exchequer Bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1807.

7. An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by Loans or Exchequer Bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1807.

8. An act concerning Common Recoveries suffered in Copyhold or Customary Courts by Attorney.

9. An act for granting to his majesty a Sum of Money to be raised by Lotteries.

10. An act for encouraging the Export of Salted Beef and Pork from Ireland.

11. An act to provide for the Recovery of Penalties under certain acts, made in the 47th year of his present majesty, for securing the Rates and Duties in Ireland in respect of Dwelling Houses, &c.

12. An act to make further regulations with respect to Licences for the Sale of Spirituous and other Liquors by Retail in Ireland.

13. An act to suppress Insurrections, and prevent the Disturbance of the Public Peace in Ireland.

14. An act to repeal certain Duties of Excise, and also certain Stamp Duties in Ireland, and to grant certain new Stamp Duties in lieu thereof; and to amend the Laws relating to the Stamp Duties in Ireland.

15. An act to provide for the regulating and securing the Collection of the Duty on Gold and Silver Plate, wrought or manufactured in Ireland.

16. An act to grant to his majesty, until the 5th day of July 1808, certain duties on the Importation, and to allow Drawbacks on the Exportation of certain Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, into and from Ireland.

17. An act to amend an act made in the 46th year of his present majesty, for the regulating and securing the Collection of the Duties on Spirits distilled in Ireland.

18. An act to provide for the Decrease and spension, in certain cases, of part of the untervailing Duties on British Refined gar imported into Ireland.

19. An act to continue until the 29th day September 1808, and to amend two acts, ide in the parliament of Ireland, to regu- e the trade of Rectifying Spirits.

20. An act to enable his majesty to ap- int the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for e time being in Ireland, one of the com- ssioners for executing the office of Lord gh Treasurer in England, without salary.

21. An act to continue, until the 29th y of September 1817, an act, passed in eland in the 13th and 14th years of his esent majesty, respecting certain Annuities.

22. An act to continue until the 29th day September 1817, an act, passed in Ireland the 36th year of his present majesty, for e Improvement and Extension of the sheries on the coasts of Ireland.

23. An act to amend an act, passed in the d year of his present majesty, for granting his majesty the sum of 50,000*l.* for ilding Glebe Houses in Ireland.

24. An act to explain and amend an act, ssed in the 39th and 40th years of his pre- nt majesty, concerning the Disposition of rtain Real and Personal Property of his Ma- sty, his Heirs and Successors, and also of the eal and Personal Property of her Majesty, d of the Queen Consort for the time being.

25. An act for the more convenient Pay- ent of Half Pay, and Pensions, and other Al- wances to Officers and Widows of Officers, d to persons upon the Compassionate List.

26. An act for defraying, until the 25th y of March 1808, the charge of the Pay d Clothing of the Militia of Ireland, &c.

27. An act to authorize his majesty to ermit the Importation of Naval Stores from y place in ships belonging to States in nity with his majesty, and navigated in any anner whatever.

28. An act to enable the lords commis- oners of his majesty's Treasury to issue Ex- equer Bills, on the credit of such aids or pplies as have been or shall be granted by arliament for the service of Great Britain, r the year 1807.

29. An act for defraying the Charge of e Pay and Clothing of the Militia in Great ritain for the year 1807.

30. An act to amend several Laws of Ex- ise in Great Britain, relating to the Duties n Salt, Soap, Paper, Coffee, Cocoa Nuts, pirits, and Glass, and for restoring Seizures certain cases.

31. An act to revive and continue, until the 25th day of March 1808, and amend so much of an act, made in the 39th and 40th years of his present majesty, as grants certain Allowances to Adjutants and Serjeant-Majors of the Militia of England, disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

32. An act for making Allowances in certain cases to Subaltern Officers of the Militia in Great Britain, while disembodied.

33. An act to continue until the 1st day of June 1808, an act of the 45th year of his present majesty, for appointing Commissioners to enquire into the Public Expenditure, and the Conduct of the Public Business in the Military Departments therein mentioned.

34. An act to make the port of Amsterdam, in the Island of Curaçoa, a Free Port.

35. An act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments, &c.

36. An act to enable the Trustees of the British Museum to exchange, sell, or dispose of such parts of the Collections, and under such restrictions, as are therein specified.

37. An act to revive and continue, until the 25th day of March 1808, an act of the 46th year of his present majesty, for altering and amending several Laws relating to the Duties of Excise upon Malt.

38. An act for permitting, until the 25th day of March 1809, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, the Importation of certain enumerated articles into the British Colonies on the Continent of North America, from the united states of America, and the Exportation of other enumerated articles from the same Colonies, to the said States.

39. An act for more effectually charging Public Accountants with Interest upon Balances; and for other purposes relating to the passing of Public Accounts.

40. An act to alter the Practice of Courts of Equity, in Suits in which Members of Parliament are Defendants.

41. An act to enable the East-India company to raise Money upon Bond instead of increasing their Capital Stock.

42. An act for more effectual Administration of the office of a Justice of the Peace in such parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey as lie in and near the Metropolis; and for the more effectual Prevention of Felonies.

43. An act to revive and continue, until the end of the next session of parliament, an act of the 46th year of his present majesty, for suspending Proceedings in Actions, and other Proceedings relating to the Woollen Manufacture.

44. An act for transferring to his Majesty, certain possessions and rights vested in the Sierra Leone company, &c.

45. An act to enable his Majesty to grant to her majesty the Queen a capital messuage called Frogmore, &c.

46. An act to repeal certain provisions of an act, passed in the 46th year of his present majesty, for enquiring into the state of Windsor Forest, &c.

47. An act to grant certain duties on Callicoes, Muslins, Cotton Yarn, &c.

48. An act to continue until the 29th day of September 1808, several acts for the better collection and security of the Revenues of Customs and Excise in Ireland, and for preventing Frauds therein.

49. An act for allowing a Drawback on certain Linens exported from Great Britain to the West Indies.

50. An act to amend an act, made in the parliament of Ireland in the 5th year of his present majesty's reign, for erecting and establishing Public Infirmaries or Hospitals in Ireland.

51. An act to revive and continue, until the 25th day of March 1808, an act of the 39th year of his present majesty, for the more effectual Encouragement of the British Fisheries.

52. An act to repeal so much of an act of the last session of parliament, as relates to the Payment of Duty on Coffee and Cocoa Nuts when exported from the warehouse in which the same shall have been secured.

53. An act to enable his majesty's Postmaster-general to open and return Letters directed to Hamburgh or other places abroad, and which have been or shall have been returned or not sent.

54. An act to prevent improper persons from having Arms in Ireland.

55. An act for allowing a certain proportion of the Militia in Ireland, voluntarily to enlist into his majesty's Regular Forces.

56. An act for increasing the Militia of Ireland, under certain limitations and restrictions.

57. An act for allowing a certain proportion of the Militia in Great Britain voluntarily to enlist into his majesty's Regular Forces.

58. An act for encouraging the Exportation of Salt from Ireland.

59. An act to amend an act of the 46th year of his majesty, for the better Regulation of the office of Receiver-general of the Post-Office in England.

60. An act to give further time for purchasing the legal Quays and Warehouses, in the port of London.

61. An act to repeal certain duties on Foreign Goods, Wares, and Merchandize exported from Great Britain to Ireland.

62. An act to suspend, until the 1st day of May 1808, the payment of all Drawbacks on Spirits made or distilled in Great Britain or Ireland, and exported from either country to the other respectively.

63. An act for repealing the Duties and Drawbacks payable on Silks, and for granting other Duties and another Drawback in lieu thereof.

64. An act to allow the Bounty now payable on British Callicoes and Cottons exported to Gibraltar to be paid on the same articles when exported to Malta.

65. An act to exempt Sales of West-India Produce, by the West-India Dock Company for payment of duties and charges, from the Auction Duty.

66. An act to make more effectual provision for the Prevention of Smuggling.

67. An act to permit, until the end of the next session of Parliament, the Importation of Swedish Herrings into Great Britain.

68. An act for the better Government of the Settlements of Fort St. George and Bombay; for the Regulation of Public Banks, &c.

69. An act for discharging from the Claims of the Crown certain Real and Personal Estates belonging to general De Lancey, late barrack-master-general, and vested in Trustees for Sale.

70. An act for maintaining and preserving a Military Canal and Road, made from Shorncliff in the county of Kent, to Cliff End in the county of Sussex.

71. An act for the speedily completing the Militia of Great Britain, and increasing the same, under certain limitations and restrictions.

72. An act for raising the sum of 500,000*l.* by Treasury Bills for the service of Ireland for the year 1807.

73. An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of 4,500,000*l.* for the Service of Great Britain.

74. An act for more effectually securing the Payment of the Debts of Traders.

75. An act for suspending the operation of an act of the 36th year of his present majesty, for the further Support and Maintenance of Curates, &c.

76. An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the Service of the year 1807, and for further appropriating the Supplies granted in this session of parliament.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

VOL. IX.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

n Account of the Amount of all Exemptions granted to Foreigners, in respect of the Duty on Dividends, in the various Funds of Great Britain, and on the Dividends of the East-India and South-Sea Companies; under the Property-Tax; to the latest Period to which the same can be made up.

Exemptions on Dividends, payable on the 5th July 1806.

	Principal. £.	s.	d.	Dividend. £.	s.	d.	Duty. £.	s.	d.
-per-Cent. Consolidated Annuities	12,451,388	6	7	186,770	16	5	18,677	1	7
ast-India Stock	491,598	14	7	25,808	18	8	2,580	17	10
outh-Sea Stock	1,133,580	4	9	19,837	13	1	1,983	15	3
-per-Cent. Navy Annuities	158,407	10	0	3,960	3	9	396	0	4
ew South-Sea Annuities	564,663	12	2	8,469	19	1	846	19	11
outh-Sea Annuities 1751	162,630	16	8	2,439	9	3	243	18	11
-per-Cent. Annuities 1726	104,988	6	8	1,574	16	6	157	9	8
rish Tontine	7,447	15	4	3,723	17	8	372	7	9
mperial 3-per-Cent. Annuities	63,002	15	6	945	0	10	94	10	1
mperial Annuities	619	0	0	309	10	0	30	19	0
				253,840	5	3	25,384	0	4

Exemptions on Dividends, payable on the 10th October 1806.

	Principal. £.	s.	d.	Dividend. £.	s.	d.	Duty. £.	s.	d.
-per-Cent. Reduced Annuities	2,129,999	8	10	31,949	19	10	3,194	19	10
-per-Cent. Annuities	769,830	4	2	15,396	12	1	1,539	13	2
-per-Cent. Irish Annuities	8,891	10	0	222	5	9	22	4	6
rish Annuities	54	15	10	27	7	11	2	14	9
ld South-Sea Annuities	524,041	13	4	7,860	12	6	786	1	3
ong Annuities	5,955	7	0	2,977	13	6	297	15	4
hort Annuities	3,070	9	8	1,535	4	10	153	10	6
-per-Cent. Annuities 1797	35,583	6	8	889	11	8	88	19	2
				60,859	8	1	6,085	18	6

Exemptions on Dividends, payable on the 5th January 1807.

	Principal. £.	s.	d.	Dividend. £.	s.	d.	Duty. £.	s.	d.
-per-Cent. Consolidated Annuities	4,955,777	15	6	74,336	13	4	7,433	13	4
-per-Cent Navy Annuities	47,561	3	4	1,189	0	7	118	18	0
ew South-Sea Annuities	198,543	17	8	2,978	3	2	297	16	4
-per-Cent. Annuities 1726	99,661	13	4	1,494	18	6	149	9	10
-per-Cent. Imperial Annuities	8,580	0	0	128	14	0	12	17	4
mperial Annuities	88	0	0	44	0	0	4	8	0
outh-Sea Annuities 1751	34,147	15	6	512	4	4	51	4	5
outh-Sea Stock	350,970	4	8	6,141	19	7	614	3	11
ast-India Stock	141,779	8	10	7,443	8	5	744	6	10
				94,269	1	11	9,426	18	0

This Account contains all Exemptions granted upon the Dividends which have become payable ince the Duty was stopped at the Bank of England. Previous to that Period, the Agents to Foreigners entitled to Exemptions did not pay the Duty, but omitted, for the most part, to claim the Exmptions in the manner required by the Act. Any Account of the Exemption actually granted upon ormer Dividends would, therefore, afford no criterion to judge of the Exemptions to which the Parties vere entitled.

The Total Annual Amount of Exemptions may be estimated at nearly £. 63,000, being double the mount of the Exemptions granted upon the Dividends payable on the 5th of July and 10th of October 1806.

Office for Taxes,
24th February 1807.

William Lowndes.
Barne Barne.
Edward Medows.
Henry Hodgson.
Thomas Davis Lamb.

Return of the Effective Strength of the REGULAR FORCES, at the latest Period to which the same can be made up; distinguishing the British from the Foreign Troops, and the Cavalry from the Infantry, and the Numbers serving Abroad and at Home.

Adjut.-General's Office, July 23, 1807.

	Rank and File.		
	British.	Foreign.	Total.
Cavalry	23,295	3,020	26,315
Infantry . . .	129,263	27,298	156,561
Total . . .	152,558	30,318	182,876

	Rank and File.		
	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Total.
At Home . . .	20,041	61,447	81,488
Abroad	6,274	93,114	101,388
Total . . .	26,315	156,561	182,876

Harry Calvert, A. G.

Return of the Effective Strength of the MILITIA FORCES in Great Britain and Ireland, at the latest Period to which the same can be made up.

Adjut.-General's Office, July 23, 1807.

	Rank and File.
Great Britain	53,810
Ireland	24,180
Total .	77,990

Harry Calvert, A. G.

Return of the Effective Force of the VOLUNTEERS of Great Britain; distinguishing Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery; as far as the same can be ascertained from the latest Returns.

	Field-Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff-Officers.	Serjeants.	Trumpeters or Drummers	Rank and File.
Infantry . . .	1,217	3,710	7,543	1,781	13,473	6,623	254,544
Cavalry . . .	162	496	1,040	760	1,546	523	25,342
Artillery . . .	25	129	253	45	505	209	9,420
Total . .	1,404	4,335	8,836	2,586	15,524	7,355	289,306

Whitehall, July 18, 1807. J. Beckett.

An Account of the BRITISH and FOREIGN SHIPPING employed in the Trade of Great Britain, in Three Years, ending the 5th of January 1807: Shewing the Number of Vessels, Tons and Men, entered Inwards, and cleared Out, under each Year.

	INWARDS.					
	British.			Foreign.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
In the Year . . . 1804	10,508	1,395,387	82,979	4,271	607,299	30,744
——— . . . 1805	11,414	1,494,290	87,166	4,517	691,883	34,733
——— . . . 1806	12,118	1,482,664	88,998	3,793	612,904	31,354

	OUTWARDS.					
	British.			Foreign.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
In the Year . . . 1804	11,131	1,463,286	93,748	4,093	587,849	30,507
——— . . . 1805	11,608	1,495,209	94,408	3,932	605,821	30,924
——— . . . 1806	12,251	1,486,302	94,557	3,459	568,170	29,632

Custom-House, London,
Office of the Reg. Gen. of Shipping,
July 8, 1807.

T. E. Willoughby,
Reg. Gen.

stract Statement of the PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain, for the Year ended 5th Jan. 1807.

Heads of Revenue.		Gross Receipt.			Net Produce.			Paid into Excheqr.		
ORDINARY REVENUES. *Permanent and Annual Taxes.*		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
stoms	England	8,842,775	15	1¾	7,184,344	17	8½	6,669,362	1	9¼
——	Scotland	829,014	0	0	589,704	7	0½	387,417	0	0
——	Great Britain	9,671,789	15	1¾	7,774,049	4	9	7,056,779	1	9¼
cise	England	17,540,324	8	5¾	15,983,378	7	11	15,934,255	16	5
——	Scotland	1,648,218	0	6	1,393,835	3	5½	1,056,600	0	0
——	Great Britain	19,188,542	8	11¾	17,377,213	11	4½	16,990,855	16	5
amps	England	4,324,345	13	5¾	4,053,617	15	7¾	3,874,516	7	11
——	Scotland	294,345	7	9	275,295	12	5	258,000	0	0
——	Great Britain	4,618,691	1	2¾	4,328,913	8	0¾	4,132,516	7	11
nd and Assessed Taxes	England	6,392,144	2	9	6,126,627	12	10¼	5,614,889	6	7
——	Scotland	329,400	9	8	311,632	10	10¼	201,099	19	11½
——	Great Britain	6,721,544	12	5	6,438,260	3	8½	5,815,989	6	6½
st Office	England	1,497,010	10	2	1,136,901	6	10	992,998	1	3
——	Scotland	177,299	17	6	154,834	17	2½	108,001	18	9
——	Great Britain	1,674,310	7	8	1,291,736	4	0½	1,101,000	0	0
in the £. on Pensions and Salaries	England	53,160	8	11½	52,780	2	0½	50,584	12	4
	Scotland	4,555	2	2½	4,384	4	3½	4,384	0	0
——	Great Britain	57,715	11	2	57,164	6	4	54,968	12	4
in the £. on Pensions and Salaries	England	60,931	6	7¼	60,546	4	9¼	60,545	16	2¼
	Scotland	3,152	17	10¼	2,733	3	9¾	2,733	3	9¾
——	Great Britain	64,084	4	6	63,279	8	7	63,279	0	0
ckney Coaches		29,169	2	10¾	25,940	17	3½	25,600	0	0
wkers and Pedlars		14,555	0	0	11,465	19	8	11,285	0	0
Total Permanent and Annual Duties		42,040,402	4	0	37,368,023	3	9¾	35,252,273	4	11¾
								Hana		
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.								per 2,000	0	0
ienation Fines		11,540	0	4	8,535	17	8	5,203	0	3
st Fines		4,040	12	8¼	4,040	12	8¼	0	0	0
zures		15,788	0	6	15,788	0	6	15,788	0	6
mpositions		1	16	8	1	16	8	1	16	8
offers		620	19	0	620	19	0	620	19	0
own Lands		67,790	10	9½	65,357	16	8¾	966	13	4
Extraordinary Resources.										
Customs	England	2,787,189	13	4	2,522,874	6	4	2,473,351	10	4¼
——	Scotland	310,264	11	10¾	256,370	8	8¾	203,683	0	0
——	Great Britain	3,097,454	5	2¾	2,779,244	15	0¾	2,677,034	10	4¼
Excise	England	5,878,045	8	2½	5,804,881	3	5	5,804,811	16	5
——	Scotland	452,123	7	6	443,627	19	9¾	388,400	0	0
——	Great Britain	6,330,168	15	8½	6,248,509	3	2¾	6,193,211	16	5
Property Tax	England	5,902,765	9	9¼	5,747,114	9	5½	5,747,114	9	5½
——	Scotland	242,494	7	6	236,100	0	0	236,100	0	0
——	Great Britain	6,145,259	17	3¼	5,983,214	9	5½	5,983,214	9	5½
Arrears of Income Duty		16,827	12	4¼	16,383	17	9¼	16,383	17	9¼
Arrears of Taxes collected under the Aid and Contribution Act		471	15	0¾	459	6	3½	459	6	3½
ttery, Net Profit		498,249	10	0	476,410	4	0	476,410	4	0
nies paid on Account of the Interest of Loans raised for the Service of Ireland		1,751,663	0	4	1,751,663	0	4	1,751,663	0	4
Account of the Commissioners, appointed by Act 35 Geo. III. for Issuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada		73,000	0	0	73,000	0	0	73,000	0	0
es of Regulated Exchequer Offices		52,290	18	1	52,290	18	1	52,290	18	1
oduce of sundry Magazines, &c. sold on Account of Government		7,000	0	0	7,000	0	0	7,000	0	0
onies paid on Account of the Surplus Revenue of the Isle of Man		6,526	10	1½	6,526	10	1½	6,526	10	1½
vings under the Regulations adopted with respect to the Pay of Military Chaplains		33,396	6	0	33,396	6	0	33,396	6	0
prest Money repaid by sundry Public Accountants		90,075	13	5	90,075	13	5	90,075	13	5
her Monies Paid to the Public		1,492	18	1¾	1,492	18	1¾	1,492	18	1¾
Total { Independent of Loans }		60,244,061	5	8½	54,982,035	8	11¾	52,639,013	5	1½
ans paid into the Exchequer, including £.2,000,000 for the Service of Ireland		19,699,263	12	1	19,699,263	12	1	19,699,263	12	1
GRAND TOTAL - - - - - - £.		79,943,324	17	9½	74,681,299	1	0¾	72,338,276	17	2½

e.—The Appropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on 5th Jan. 1806, amounted to 10,790,442*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*; and on the 5th Jan. 1807, to 10,490,631*l.* 9*s.* 0½*d.* There was no unappropriated Balance in the Exchequer at either of the above-mentioned Periods. The Amount of Exchequer Bills, Navy Bills, and Transport Bills, issued for the Public Service between the 5th Jan. 1806 and the 5th Jan. 1807, and not redeemed within that Period, was, in Exchequer Bills, £.27,207,100; in Navy and Victualing Bills, 2,209,697*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.*; and in Transport Bills, 463,497*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

25th March, 1807. **N. VANSITTART.**

An Account of the INCOME of the CONSOLIDATED FUND of Great Britain, for the Year ended 5th January 1807.

INCOME.	£.	s.	d.
Net Produce of the Custom Duties	4,048,807	7	4¾
Excise	13,829,170	14	3
Stamps	3,057,877	19	3
Incidents	5,670,407	19	10
Surplus of Sugar, Malt, and Tobacco, annually granted	2,023,274	4	3¾
Land-Tax on Pensions, annis 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806	1,233,375	14	7
Arrears of Income Duty, 1799, 1800, 1801	13,383	17	9¼
Arrears of Additional Assessed Taxes, 1798	459	6	3½
4*s.* Aid, 1778	2,500	0	0
Money reserved on account of Nominees appointed by the Lords of the Treasury, in Tontine, 1789	23,207	13	4¼
Monies paid into the Treasury by divers Persons, being small Balances due to the Public	218,381	12	7¾
Imprest Monies	45,400	13	1½
Money paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, for Interest, Management, and £.1 per Cent. on Loans raised in Great Britain, for the Service of Ireland, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802	912,738	9	8
Total Income of the Consolidated Fund, applicable towards paying the Charge existing at 5th Jan. 1803	31,078,985	12	6¼
DUTIES pro Anno 1803.			
Surplus Duty on Receipts, 1803, per Act 43 Geo. III. c. 126	59,878	0	4
Reserved out of Consolidated Customs, per Act 43 G. III. c. 68, from July 1803, at £.62,500 per Quarter	250,000	0	0
Money paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, on account of Loan of £.2,000,000, for the Service of Ireland	136,496	1	3
Total Income of Duties pro anno 1803	446,374	1	7

CHARGE.	Actual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th January 1807. £.	s.	d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th January 1807. £.	s.	d.
Charge on account of the Public Debt	24,694,082	5	2½	24,671,942	11	10¼
CIVIL LIST.—His Majesty's Household	898,000	0	0	898,000	0	0
Ditto per 44 G. III.	60,000	0	0	60,000	0	0
Courts of Justice.—Judges of England and Wales, in Augmentation of their Salaries	13,050	0	0	13,050	0	0
Aaron Graham, Esq. Inspector of the temporary Places of Confinement of Felons, &c.	350	0	0	350	0	0
W. Baldwin, Esq. Receiver of the 7 Offices of Police	15,216	13	0½	Uncertain.		
Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. ditto Thames Police Office	7,864	14	2			
Keeper of the Hanaper in Chancery	2,504	14	1			
John Bedford, Esq. Chief Justice of the Admiralty Court in the Island of Barbadoes	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry Moreton Dyer, Esq. Ditto . . Bahamas	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
John Sewell, Esq. Ditto . . Malta	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Alexander Croke, Esq. Ditto . . America	3,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry John Hinchcliffe, Esq. Ditto . . Jamaica	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
William Territt, Esq. Ditto . . Bermudas	3,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
The Sheriffs of England and Wales	4,000	0	0	4,000	0	0
Deficiencies of Judges' Salaries	5,138	14	10½	Uncertain.		
MINT.—Master of His Majesty's Mint in England	10,350	0	0	13,800	0	0
Receiver of the Fees in the Office of the Mint	2,704	10	6	Uncertain.		
Master of His Majesty's Mint in Scotland	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Salaries and Allowances	119,227	18	11	25,750	0	0
Parliamentary Pensions	291,644	2	5	287,159	14	10
Bounties:—For the Growth of Hemp and Flax	2,956	13	8	2,956	13	8
For the better Improvement of the Port of London	20,000	0	0	Uncertain.		
The Speaker of the House of Commons *et al.* in trust for Earl Nelson	90,000	0	0	0	0	0
Ditto for Interest on 90,000*l.* at 5 per Cent. from 21st Oct. 1805, to 10th Oct. 1806, for ditto	4,364	7	8	0	0	0
Ditto in trust for Mrs. Susannah Bolton, one of the Sisters of Earl Nelson	10,000	0	0	0	0	0
Ditto ditto Mrs. Catherine Matcham, ditto	10,000	0	0	0	0	0
Total Charge upon the Consolidated Fund created prior to 5th Jan. 1803, as it stood in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1807	26,276,654	7	11¼	25,990,209	0	4¼

Surplus of Consolidated Stamp Duties, by Act 44 G. III. c. 98, to commence from 10th Oct. 1804	975,270 17 8
Money paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, for Interest and Management, and £.1 per Cent. on £.4,500,000, Part of £.14,500,000, raised by Act 44 Geo. III. for Ireland	331,205 8 1
Total Income of Duties pro Anno 1804	1,306,476 5 9
DUTIES pro Anno 1805.	
Duty on Goods, 1805	308,788 15 $2\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto on Legacies	39,489 10 8
Taken from Consolidated Letter Money, being the estimated Amount of Additional Duty on the Postage, imposed by Act 45 G. III. c. 11	176,333 6 8
Duties taken out of Consolidated Excise, by 45 G. III. cap. Salt, Auctions, Bricks and Tiles, Coffee, Cyder and Perry, Glass, Vinegar, Wire	663,035 2 2
Money paid by Messrs. Puget for Interest, &c. and 1 per Cent. on £.4,000,000 for Ireland	293,385 19 6
Total Income of Duties pro Anno 1805	1,481,032 14 2
DUTIES pro Anno 1806.	
Brought from Consolidated Excise, by 46 G.III.c.44. { Wines, 1803	188,604 0 0
Ditto, 1804	126,931 0 0
Tea	14,779 0 0
Wines, 1803 and 1804, brought to Duties 1806	54,708 0 0
10 per Cent. on Assessed Taxes	
Money paid by Messrs. Puget on Part of £.2,000,000,	6,800 0 0
raised by 46 Geo. III. for Ireland	77,857 1 10
Total Income of Duties, pro anno 1806	449,659 1 10
Ditto, at 5th Jan. 1807	31,078,985 12 $6\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto, pro anno 1803	446,374 1 7
Ditto, pro anno 1804	1,306,476 5 9
Ditto, pro anno 1805	1,481,032 14 $2\frac{1}{4}$
Total Income of Consolidated Fund in the Year ended 5th January 1807 £.	34,762,527 15 $10\frac{1}{2}$

Exchequer, 16th Day of March 1807.

Service of the Year 1803.		
Annuities on 9,600,000*l.* at 3 per Cent. Consol. Annuities, with Charges of Management	293,320 0 0	292,320 3 0
Ditto on 9,600,000*l.* at 3 per Cent. added to 3 per Cent. Reduced Annuities, with ditto	292,320 0 0	292,320 0 0
Ditto for $56\frac{1}{2}$ Years, at 6*s.* 5*d.* per Cent. added to Long Cons. Bank Annuities, with ditto	38,933 2 6	38,933 2 6
Ditto at 1 per Cent. on the above Sums, payable to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt	195,765 5 7	195,765 5 7
Total Charge for Debt incurred in the Year 1803	819,338 8 1	819,938 8 1
DEBT incurred in respect of 14,500,000*l.*, raised for the Service of the Year 1804.		
Annuities on 11,890,000*l.* at 3 per Cent. added to 3 per Cent. Consol. Annuities, with Charges of Management	362,050 10 0	362,050 10 0
Ditto on 14,500,000*l.* at 3 per Cent. added to 3 per Cent. Reduced Annuities, with ditto	441,525 0 0	441,525 0 0
Ditto at 1 per Cent. on the above Sums, payable to the Commissrs. for the Reduction of the National Debt	263,900 0 0	263,900 0 0
Ditto on 2,716,814*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* at 3 per Cent. added to the 3 per Cent. Reduced Annuities, granted to the Holders of 5 perCent. Annuities subscribed into Navy 5 perCents.	83,338 5 $8\frac{3}{4}$	82,727 0 1
Ditto at 1 per Cent. on the above Sum	27,168 2 11	27,168 2 11
Total Charge for Debt incurred in the Year 1804	1,177,981 18 $7\frac{3}{4}$	1,177,370 13 0
DEBT incurred in respect of 22,500,000*l.* raised for the Service of the Year 1805	1,893,168 4 $3\frac{1}{2}$	1,876,685 6 $7\frac{1}{2}$
DEBT incurred in respect of 20,000,000*l.* raised for the Service of the Year 1806	778,370 18 $4\frac{3}{4}$	778,370 18 $4\frac{3}{4}$
Total Charge upon Consolidated Fund, created prior to 5th Jan. 1803, as it stood in the year ending 5th Jan. 1807	26,276,654 7 $11\frac{1}{4}$	25,990,209 0 $4\frac{1}{4}$
Total Charge for Debt incurred in the year 1803	819,338 8 1	819,338 8 1
Ditto ditto 1804	1,177,981 18 $7\frac{3}{4}$	1,177,370 13 0
Ditto ditto 1805	1,893,168 4 $3\frac{1}{2}$	1,876,685 6 $7\frac{1}{2}$
Total Charge upon Consolidated Fund, in the year ended 5th Jan. 1807 £.	30,945,513 17 $4\frac{1}{4}$	30,641,974 6 $5\frac{1}{2}$

WM ROSE HAWORTH.

An ACCOUNT of the NET PRODUCE of all the PERMANENT TAXES, and WAR TAXES, in the Quarters and Years ended the 5th January 1806, and the 5th January 1807.

		In the Quarters ended						In the Years ended					
		5th Jan. 1806.			5th Jan. 1807.			5th Jan. 1806.			5th Jan. 1807.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Customs.												
	Consolidated, after reserving £.62,500. per Quarter, by Act 43 Geo. III. cap. 68	900228	2	1	1167517	2	3	3790532	1	5	4005965	2	0¼
	Quarantine Duty	4287	16	2	2403	3	5	17362	1	4¼	15093	2	4
	£.4½ per Cent.	239	10	0	1318	3	1½	18530	8	8½	6790	17	3½
	Canal and Dock Duty	8172	11	7	8924	19	7½	31965	17	5½	35749	3	0½
	Excise.												
	Consolidated	3153100	6	2½	3395073	0	0	13718927	12	3½	13829170	14	3
	Stamps.												
	Reserved out of Consolidated Duties 769,365*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* per Quarter, by Act 44 Geo. III. cap. 98. from Oct. 1804, after reserving the Surplus of the Duty on Receipts, 1803	756936	5	10	756523	19	2	3024180	4	4	3017585	17	8
	Compositions for Stamps, per Bank	8000	0	0	8000	0	0	38000	0	0	32000	0	0
	Licences for selling Lottery Tickets	5108	2	0	8292	1	7	5108	2	0	8292	1	7
	Incidents.												
	Letter Money	231166	13	4	231166	13	4	950500	0	0	924666	13	4
Arrears of Duties repealed by Act 43 Geo. III. cap. 161, out of	Houses and Windows	26453	12	1½	440	5	8½	178932	14	11	32460	7	2½
	Inhabited Houses	11273	14	8	27	16	6½	77705	9	4¾	16720	18	2¼
	Horses for Riding	16871	13	9	465	18	4½	68421	19	5¼	20702	19	0¼
	Horses for Husbandry	10776	9	4	606	19	7	59756	16	6½	22279	8	45
	Male Servants	10593	5	8	484	15	7	37773	17	1½	16134	15	5½
	Carriages	12106	2	4	1215	12	5	59117	3	6½	28558	5	10¾
	Dogs	5370	4	0	718	14	11	28174	17	11	14097	15	9
Arrears	£.10. per Cent.	0	0	0	0	9	4	0	0	6	7	11	7¾
	£.20 per Cent.	172	3	2¾	0	0	0	172	3	2⅔	50	0	0
	Clocks and Watches	689	5	0	0	0	0	689	5	0	845	1	5
	Hawkers and Pedlars	1110	0	0	1930	0	0	8145	0	0	11635	0	0
	Hackney Coaches and Chairs	4390	0	0	4270	0	0	24325	2	0	25857	0	0
	6*d.* per £. on Pensions	19340	0	0	27279	0	0	57340	0	0	63279	0	0
	1*s.* ditto . . . Salaries	18445	0	0	17028	0	0	50774	6	9	54968	12	4
	Seizures	31289	17	8¼	556	16	1	83191	5	6¼	15788	0	6
	Proffers	13	14	5	13	7	9	678	2	0	620	19	0
	Compositions	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	4	1	16	8
	Rent of Alum Mines	0	0	0	0	0	0	960	0	0	960	0	0
	Ditto of a Light House	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	13	4	6	13	4
	Alienation Duty	0	0	0	808	16	7	3977	18	8	9000	3	4
	First Fruits of the Clergy	0	0	0	0	0	0	3847	14	3¼	4156	10	0
	Tenths of ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0	9872	2	4½	9834	17	10
	Fines and Forfeitures	0	0	0	224	16	0	1127	8	3	681	9	8
Arrears of	Female Servants 1785	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	13	2
	Hair-Powder Certificates 1795	2252	19	10½	661	13	9	22639	16	7	12463	16	1
	Horse-Dealers' Licences 1796	911	12	10½	99	9	11½	3629	5	4	2089	1	5
	Armorial Bearings . . . 1798	1885	16	1½	221	0	9½	11488	5	4½	6314	8	7
By Act 43 Geo. III. cap. 68.	Hair Powder Certificates	13992	13	8	16449	3	9	34592	13	8	43444	8	3½
	Horse-Dealers' Licences	1408	19	5	2352	14	0	2878	19	5	5747	0	6
	Armorial Bearings	7866	0	4½	8173	9	4½	16556	0	4½	11753	5	2
	Reserved out of Houses and Windows, by Act 43 Geo. III. cap. 161, at £.474,474. per Quarter, from April 1804	638440	5	4½	605258	18	0	1778803	9	10½	1903310	9	1
	Inhabited Houses	103865	4	3½	144844	11	6½	471185	4	3½	584860	2	8
	Horses for Riding	182148	6	2	209957	2	8	496119	6	2	583986	5	4½
	Horses and Mules	159986	4	10½	171755	10	1	422689	4	10½	501667	10	2
	Male Servants	67650	11	0½	106404	2	1	249820	11	0½	338435	18	11¾
	Carriages	81308	4	7½	91407	12	6½	260088	4	7½	302349	3	2
	Dogs	32165	0	11	43913	12	1	90045	0	11	112628	5	0¾
	Carried forward . . . £.	6530016	9	0½	7036789	12	4	26210635	4	2½	26643046	5	10¾

NET PRODUCE of the PERMANENT and WAR TAXES, in the Quarters and Years ended 5th Jan. 1806, and 5th Jan. 1807.—*Continued.*

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward		6530016	9	0½	7036789	12	4	26210635	4	2½	26643046	7	10¼
Duties pro Anno 1803:													
Brought from Consolidated Customs, after reserving as directed by Act 43 Geo. III. cap. 68.		62500	0	0	62500	0	0	250000	0	0	250000	0	0
Surplus of the Duty on Receipts, 1803, after ditto, by Act ditto, cap. 126.		12429	13	8	12842	0	4	55283	15	8	59878	0	4
Ditto, Houses and Windows, 1804, ditto, by Act ditto, cap. 161. from April 1804		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
£		6604946	2	8½	7112131	12	8	26513918	17	10½	26952924	6	2¼
Duties pro Anno 1804:													
Surplus of Consolidated Stamp Duties, after reserving, as directed by Act 44 Geo. III. cap. 98. from October 1804		334536	8	8	301340	16	2	793434	10	2	975270	17	8
£.		6939482	11	4½	7413472	8	10	27307353	8	0½	27928195	3	10¼
Duties pro Anno 1805:													
Taken from Consolidated Letter Money, the estimated Amount of the additional Duty on the Postage of Letters, imposed by Act 45 Geo. III. cap. 11.		16833	6	8	31833	6	8	122500	0	0	176333	6	8
Goods, &c. Anno 1805		61884	17	6	78030	19	0½	207186	8	10	308788	15	2½
egacies		3033	12	2	12981	10	8	4957	12	2	39489	10	8
Duties taken out of Consolidated Excise, by Act 45 Geo. III.	Salt	112534	0	6¼	117071	0	0	247356	0	0	463814	19	1
	Auctions	8175	0	0	8761	0	0	25015	0	0	35392	0	0
	Bricks and Tiles	23874	0	0	22630	0	0	40245	0	0	40464	0	0
	Coffee	5722	0	0	7080	0	0	14259	0	0	31558	0	0
	Cyder and Perry	634	6	8	1198	0	0	2254	18	7¼	5544	6	8
	Glass	19897	0	0	10300	0	0	63169	0	0	67721	0	0
	Vinegar	1840	13	4	2344	0	0	5840	8	9	12749	13	4
	Wire	1477	13	3¼	1410	0	0	4516	4	3¾	5791	3	1
£.		7195389	1	6	7707112	5	2½	28044653	0	8½	29115841	18	6½
Duties pro Anno 1806:													
Wines, 1803	brt to Duties 1806, by 46 G. III. c.44.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20593	0	0
Ditto, 1804		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14115	0	0
Brought from Consold Excise, by 46 G. III. cap. 44.	Wines, 1803	0	0	0	65257	0	0	0	0	0	188604	0	0
	Ditto, 1804	0	0	0	44927	0	0	0	0	0	126931	0	0
	Tea	0	0	0	4596	0	0	0	0	0	14779	0	0
.10 per Cent. A° 1806		0	0	0	6800	0	0	0	0	0	6800	0	0
£.		7195389	1	6	7828692	5	2½	28044653	0	8½	29487663	18	6½
urplus of Duties annually granted, after discharging Exchequer Bills charged thereon	Sugar & Malt	534047	2	6	186635	17	7¼	764345	11	7	916588	4	3¾
	Malt	79087	0	0	101218	0	0	764796	0	0	902971	0	0
	Tobacco	42313	0	0	31343	0	0	202745	0	0	203715	0	0
£.		7851836	4	0	8147889	2	9¾	29776539	12	3½	31510938	2	10¼
uties to discharge 2,000,000*l.* Exch. Bills for 1805	Sugar & Malt	673485	16	7	406143	6	3½	1590005	11	0½	1560343	17	11
	Malt	154929	0	0	225202	0	0	162880	0	0	239364	0	0
	Tobacco	64774	0	0	57241	0	0	265685	0	0	238386	0	0
£.		8745025	0	7	8836475	9	1¼	31795110	3	4	33549032	0	9¼
War Taxes:													
ritish Spirits, 1803		86591	0	0	145883	0	0	760547	0	0	759316	0	0
oreign Ditto		228476	0	0	253710	0	0	825903	3	6	957350	1	3
ines		66650	0	0	0	0	0	366082	0	0	85655	0	0
alt		580654	0	0	793082	0	0	2366733	0	0	2812291	0	0
oods and Shipping		449140	19	5½	450438	10	11¾	1636167	14	8	1564089	14	5
ea		381475	0	0	141249	0	0	1711868	0	0	1286150	16	5
veets		165	0	0	140	0	0	4073	16	6	4510	18	9
roperty Duty		92615	18	10	23466	2	1½	928585	17	8	181780	17	4¼
itto, 1804		712102	14	7	132911	1	0¼	3278186	8	1½	959935	13	11¾
ines		51785	0	0	0	0	0	264743	0	0	91765	0	0
oods and Wares		167076	1	4	252223	5	6¾	828859	1	10½	821064	18	2¼
roperty Duty, 1805		[illegible]	0	0	1070402	3	9	199750	0	0	3833566	10	2½
obacco, 1806		0	0	0	65166	0	0	0	0	0	163965	0	0
oods and Wares		0	0	0	126273	11	5¾	0	0	0	291879	17	9
operty Duty		0	0	0	[illegible]	0	0	0	0	0	1007931	7	11
£.		2909531	14	[illegible]	[illegible]	14	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	4	[illegible]	2	¾

An Account of the Value of all IMPORTS into, and all EXPORTS from, GREAT BRITAIN, for Eighteen Years, ending the 5th January 1807; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Value of Imports from the East Indies and China, from the Value of all other Imports: And distinguishing the Value of British Produce and Manufactures Exported, from the Value of Foreign Articles Exported; together with the Difference between the Official Value and the Declared Value of British Produce and Manufactures Exported in the Year ending the 5th of January 1807.

	Official Value of Imports from		Official Value of	
	East Indies and China.	All other Parts.	British Produce and Manufactures Exported.	* Foreign Merchandize Exported.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Year ending 5th Jan. 1790	3,362,545 0 0	14,458,557 0 0	13,779,506 0 0	5,379,965 0 0
Ditto —— 1791	3,149,870 0 0	15,981,015 0 0	14,921,084 0 0	4,979,797 0 0
Ditto —— 1792	3,698,713 0 0	15,971,069 0 0	16,810,018 0 0	5,670,412 0 0
Ditto —— 1793	2,701,547 0 0	16,957,810 0 0	18,336,851 0 0	6,129,998 0 0
Ditto —— 1794	3,499,023 0 0	15,757,693 0 0	13,892,268 0 0	5,784,417 0 0
Ditto —— 1795	4,458,475 0 0	17,830,418 0 0	16,725,402 0 0	8,386,043 0 0
Ditto —— 1796	5,760,810 0 0	16,976,079 0 0	16,338,213 0 0	8,509,126 0 0
Ditto —— 1797	3,372,689 0 0	19,814,630 0 0	19,102,220 0 0	8,923,848 0 0
Ditto —— 1798	3,942,384 0 0	17,071,572 0 0	16,903,103 0 0	9,412,610 0 0
Ditto —— 1799	7,626,930 0 0	20,230,959 0 0	19,672,503 0 0	10,617,526 0 0
Ditto —— 1800	4,284,805 0 0	22,552,626 0 0	24,084,213 0 0	9,556,144 0 0
Ditto —— 1801	4,942,275 0 0	25,628,329 0 0	24,304,283 0 0	13,815,837 0 0
Ditto —— 1802	5,424,441 0 0	27,371,115 0 0	25,699,809 0 0	12,087,047 0 0
Ditto —— 1803	5,794,906 0 0	25,647,412 0 0	26,993,129 0 0	14,418,837 0 0
Ditto —— 1804	6,348,887 0 0	21,643,577 0 0	22,252,027 0 0	9,326,468 0 0
Ditto —— 1805	5,214,621 0 0	23,986,869 0 0	23,935,793 0 0	10,515,574 0 0
Ditto —— 1806	6,072,160 0 0	24,272,468 0 0	25,004,337 0 0	9,950,508 0 0
Ditto —— 1807	- - - - -	25,094,089 0 0	27,403,653 0 0	9,124,479 0 0

Note.—The Value of British Produce and Manufactures Exported, computed at the Average Prices Current, was, in the Year ending 5th January 1806, £.41,068,942.
In the Year ending 5th January 1807, £.43,242,176.

* The Value of the Foreign Merchandize (as above) is stated exclusive of the Excess in the Official Estimate of Coffee Exported.

The Account of Imports from India and China, for the last Year, cannot be yet prepared.

Inspector-General's Office,
Custom-House, London,
24th March, 1807.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector-Genl of the Imports and Exports of Gt Britain.

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, which have been Annually Built and Registered in the several Ports of the British Empire, between 5th January 1805 and 5th January 1807.

	Vessels.	Tonnage.
In the Year 1805 { being the Account delivered last Year, and now corrected }	1001	89,584
In the Year 1806 - - - - - - - - - - - -	746	67,511

Copies of the Certificates of Registry granted at many of the Ports in the Plantations, for the Year ending 5th January 1807, not being yet received, it is presumed that several Vessels may have been Built at such Ports, which could not be included in this Account.

Custom-House, London,
Office of the Register-General of Shipping,
23d March, 1807.

T. E. WILLOUGHBY,
Register-General of Shipping.

Account of the Public Expenditure of Great Britain, for the Year ended 5th January 1807.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
I. Interest & Charges on the permanent Debt of Great Britain, Appx. (A.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	29,026,172	12	0¾
II. The Interest on Exchequer Bills, (B.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,310,686	18	9
III. The Civil List, (C.)	-	-	-	958,000	0	0			
IV. Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, viz. Courts of Justice	-	-	-	62,124	6	2			
Mint	-	-	-	14,254	10	6			
Allow. to Roy. Fam.	-	-	-	291,644	2	5			
Sals. & Allowances	-	-	-	36,268	0	3¾			
Bounties	-	-	-	220,281	3	4			
							1,582,572	2	8¾
V. Civil Government of Scotland, (D.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	83,750	14	3¼
VI. Other Payments in Anticipation, (E.)									
Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.	-	-	-	342,163	4	3			
Pensions on the Heredit. Revenue	-	-	-	27,700	0	0			
Militia and Deserters Warrants, &c.	-	-	-	164,397	16	8			
							534,261	0	11
VII. Navy, (F.)—Salaries to the Offices	123,600	0	0						
For Wages, Bounty, Flag-pay, Half-pay, and Pensions	2,651,895	8	6						
For Dock Yards, Building of Ships, Stores, Pilotage, &c.	6,569,813	4	10						
For Marine Service on Shore	437,500	0	0						
				9,782,808	13	4			
The Victualling Department	-	-	-	4,380,081	11	6			
Transport do. for Transports, Prisoners of War, Sick & Wounded Seamen, &c.	1,632,137	13	0						
Miscellaneous Services	289,000	0	0						
				1,921,137	13	0			
							16,084,027	17	10
VIII. Ordnance, (G.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,511,064	1	7
IX. Army, (H.)—Ordinary Services, viz.									
For Regulars, Fenc. Milit. Invalids, and Volunteer Corps	8,155,265	8	5						
Barracks	347,417	19	4						
Staff Officers & Offic. of Garrisons	189,955	4	1						
Half-pay	213,000	0	0						
Widows Pensions	26,000	0	0						
Chelsea Hospital	189,712	0	8						
Exchequer Fees	86,903	16	10						
Pay of Public Offices	74,236	10	8						
				9,282,491	0	0			
Extraordinary Services	-	-	-	5,828,999	7	8			
							15,111,490	7	8
X. Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries, - - Ireland, (I.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,768,000	0	0
XI. Miscellaneous Services, (K.)									
At Home	-	-	-	2,561,340	12	1			
Abroad	-	-	-	205,352	8	10½			
							2,766,693	0	11½
							72,778,718	16	9¼
Deduct Loan, &c. for Ireland			-	-	-	-	1,768,000	0	0
						£.*	71,010,718	16	9¼

* This includes the Sum of £. 441,270. 15. 3¼. for Interest paid on Imperial Loans.

25th March 1807.

N.B. The several Items under each head are stated in the Appendixes A, B, &c. above referred to—which follow.

APPENDIX (A. 1.)—An Account of the Monies paid out of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, in the Year ending the 5th Jan. 1807, towards satisfying the Charges of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of Great Britain and Ireland, and Imperial Loans; distinguishing the Total Amount of the Sums applied for Interest, Charges of Management, Sums applicable to its Reduction, and the usual Grants for the same Purpose.

				INTEREST.			Annuities for Lives, and for Terms of Years.			Charges of Management.		
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Permanent Funded Debt of Great Britain...				17,312,621	11	5	1,465,827	5	3½	269,420	15	5¾
Loans raised for the Service of Ireland				1,090,363	6	2	106,320	16	8	17,019	7	8
Imperial Loans				205,583	8	7	230,000	0	0	5,687	6	8¼
				18,608,568	6	2	1,802,148	1	11½	292,127	9	10
				1,802,148	1	11½						
				292,127	9	10						
£.				20,702,843	17	11½						
Towards the Reduction of the Public Debt; viz.	£.	s.	d.									
Annual Issue by 26 G. III.	1,000,000	0	0									
Ditto........ 42 do....	200,000	0	0									
Annuities for Terms of Years expired, prior to 5th July, 1802	79,880	14	6									
Annuities for Lives on which the Nominees are certified to have died prior to 5th July 1802, or that have been unclaimed for 3 Years	50,308	5	7									
Interest on Debt of Gr-Brit. redeemed -	3,170,020	2	6									
Ditto ....Ireland - do	93,320	15	8									
Ditto........Imperial - do	19,495	11	5									
Annuity at £. 1 per cent. on Part of Capitals created since 5th Jan. 1793	3,710,303	4	5¼									
				8,323,328	14	1¼	*7th Feb. 1807.*					
£.				29,026,172	12	0¾						

APPENDIX (A. 2.)—An Account of the Total Amount of the Sums actually received by the COMMISSIONERS for the Reduction of the NATIONAL DEBT, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1807.

On Account of GREAT BRITAIN.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By Annual Issue, 26 Geo. III....................................	1,000,000	0	0			
Ditto.............42 ———	200,000	0	0			
99 & 96 Anns..	54,880	14	6			
Anns. 1777	25,000	0	0			
Expired and Unclaimed Anns. on Lives	50,308	5	7			
£. 1 per cent. per ann. on Capitals created by Loans raised from 1793 (that of 1802 excepted) to 1806, both inclusive..........	3,273,191	5	2¼			
Interest on £.3 per cent. Annuities	3,058,224	2	6			
——— on £.4 per cents.	104,696	0	0			
——— on £.5 per cents...	7,100	0	0			
				7,773,400	7	9¼
On Account of IRELAND.						
£. 1 per cent. per ann. on Capitals created by Loans raised from 1797 to 1806, both inclusive..................................	400,418	19	3			
Interest on £.3 per cent. Anns.	93,320	15	8			
				493,739	14	11
On Account of IMPERIAL.						
£. 1 per cent. per ann. on the Capital created by Loan 1797......	36,693	0	0			
Interest on 3 per cent. Imperial Anns............................	19,495	11	5			
				56,188	11	5
Feb. 23, 1807.			£.	8,323,328	14	1¼

APPENDIX (B.) will be found in page xxiii.

APPENDIX (C)—Charges upon the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1807; exclusive of the Interest of the Public Debt, and of the payments upon Exchequer Bills.

	£.	s.	d.
CIVIL LIST.			
For his Majesty's Household....	898,000	0	0
Ditto, by 44 Geo. III. per ann. ...	60,000	0	0
COURTS OF JUSTICE.			
The Judges of England and Wales, in augmentation of their Salaries	18,188	14	10½
A. Graham, Esq. Inspector of the temporary places of confinement of Felons	350	0	0
P. Colquhoun, Esq. Receiver of the Thames Police Office	7,864	14	2
W. Baldwin, Esq. Receiver of the seven Public Offices of Police .	15,216	13	0½
Keeper of the Hanaper in Chancery	2,504	4	1
H. M. Dyer, Esq. Ch. J. Adm. Court, Bahama	2,000	0	0
J. Bedford, Esq. do. Barbadoes	2,000	0	0
J. Sewell, Esq. do. ...... at Malta	2,000	0	0
W. Territt, Esq. do. .. at Bermudas	3,000	0	0
Alex. Croke, Esq. do. Nova Scotia	3,000	0	0
H. I. Hinchliffe, Esq. do Jamaica	2,000	0	0
Sheriffs of England and Wales ...	4,000	0	0
MINT.			
Master of, in England	10,350	0	0
T. Morrison, esq. Receiver of the Fees in the Mint	2,704	10	6
Master of, in Scotland	1,200	0	0
SALARIES & ALLOWANCES.			
The Rt. Hon. C. Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, to complete his Allowance of 6,000l. per ann.	1,979	16	1
The Marquis of Bute, late one of the Auditors of the Imprest ...	7,000	0	0
. Deare, Esq late Deputy do.	300	0	0
E. Roberts, Esq. on the yearly Sum of 650l. formerly paid to the Auditor of the Exchequer	650	0	0
Commissioners for auditing the Public Accounts	2,402	1	2
Salaries in the Office of Clerks of Public Accounts	14,235	12	5
Inspector of Tontine Certificates	750	0	0
Chief Cashier of the Bank of England, for Fees paid at sundry Public Offices	870	2	6
Do. .... of South Sea Co. for do .			
. Marsham, Esq. Sec. to Commissioners for issuing Exchequer Bills, by Act 35 Geo. III.	500	0	0
John Close, Esq. Contingent Expences attending the execution of an Act appointing Commissioners to inquire and examine into the Public Expenditure, and the Conduct of Public Business in the Military Department	1,300	0	0
John Williams, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners for inquiring into Abuses in the Naval Department	500	0	0
The Chairman & Commissioners for Auditing Public Accounts	3,994	6	6¾
The Chairman and Commissioners for Auditing Public Accounts in the West Indies........	1,786	1	7
PENSIONS.			
Representatives of Arthur Onslow	3,000	0	0
Earl of Chatham	4,000	0	0
Lord Rodney	2,000	0	0
—— Heathfield	1,500	0	0
Lady Dorchester	1,000	0	0
John Penn, Esq.	3,000	0	0
Richard Penn, Esq.	1,000	0	0
His R. H. Duke of Clarence	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... York	14,000	0	0
Her R. Highs. the Duchess of York	4,000	0	0
His R. H. the Prince of Wales	65,000	0	0
Ditto ditto	30,000	0	0
Earl St. Vincent	2,000	0	0
Lord Duncan	2,000	0	0
His R. H. the D of Kent........	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Cumberland .	12,000	0	0
Duke of Richmond	12,666	13	4
Sir William Henry Ashurst	2,000	0	0
Sir Beaumont Hotham, Knt.	2,000	0	0
Sir Sidney Smith	1,000	0	0
Lady Abercrombie	2,000	0	0
His R. H. the D. of Sussex	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Cambridge .	12,000	0	0
Lord Hutchinson	2,000	0	0
Sir James Saumarez	1,200	0	0
Duke of Portland, for the Prince of Orange	16,000	0	0
Lord Borringdon and others, in Trust for Lord Amherst	3,000	0	0
John Duke of Athol	2,531	0	0½
Lady Viscountess Nelson	2,436	15	7½
Sir Rich. Strachan	1,178	3	2½
Lord Collingwood	2,436	15	7½
Sir J. T. Duckworth........	911	2	2½
Lord Eldon........	3,633	6	8
H. N. Willis, Esq. for Princess Charlotte of Wales	3,500	0	0
Duke of Gloucester	7,000	0	0
Duchess Dowager of Gloucester .	2,000	0	0
Her Highness Princess Sophia	2,500	0	0
Lord Nelson	6,091	19	0¾
Duke of Grafton	3,435	0	0
Lord Rodney	4,623	6	7¾
His R. H. the D. of Clarence .	3,000	0	0
Do. ....Kent	3,000	0	0
Do........Cumberland	3,000	0	0
Do. .... Sussex	3,000	0	0
Do. .... Cambridge..	3,000	0	0
BOUNTIES.			
For the Encouragement of the Growth of Hemp and Flax	2,956	13	8
Richard Clarke, Esq. Chamberlain of the City of London, for the better Improvement of the Port of London	20,000	0	0
Payments made to the Owners and Occupiers of the Legal Quays between London Bridge and the Tower of London, ...	82,960	2	0
Rt. Hon. C. Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, et al. in trust for Earl Nelson........	90,000	0	0
Do. for interest on £.90,000. at 5 per cent. from 21st Oct. 1805 to 10th Oct. 1806, for do.	4,364	7	8
Do. in trust for Mrs. Susannah Bolton, sister of Earl Nelson	10,000	0	0
Do. in trust for Mrs. C. Matcham do	10,000	0	0
26th April 1807.	£.1,582,572	2	8¾

APPENDIX (B.)—An Account of Interest paid on Exchequer Bills, from the 5th day of January 1806 to the 5th day of January 1807.

Under what Acts issued.		On what Funds charged.	£.	s.	d.
44 Geo. III.	cap. 45.	Supply........Anno 1804	58,520	16	11
45	7.	Loan 1805	20,264	11	3
....	27.	Aids 1805	507,340	11	0
....	118.	Supply 1805	393,353	4	5
....	119.	Vote of Credit 1805	128,261	11	4
....	120.	Supply .... 1805 Bank of England	76,643	16	8
46	6.	Aids................1806	28,588	3	7
....	25.	Supply 1806	33	16	8
		Bank Premiums on Personal Estates, &c. and Malt Tax.........	97,680	6	11
Feb. 20, 1807.			£. 1,310,686	18	9

APPENDIX (D.)—A List of all such Sum and Sums of Money as have been incurred, and become due, upon his Majesty's Establishment for Civil Affairs within Scotland, bearing Date the 19th Day of June 1761, for One Year: from 5th January 1806 inclusive to 5th January 1807 exclusive, made up by the Barons of Exchequer at Edinburgh £. 83,750 14 3¼

APPENDIX (E. 1.)—An Account of the Amount of Bounties paid in England and Scotland, out of the Revenues of Customs and Excise, between the 5th of Jan. 1806 and the 5th of Jan. 1807; being Payments in the Nature of Anticipation of Exchequer Issues.

	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.			GREAT BRITAIN.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS.									
Bounties on Cotton and Linen Manufactures, British and Southern Whale Fishery, Newfoundland and White Herring Fishery	243,227	0	8	64,637	2	5¼	307,864	3	1¼
EXCISE.									
Bounties on British Spirits .... Fish .... Buss and Barrel Bounties, certified on the Excise, for Deficiency of Money in the hands of the Receiver Gen. of the Customs	20,304	19	5¼	13,994	1	8½	34,299	1	1¾
£.	263,532	0	1¼	78,631	4	1¾	342,163	4	3

March 25*th* 1807.

APPENDIX (E. 2.)—General Post Office.—An Account of Pensions and Parliamentary Grants for the Year ended 5th January 1807.

His Grace the Duke of Marlborough	£. 5,000
His Grace the Duke of Grafton	4,700
The heirs of the late Duke of Schomburg	4,000
Feb. 20*th* 1807.	£. 13,700

APPENDIX (E. 3.) Excise.—An Account, shewing how the Public Monies remaining in the Receipt of the Exchequer on 5th Jan. 1806, together with the Monies paid into the same during the Year ending 5th Jan. 1807, and the Monies paid out of the Net Produce of the Revenues of the said Year, in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipt, have been actually applied, so far as regards the Receipt of the Excise in England, and can be ascertained at the Excise Office.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
PENSIONS, viz.						
Duke of Grafton	9,000	0	0			
Earl Cowper	2,000	0	0			
Charles Boon, Esq. Moiety of the Earl of Bath's -	1,500	0	0			
Lord Melbourne's .... ditto..................	1,500	0	0			
				14,000	0	0
BOUNTIES, viz.						
British Spirits	340	12	3¼			
Salted Provisions	19,964	7	2			
				20,304	19	5¼
21*st Feb.* 1807.			£.	34,304	19	5¼

APPENDIX (E. 4.)—An Account of Sums advanced by Receivers General of Land and Assessed Taxes, on Account of Militia, Deserters Warrants, and other Disbursements, under various Acts of Parliament; between 5th Jan. 1806 and the 5th Jan. 1807.

	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Militia and Deserters Warrants	17,599	4	4½	6,057	15	9
Volunteers	59,544	9	8¾	22,172	18	5¾
Defence Act	11,883	0	2½	2,184	13	2
Army of Reserve	39,899	6	2½	4,889	3	5
Yeomanry Cavalry	....			139	5	0
Population Act	....			28	0	4
£.	128,926	0	6¼	35,471	16	1¾
Total....£.	164,397	16	8			

20th March, 1807.

APPENDIX (F.)—Navy Office, 20th Feb. 1807. An Account, shewing the Amount of Monies received from his Majesty's Exchequer, for Naval Services, between the 5th Jan. 1806, and 5th Jan. 1807; distinguishing the Services to which the same have been applied.

HEADS OF SERVICE.	SUM.			TOTAL		
NAVY:	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Salaries to the Admiralty, Navy, and Navy Pay Offices	123,600	0	0			
Wages to Officers and Seamen	2,035,000	0	0			
Bounty to Volunteers, Flag Pay, &c.	325,000	0	0			
Half Pay to Sea Officers, and Bounty to Chaplains	201,895	8	6			
Pensions to Sea Officers, their Widows, &c. and to superannuated Artificers	90,000	0	0			
Wages to His Majesty's Dock and Rope Yards	931,718	2	11½			
Building of Ships, purchase of Stores of every Description, repairing of Ships, purchase of Ships taken from the Enemy, Head Money, &c. paid in Bills at Ninety Days Date	4,743,095	1	10½			
Pilotage	35,000	0	0			
Bills of Exchange, Imprests, and Contingencies	851,000	0	0			
Exchequer Fees	9,000	0	0			
Marine Services on Shore, and Half Pay to Marine Officers	437,500	0	0			
				9,782,808	13	4
VICTUALLING.						
Provisions and all sorts of Victualling Stores, paid for in Bills at Ninety Days Date	3,263,286	11	11			
Wages to the Victualling Yards	135,100	0	0			
Bills of Exchange and Imprest	849,000	0	0			
Necessary and Extra Necessary Money, and Contingencies	117,500	0	0			
Widows Pensions	15,194	19	7			
				4,380,081	11	6
TRANSPORTS, &c.						
Freight of Transports, Maintenance of Prisoners of War, and Expence of Sick and Wounded Seamen, paid for in Bills of Ninety Days Date	1,632,137	13	0			
Bills of Exchange, and all other Services paid for in Ready Money	289,000	0	0			
				1,921,137	13	0
			£	16,084,027	17	10

N. B. In the above Total the Sum of £.900,000 is included, being so much granted by His Majesty out of the Proceeds of Spanish Property, and directed to be applied as part of the Supplies for Naval Services in the Year 1806.

APPENDIX (G.)—An Account of Monies paid by the Office of ORDNANCE, in the Year 1806, for Services at Home and Abroad respectively.

	£.	s.	d.
Services at Home	4,316,735	11	11
Services Abroad	194,328	9	8
	£. 4,511,064	1	7

9th March, 1807.

APPENDIX (H.)—An Account of Monies paid by the Right Hon. the Paymaster Gen. of his Majesty's FORCES, from 25th Dec. 1805, to the 24th Dec. 1806.

	£.	s.	d.
Pay and Allowances of the Forces, &c. Captains Allowances, Off-reckonings, Recruiting and Contingencies, Bills, and Clothing	8,155,265	8	5
Exchequer Fees	86,903	16	10
Garrisons	12,000	0	0
Pay of Officers	74,236	10	8
Staff	177,955	4	1
Barracks	347,417	19	4
Half Pay	213,000	0	0
Widows Pensions	26,000	0	0
Chelsea Hospital	189,712	0	8
Extraordinaries	5,828,999	7	8
	£.15,111,400	7	8

15*th March* 1806.

APPENDIX (I.)—An Account of LOANS, REMITTANCES, and ADVANCES to other Countries, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1807; specifying the Total Amount paid to them respectively.

There was remitted out of Supplies 1806, to that Part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, viz.	£.	s.	d.
Out of Loan 1806, per Act 46 Geo. III. Cap. 33.	1,724,000	0	0
Out of Lotteries 1806, per .... Ditto .... Cap. 148.	44,000	0	0
	£.1,768,000	0	0

25*th March* 1807.

APPENDIX (K.)—An Account, shewing how the Monies remaining in the Receipt of the EXCHEQUER on the 5th Day of Jan. 1806, together with the Monies paid into the same during the Year ending the 5th of Jan. 1807, have been actually applied; so far as relates to MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES; specifying the Amount of Monies paid for Services at Home and Abroad respectively.

SERVICES AT HOME.	£.	s.	d.
For Bounties on taking and bringing Fish to the Cities of London and Westminster, and other Places in the United Kingdom 1801	7,000	0	0
For the Relief of certain St. Domingo Sufferers 1803	10,000	0	0
For printing Journals of the House of Commons, for printing and delivering Votes, and for reprinting Journals, Indexes, and Reports of the House of Commons, 1804	2,000	0	0
For the Royal Military College, 1804, 5, 6	17,360	10	2
For completing the Works carrying on at Chetney Hill, 1804	10,000	0	[illegible]

To be distributed to the Officers, Seamen, and Marines, on board the Fleet under the Command of Samuel Lord Viscount Hood, in part of £. 265,336. 14. 10½, being the estimated Value of the Ships and Vessels taken possession of and armed for His Majesty's Service at Toulon, with their Ordnance and Ordnance Stores, 1804	10,000	0	0
For confining, maintaining, and employing Convicts at Home, 1805/6	49,083	1	7½
To defray Bills of the Usher of the Court of Exchequer for Stationary, &c. for 1805/6	1,649	14	7
Towards defraying the Expence of the Public Office, Bow Street, 1805/6	11,303	19	0
Protestant Dissenting Ministers in England, and for the Relief of the poor French Protestant Clergy and Laity, for 1805/6	10,713	11	6
For reprinting Journals, Indexes, and Reports of the House of Commons, and for printing Papers respecting the Mahratta War, and to complete printing 1750 Copies of the 57th Volume of Journals, 1805	6,000	0	0
To be paid to the Officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons 1805/6	5,004	11	0
For the extra Charge of Messengers of the Three Secretaries of State, 1805/6	8.500	0	0
For Do. .... of Contingencies .... Do.	14,415	0	0
For the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, for 1805/6	24,000	0	0
For the Ministers of the Vaudois Churches, for 1805/6	1,828	5	4
Towards making an Inland Navigation from the Eastern to the Western Sea, 1805/6	50,000	0	0
For Printing and Stationary for the Two Houses of Parliament, for 1805/6	25,570	17	6
For Deficiency of Printing, &c. for the Two Houses of Parliament, 1804/5	6,089	1	4½
Extraor. Expences of Prosecutions relating to the Coin of this Kingdom, in 1805/6	1,800	0	0
For defraying the Charge of the Superintendence of Aliens 1805	6,000	0	0
For defraying the Charge of the Works and Repairs of the Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, 1805	10,000	0	0
Towards the Support of an Institution called the Veterinary College, for 1805	1,500	0	0
For Works done at the two Houses of Parliament and at the House of the Speaker,	23,189	10	5
For Repairing of the Marshalsea Prison, 1805	1,421	11	11¾
For the French Clergy and Laity; Toulonese, Corsican, and Dutch Emigrants; and American Loyalists	141,149	17	0
To Sheriffs, for Conviction of Felons and Overpayments	14,200	0	0
To the E. I. Company, for Expences incurred by them in the Service of the Public	1,000,000	0	0
or enabling Earl Nelson to form an Establishment suitable to his Dignity	10,000	0	0
or the Use of the Officers and Seamen who served under the late Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, at the Battle off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st Oct. 1805	287,500	0	0
or discharging the Annuity granted to the late Duke of Gloucester, to the Day of His Royal Highness's Decease	2,381	17	6
or the Works and Repairs of the Military Roads in North Britain	4,994	1	8
or printing and delivering Votes of the House of Commons, and printing Bills Reports, &c.	1,708	5	8
o the Trustees of the British Museum	3,400	0	0
Ditto .... further Grant	7,500	0	0
o the Governors of Bethlem, for building a new Hospital	10,000	0	0
or the Expences of the Funeral of the late Lord Viscount Nelson	14 698	11	6
Do. .... Right Hon. W. Pitt	6,045	2	6
or carrying on the building of a new Mint	30,000	0	0
or the Deficiency of the Grants of 1804/5, for the extraordinary Expences of Prosecutions relating to Coin	1,270	17	9
or defraying Law Charges	17,000	0	0
or the Board of Agriculture	3,000	0	0
or Compensation to Messrs. Chalmers and Cowie, for Loss on the Importation of Swedish Herrings, in consequence of an Embargo	25,000	0	0
or purchasing Buildings and Ground in and near Palace Yard, Westminster	54,184	14	0
or the Royal College of Surgeons, to erect a Building for the Reception of Dr. Hunter's Collection, and a Theatre for the Delivery of Public Lectures on Anatomy and Surgery	3,000	0	0
or an Allowance to the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry	25,499	1	4¾
Do. .... Military Do	10,401	0	11¾
or Salaries to the Officers, and Incidental Expences of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt	2,277	19	0
o William Young, Esq; for Expences attending the execution of an Act for the Redemption of the Land Tax	1,667	18	10
or Salaries and Expences of American Commissioners	1,260	0	0
o the Bank of England, for Discount on Prompt Payments on Loan £. 22,500,000	374,513	1	3
o .... Do .... for receiving the above Loan	18,130	6	3
o .... Do .... for receiving Loan of £.521,409 6 1 for paying off £.5 per Cents. at 10th Oct. 1805	420	2	11
o .... Do .... for receiving Contributions to Lotteries	2,000	0	0
o .... Do .... for Discount on Prompt Payments thereon	3,048	19	8
o the Commissioners for preparing and drawing Lotteries 1804/5/6	17,033	6	8
replace to His Majesty's Civil List Revenues the Sums issued thereout, pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons; viz.			
r the last Instalment for erecting a Monument in St. Paul's Cathedral to the Memory of Captains Moss and Riou	1,481	6	0
the Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, Sess. 1805	1,059	17	8
the Second Clerk Assistant to the House of Commons, in Do	1,085	4	0

To H. Alexander, Esq; as Chairman of the Committee of Ways & Means, Sess. 1805	1,300	0	0
To George Whittam, Esq; for making an Index to the Votes in Session 1805	310	0	0
To T. E. Tomlins, Esq. for compiling Registers for the Committees on expired and expiring Laws	150	0	0
To the Deputy Serjeant at Arms, to make up his Allowance equal to £. 500, for the Session 1805	332	3	0
For Compensations to Officers of the House of Commons for their Attendance on Public Committees in Session 1805	218	2	0
For the last Instalment for erecting a Monument to the Memory of Captain Westcott	1,481	5	0
For Do Do to the Memory of Major General Dundas	1,113	7	0
For discharging the Debts of the late Right Hon. W. Pitt	41,010	6	0
For Rewards to Persons employed under the Commissioners for carrying into execution the Measures recommended by the Ho. of Com. respecting the Public Records	4,309	18	1
To Edward Colman, Esq late Serjeant at Arms, attending the House of Commons	329	13	4¾

To make good to His Majesty's Civil List Revenues Monies issued thereout, for Public Services; viz.

For additional Allowance to Clerks in the Office for auditing the Public Accounts	11,284	13	0
To the Chairman of the Committee of the house of Peers, for his Attendance in Session 1805	2,698	13	0
To Thomas Brodie, Esq. for making an Index to Vol. 32. Lords Journals	534	14	0
To Dr. Clarke, for his Trouble and Attendance relative to an Act for enforcing the Residence of the Clergy	556	13	0
Expences of a Plan for the more perfect Security of Shipping in the Port of London	1,299	4	0
To John Clementson, for One Year's Rent of a House in lieu of Apartments he resigned at the House of Commons	219	14	0
For the Consideration of the Assignment of Lord Eliot's Interest, &c. in a House in Downing Street, for an Office for the Secretary of State for the Home Department	3,435	19	6
To W. Chinnery, Esq. for sundry Persons Travelling and other Expences, in consequence of their Attendance on the Select Committee relating to Sir H. Popham	457	1	6
For the Purchase of Sweedland Court, Tower Hill, for the site of the new Mint	7,062	12	6
For the Relief of British Subjects detained in France	1,059	2	0
For the Purchase of Two Houses in Albion Street, Adelphi, for the additional Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts	1,949	2	6
To J. Johnson, Architect, for carrying on the Building of the new Mint	35,000	0	0
For Expences of a Plan for the Establishment of a Horse Patrol for the Public Roads leading to the Metropolis	7,513	18	0
To E. Stracey, Esq. as a Compensation for his Services as Counsel to the Chairman of the Committee of the House of Peers, Sess. 1804/5	1,515	9	0
To W. Chinnery, Esq. to pay Bills drawn on account of New South Wales	1,592	12	2
For Deficiency of Grant for Expences of Public Office Bow Street, 1805	243	10	5
To Joseph White, Esq. to defray Law Charges	5,000	0	0
To Capt. Bowen, for forming a settlement on Van Dieman's Land	302	10	4
To Bernard Cobbe, Esq. to pay Fees on passing Public Accounts	3,000	0	0
To W. Walter, Esq. for Salaries of the additional Commissioners for auditing Public Accounts, and their Officers	5,243	3	0
To H. C. Litchfield, Esq. for Law Charges	5,000	0	0
To Snowdon Barne, Esq. Treasurer's Remembrancer, for warming the Repository for Public Records	40	17	0
For making and publishing Weekly Returns of the Average Price of Sugar	434	17	0
To Messrs. Winter and Kaye, Solicitors to the Managers of the Impeachment against Lord Viscount Melville	4,000	0	0

SERVICES ABROAD.

For His Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services, 1805/6	101,514	17	0
For repairing and maintaining British Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa	18,000	0	0
For Expences of Mission for making Discoveries in Africa	2,138	2	6
To pay Bills drawn from New South Wales	20,420	0	0

For the Civil Establishment of

Bermuda 1805	290	0	0	New S. Wales	12,819	9	4½	Pr. Edward's I.	3,100	0	0
Upper Canada	8,250	0	0	Nova Scotia	7,165	0	0	Newfoundland	2,565	0	0
Cape Breton	2,040	0	0	NewBrunswick	4,650	0	0	Sierra Leone	18,000	0	0
BahamaIslands	4,400	0	0								

	205,352	8	10½
£	2,766,693	0	11¼

25th March 1807.

Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT and DEMANDS OUTSTANDING on 5th January 1807; under the Heads of, Exchequer, Treasury, Army, Barracks, Ordnance, Navy, Civil List Advances, and any other Head of Public Service; specifying the same: Distinguishing, under each Head respectively, the Particulars of which such Debt or Demands onsisted; and also what Part of the said Debt or Demands was then provided for, and in what Manner; and what Part thereof was unprovided for.

CHEQUER BILLS:								
By what Acts raised.	On what Funds charged.		Amount Outstanding.					
Geo. III. cap. 2.	Malt Tax	1805	220,000	0	0			
to cap. 6.	Aids	1806	4,250,600	0	0			
to cap. 25.	Ditto	ditto	10,499,000	0	0			
to cap. 26.	Ditto	ditto	1,500,000	0	0			
to cap. 41.	Extension of Bank Charter		3,000,000	0	0			
to cap. 93.	Aids	1806	7,737,500	0	0			
						27,207,500	0	0
EASURY:								
Miscellaneous Services			398,711	14	9¾			
Warrants for Army Services			Nil.					
Treasury Bills accepted previous to and on 5th Jan. 1807, due subsequent to that day			284,006	1	11½			
						682,717	16	9¼
MY:								
Ordinary Services			1,324,937	3	11			
Extraordinary Services			Nil.					
						1,324,937	3	11
rracks						504,876	17	3
dnance						1,255,071	14	1
vy						5,885,819	16	7½
il List Advances						41,681	1	6
						£.36,902,604	10	1¾

aitehall, Treasury-Chambers,
25th March, 1807.

N. VANSITTART.

Account of the NOTES of the BANK of ENGLAND n Circulation (including Bank Post Bills) from he 1st February 1806, to the 1st February 1807; distinguishing the Amount in Circulation in each Quarter, and the Amount of those under the Value of £.5.

ount of Bank of England Notes of £.5 each, and upwards, including Bank Post Bills payable Seven Days after Sight.

	£.
06. May 1	12,722,060
August 1	12,995,550
November 1	12,814,900
07. February 1	12,333,430

ount of Bank of England Notes of £.2 and £.1 each.

06. May 1	4,363,090
August 1	4,285,780
November 1	4,224,820
07. February 1	4,287,960

nk of England,
th March 1807.

WILLM DAWES,
Acct Gen.

An Account of the NOTES of the BANK of IRELAND in Circulation, from the 1st February 1806, to the 1st February 1807, (including Bank Post Bills); distinguishing the Amount in Circulation in each Quarter, and the Amount of those under the Value of £.5.

		£.	s.	d.
1806.	Value of £.5 and upwards	1,790,120	12	5
	Ditto below £.5	783,527	13	6
	1st May 1806	2,573,648	5	11
	Value of £.5 and upwards	1,769,111	5	2½
	Ditto below £.5	893,903	0	6
	1st August	2,663,014	5	8½
	Value of £.5 and upwards	1,869,101	14	11
	Ditto below £.5	929,934	10	3
	1st November	2,799,036	5	2
	Value of £.5 and upwards	1,863,886	9	4
	Ditto below £.5	920,979	10	6
1807.	1st February	2,784,865	19	10

For the Gov. and Co. of the Bank of Ireland,
Dublin,
9th March 1807.

WILLIAM DONLEVY,
Acct Gen.

An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the Public Funded Debt of
and specifying how much of each has been redeemed by the Commissioners for the Re-
the Sums annually applicable to the Reduction thereof: likewise, the Annuities to fall in:
redeemed.

Funds.	Capitals.			Redeemed by Commissrs. from 1st Aug. 1786, to 1st Feb. 1807.	Total Sums paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	£.	s.	d.
Consolidated 3 per Cent. Annuities - - -	384,196,558	4	5¼	47,137,310	28,774,099	19	9
Reduced Ditto - - - - -	150,144,044	7	10	56,661,807	34,238,042	4	2
Old South-Sea Annuities - - - -	24,065,084	13	11½	3,681,000	2,608,072	13	9
New Ditto ditto - - - - -				2,899,000	2,062,618	4	3
3 per Cent. Ditto, 1751 - - - - -	1,919,600	0	0	722,000	527,949	5	0
Consolidated 4 per Cent. Annuities - -	49,425,084	17	2	2,617,400	2,278,402	1	3
Ditto 5 per Cent. ditto - - - -	44,809,542	1	8	142,000	126,998	7	6
5 per Cent. Annuities, 1797 and 1802 - - -	2,406,132	13	3				
3 per Cent. Ditto, 1726 - - - - -	1,000,000	0	0				
Ditto Bank Annuities - - - - -	11,686,800	0	0				
	669,652,846	18	3¾	113,860,517	70,616,182	15	8
Transferred to the Commissioners, by reason of Land-Tax redeemed, at 1st Feb. 1807 - - -	22,716,205	7	5				
Debt existing at 1st Feb. 1807 - -	646,936,641	10	10¾				
Redeemed by the Commissioners - - -	113,860,517	0	0				
Debt unredeemed at 1st Feb. 1807 - £.	533,076,124	10	10¾				

An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the Public Debt of Ireland, Funded in Great Britain, at 1st February 1807.

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by the Commissrs. at 1st Feb. 1807.	Total Sums paid.			Average Price of Stocks.	Sums Annually applicable to the Reduction of Debt.			
	£.	£.	£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.
Consol. 3 perCt. Ann.	26,429,250	1,759,890	1,071,495	8	4	60⅞	1 perCent. on Capitals created	425,318	19	3
Reduced ditto - - -	14,628,750	1,961,451	1,169,368	1	3	59⅝				
Consol. 4 per Ct. ditto	300,000									
Ditto 5 per Ct. ditto	360,000	3,721,341	2,240,863	9	7		Dividend on 3,721,341*l.* 3 perCent. Ann.	111,640	4	7
	41,718,000									
Redeemd by Commis.	3,721,341							536,959	3	10
Unred. 1st Feb. 1807	37,996,659									

Exchequer,
March 16, 1807.

Wm ROSE HAWORTH.

GREAT BRITAIN, at 1st of February 1807; distinguishing the several Capitals of the Funds, duction of the National Debt since 1st August 1786; the Average Price of Stocks; and also, the Capital of Debt transferred to the said Commissioners on Account of Land-Tax

Average Price of Stocks.	SUMS Annually applicable to the Reduction of the National Debt.	£.	s.	d.
61⅛	Annual Charge, per 26 G. III.	1,000,000	0	0
60⅜	Ditto, 42 ditto - - - -	200,000	0	0
70⅞ 71⅛	Annuities for 99 and 96 Years, expired 1792 -	54,880	14	6
73⅛	Ditto for 10 Years, exp. 1787	25,000	0	0
87 89⅜	Life Annuities unclaimed for 3 Years, or of which the Nominees have died prior to 5th July 1802 -	49,598	0	7
	Dividend on 111,101,117*l.* at 3 per Cent. - - -	3,333,033	10	2
62	Ditto on 2,617,400*l.* at 4 per Cent. - - - -	104,696	0	0
	Ditto on 142,000*l.* Navy, at 5 per Cent. - - -	7,100	0	0
	Annuity of 1 per Cent. on Part of Capitals created since 1st Feb. 1793 -	3,491,679	10	7
		8,265,987	15	10

ANNUITIES Fallen in since 22d June 1802, or that will fall in hereafter.	£.	s.	d.
Excheq. Ann^s. 2 & 3 Anne, expired 5th April 1803	23,369	13	4
Ditto, expir. 5th Jan. 180	7,030	6	8
Ditto, 4 Anne, 5th April 180	23,254	11	6
Ditto, 5 Anne, 5th April 180	7,776	10	0
Ditto, 6 Anne, 5th April 1805	4,710	10	0
Ditto, ditto, 5th July 1807	10,181	0	0
Bank Long Ann^s. expir. 1860	1,047,499	5	4½
Ditto Short ditto - - - 1808	418,333	0	11

By an Act 42 Geo. III. cap. 71. such Annuities as fall in after passing that Act, are not to be placed to the Account of the Commissioners for Reduction of the National Debt; but are no longer to be continued in the Annual Charge thereof.

An Account of the Progress made in the REDEMPTION of the IMPERIAL DEBT at 1st February 1807.

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by the Commissrs. at 1st Feb. 1807.	Total Sums paid.			Average Price of Stocks.	Sums Annually applicable to the Reduction of Debt.			
	£.	£.	£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.
Imperial 3 per Cent. Annuities - -	3,699,300	734,604	426,187	8	10	58	1 per Cent. on Capital created	36,693	0	0
Redeemed by the Commissioners	734,604						Dividend on 734,604*l.* 3 per Cent. Annuit.	22,038	2	4
Unredeemed, Feb. 1, 1807 - -	2,934,696							58,731	2	4

Office for Reduction of the National Debt.

G. T. GOODENOUGH,
Secretary.

Abstract Statement of the PUBLIC INCOME of IRELAND

Heads of Revenue.	Gross Receipt within the Year.			Total Receipt to be accounted for.			Re-payments, Drawbacks, Discounts, &c.			Charges of Managemen	
Ordinary Revenues:	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.
Customs	1920359	16	4¾	4915843	14	3½	194646	2	3¼	351654	15
Excise	1980623	15	0								
Stamps	572127	12	1¾	696480	19	11¾	21281	12	7¾	32336	4
Post Office	149857	3	3	164023	11	9	19278	9	4	71662	2
Poundage Fees	25554	15	11	25554	15	11	-	-	-	-	-
Pells Fees	5110	19	1	5110	19	1	-	-	-	-	-
Duty on Wrought Plate	5210	6	3	5210	6	3	-	-	-	-	-
Casualties	4553	1	8½	4553	1	8½	-	-	-	-	-
Total Ordinary Revenues	4663397	9	9	5816777	8	11¾	235206	4	3	455653	3
Extraordinary Resources:											
Granted by His Majesty 2-17ths of 1,000,000*l.* British, from the Produce of Spanish Prizes	127450	18	4	127450	18	4	-	-	-	-	-
Gain by Exchange on Sums received from Great Britain	129	16	4½	129	16	4½	-	-	-	-	-
Gain on Silver Coinage	10913	4	4½	10913	4	4½	-	-	-	-	-
Commissioners of the Navy, on Account of Advances by Collectors in Ireland, for Seamen's Wages, &c.	38962	13	4¼	38962	13	4¼	-	-	-	-	-
From Great Britain on Account of the Profit of Lotteries	192901	0	10	192901	0	10	-	-	-	-	-
From several County Treasurers, paid to several Revenue Collectors, on Account of Advances made by the Treasury for enrolling the Militia	7283	14	3½	19740	5	4½	-	-	-	-	-
From several County Treasurers, paid to several Revenue Collectors, on Account of Deficiencies in the Army of Reserve	6778	11	3	11415	8	5	-	-	-	-	-
Other Monies paid to the Public	51566	11	2	51566	11	2	-	-	-	-	-
Appropriated Duties for Local Objects.											
Linen Manufacture	598	11	2	2872	2	10½	392	7	8	-	-
Improvement of Dublin	11055	16	11	11687	5	9	7	3	0	-	-
Repairs of the Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1377	10	0	1677	14	2	-	-	-	-	-
Lagan Navigation	4407	19	3¾	6221	19	3¾	2430	4	4	98	17
Inns of Court	5625	3	2½	5625	3	2½	-	-	-	-	-
Total, independent of the Loans	5122449	0	4	6297941	12	6¼	238035	19	3	455752	1
Loans paid into the Exchequer in the Year ended the 5th January 1807	4359006	6	10	4359006	6	10	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Total	9481455	7	2	10656947	19	4½	238035	19	3	455752	1

NOTES.

	Rates of Collecting, per Cent.					
	Gross Rev.			Net Rev.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs and Excise	9	0	3⅜	9	18	1¾
Stamps	5	13	0⅜	5	19	9⅝
Post Office	47	16	4⅝	91	12	10¾

	£.	s.	d.			
The Appropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1806, amounted to	7469	14	9	278184	18	7¼
The Unappropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1806, amounted to	270715	3	10¼			
The Appropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1807, amounted to	4417	5	1½	518514	11	1¾
The Unappropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1807, amounted to	514097	6	0¼			

for the Year ended the 5th of January 1807.

Total Payments out of the Gross Revenue.			Net Produce, applicable to National Objects and to Payments into the Exchequer.			Payments on account of Militia, Deserters, straggling Seamen, Army of Reserve, &c.			Bounties for promoting the Fisheries, Linen Manufacture, &c.			Total Payments out of the Net Produce.			Payments into the Exchequer.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
546300	18	2¼	4369542	16	1¼	71881	1	1¼	49880	16	2½	121761	17	3¾	3234936	1	2¼
53617	17	1¼	642863	2	10½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	516941	12	8¾
90940	12	2½	73082	19	6½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	54574	7	7
-	-	-	25554	15	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25554	15	11
-	-	-	5110	19	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5110	19	1
-	-	-	5210	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5210	6	3
-	-	-	4553	1	8½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4553	1	8½
690859	7	6	5125918	1	5¾	71881	1	1¼	49880	16	2½	121761	17	3¾	3846881	4	5½
-	-	-	127450	18	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	127450	18	4
-	-	-	129	16	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	129	16	4½
-	-	-	10913	4	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10913	4	4½
-	-	-	38962	13	4¼	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38962	13	4¼
-	-	-	192901	0	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	192901	0	10
-	-	-	19740	5	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4259	14	7½
-	-	-	11415	8	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2440	[illegible]	0
-	-	-	51566	11	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51566	11	2
392	7	8	2479	15	2½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	550	0	0
7	3	0	11680	2	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10722	9	8
-	-	-	1677	14	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1258	0	0
2529	2	1	3692	17	2¾	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3554	9	0
-	-	-	5625	3	2½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5625	3	2½
693788	0	3	5604153	12	3¼	71881	1	1¼	49880	16	2½	121761	17	3¾	4297215	5	4¾
-	-	-	4359006	6	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4359006	6	10
693788	0	3	9963159	19	1¼	71881	1	1¼	49880	16	2½	121761	17	3¾	8656221	12	2¾

NOTES.

	BALANCES.								
	Balances in the Hands of the different Collectors.			Balances in the Hands of the Receiver-General.			Bills in the Hands of the Receiver-General.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
5th Jan. 1806 . .	331529	8	10⅝	-	-	-	222886	0	0
5th Jan. 1807 . .	353132	17	2⅜	-	-	-	202986	4	0

Accountant-General's Office,
28th February 1806.

STEPHEN MOORE,
Accᵗ-Genˡ.

An Account of the CONSOLIDATED FUND of IRELAND, for the Year ending the 5th of JANUARY, 1807; and also the actual Payments thereout, within the said Year; and the total Charge thereon, in respect of the said Year; specifying also the Surplus of the said Consolidated Fund.

	INCOME.					
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance in the Consolidated Fund remaining in the Exchequer on the 5th of January 1806	270,715	3	10¼			
Custom and Excise Duties, including Quit Rents and Payments by dismissed Collectors	3,234,936	1	2¼			
Stamp Duties	516,941	12	8¾			
Post-Office Revenue	54,574	7	7			
Duty on Wrought Plate	5,210	6	3			
Poundage Fee	25,554	15	11			
Pells Fee	5,110	19	1			
				4,113,043	6	7¼
Repayments from Great Britain of Advances from Seamen's Wages	. . . . .			38,962	13	4½
From several County Treasurers per the Receiver-General, on Account of Advances made by the Treasury for enrolling the Militia	. . . . .			4,259	14	7½
More —— per Ditto —— for Fines levied on Parishes, for Deficiences in their Proportion of Men for Army of Reserve	. . . . .			2,440	—	—
Gain by Exchange on Sums received from Great Britain	. . . . .			129	16	4½
Gain on the Silver Coinage for Ireland	. . . . .			10,913	4	4½
Other Monies paid to the Public	. . . . .			56,119	12	10½
				4,225,868	8	2½
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.						
On Account of Loans	. . . . .			4,359,006	6	10
From Great Britain for ⅓d of the Profits on the 2d and 3d Lotteries of 1805, and the 1st Lottery of 1806	. . . . .			192,901	—	10
More for 2-17th Parts of £.1,000,000 British, granted by His Majesty from the Produce of Spanish Prizes	. . . . .			127,450	18	4
				8,905,226	14	2

	ACTUAL PAYMENTS.			CHARGE.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Interest on Funded Debt, including Annuities and Management	2,514,269	19	5½	2,496,406	12	1½
Interest on Unfunded Debt	3,006	9	8¾	3,029	13	3¼
Sinking Fund and Management	649,395	14	11	649,395	14	11
Principal of Debentures	. . . . .			2,225	—	—
Principal of Exchequer Bills	30,550	—	—	31,208	6	8
Lottery Prizes	153	—	—	27,180	—	—
Discount on prompt Payment of Loan Deposits, &c.	47,687	4	4¾	47,687	4	4¾
Repayment to British Exchequer of an Advance in 1802	299,000	—	—	299,000	—	—
Compensation for Losses by the Union	860	8	8	860	16	8
Inland Navigations	74,702	19	7	74,702	19	7
Light House at Clue Bay	1,464	8	8	1,464	8	8
	3,621,090	13	5	3,633,160	16	3½
Civil List	133,995	14	8¼	145,000	—	—
Pensions	93,250	16	2¼	Unascertained.		
Permanent Parliament Payments	199,072	13	—¼			
Military Purposes	4050,162	2	9			
Vote of Credit	7,906	14	1¼			
Annual Grants	285,660	14	—¼			
	8,391,129	8	2¼	Unascertained.		
Surplus of Consolidated Fund on 5th January 1807	514,097	6	—¼			
	8,905,226	14	2½			

Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle,
28th February, 1807.

G. CAVENDISH.

Account of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of IRELAND, for the Year ending on the 5th of January 1807.

(N. B. For the Particulars under each Head, see the several Accounts referred to by Letters A, B, &c.)

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
I. For Interest on the Funded Debt of Ireland, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years; also 1 per Cent. for the Reduction of the Capital created by Loans since 1797, (A. 1 and 2)	3,068,983	16	2						
For Charge of Management thereon	-	-	-	27,046	9	10½			
There was also applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt, the Annual Issue of	67,635	8	4						
	3,136,619	4	6						
Whereof was applied, towards the Reduction of the National Debt	859,963	14	1						
Total on Account of Interest	2,276,655	10	5						
Ditto for Charge of Management	27,046	9	10½						
Ditto, on Account of the Reduction of the National Debt	859,963	14	1						
				3,163,665	14	4½			
II. The Interest on Exchequer Bills, (B.)	-	-	-	3,006	9	8¾			
III. Issues for Purposes appointed by the Parliament of Ireland prior to the Union, &c. (C.)	-	-	-	454,418	9	3¾			
IV. Issues from appropriated Funds for local Purposes, (D.)	-	-	-	24,762	11	6			
							3,645,853	4	11
V. Civil List	-	-	-	133,995	14	8¼			
Pensions	-	-	-	93,250	16	2¼			
Other Permanent Charges, (E.)	-	-	-	199,072	13	0¼			
							426,319	3	10¾
VI. Payments in Anticipation of Exchequer Receipts, viz.									
Bounties	-	-	-	49,880	16	2½			
Militia, Army of Reserve, Deserters' Warrants, &c. (F. 1 and 2)	-	-	-	71,881	1	1¼			
							121,761	17	3¾
VII. Ordnance, (G.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	874,475	0	0
VIII. Army.—Ordinary Service, viz.									
Regulars, Militia, and Volunteer Corps	-	-	-	2,236,326	19	10			
Barracks	-	-	-	286,659	2	9½			
Staff Officers, and Officers of Garrisons	-	-	-	64,821	1	9			
Half-pay Officers, Supernumerary Officers, and Reduced Chaplains	-	-	-	30,192	12	2½			
Officers' Widows	-	-	-	4,947	6	9			
Royal Hospital	-	-	-	47,096	5	8¾			
Public Officers, their Deputies, Clerks, and Incidental Expences, (H.)	-	-	-	9,501	7	4¼			
				2,679,544	16	5			
Extraordinary Services	-	-	-	496,142	6	4			
							3,175,687	2	9
IX. Miscellaneous, (I.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	285,650	14	0¼
Lastly, Vote of Credit, (K.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,906	14	1¼
Total	-	-	-	-	-	£.	8,537,653	17	0

Treasury-Chambers, Dublin Castle, }
28th February 1807. }

G. CAVENDISH.

(A. 1.) An Account of the Monies paid out of the Receipt of the Exchequer, in the Year ending the 5th January 1807, towards defraying the Charges of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of Ireland; distinguishing the Total Amount of the Sums applied for Interest, Charge of Management, and the Annual Issue for its Reduction.

	Interest & Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years, &c.			Charge of Management.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Interest, &c. on the Funded Debt of Ireland	3,068,983	16	2	27,046	9	10½
	27,046	9	10½			
	3,096030	6	0½			
Annual Issue for the Reduction of the National Debt	67,635	8	4			
	3,163,665	14	4½			

(A. 2.) An Account of the Total Amount of the Sums actually received by the Commissioners for the REDUCTION of the NATIONAL DEBT, in the Year ending 5th January 1807.

	In Great Britain.			In Ireland.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Annual Issue	-	-	-	67,635	8	4
Expired Annuities	-	-	-	2,250	0	0
Appropriation of 1*l.* per Cent. per Annum on Loans since	442,778	17	4	136,512	2	9
	442,778	17	4	206,397	11	1
Interest on Debt of Ireland redeemed	120,943	11	7½	89,843	14	0½
	563,722	8	11½	296,241	5	1½
	296,241	5	1½			
£	859,963	14	1			

(B.) An Account of the INTEREST on EXCHEQUER BILLS, with the Payments made in the Year from the 5th January 1806, to the 5th January 1807.

	£.	s.	d.	
There remained unclaimed on the 5th January 1806, Interest on Exchequer Bills to 25 December 1805	1,045	8	4¼	
Charge for Interest. On 30,000*l.*—at 6*l.* per Cent. per Annum, from 25th Dec. 1805, to 25th March 1806	450	0	0	
On 200,000*l.*—at 5*l.* per Cent. per Annum, from 14th April 1806, to 9th June following	1,534	4	11	
	3,029	13	3¼	
Deduct Interest unclaimed on 5th January 1807	23	3	6½	
Total Payments for Interest on Exchequer Bills, in the Year to 5th January 1807	-	-	-	£.3,006 9 8¾

(C.) An Account of PAYMENTS made for Purposes appointed by the PARLIAMENT of IRELAND prior to the Union, for Principal of Exchequer Bills, and for Discount on Prompt Payment of Loan Deposits, &c. in the Year ending the 5th January 1807.

	£.	s.	d.
For Light-House at Clue Bay	1,464	8	8
Compensation for Losses by the Union	860	16	8
Inland Navigations	74,702	19	7
Repayment to the British Exchequer, for an Advance in 1802 to pay Lottery Prizes	299,000	0	0
Lottery Prizes	153	0	0
Principal of Exchequer Bills	30,550	0	0
Discount on Prompt Payment of Loan Deposits, &c.	47,687	4	4
£	454,418	9	3

.) An Account of Payments made from the Funds appropriated for Local Purposes in Ireland, from the 5th January 1806, to the 5th January 1807.

	£.	s.	d.
gan Navigation	5,054	9	0
proving Dublin	10,812	9	8
ıs of Courts	7,125	3	2½
yal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1,770	9	7½
	£. 24,762	11	6

.) An Account of Payments in the Year to the 5th January 1807, under the several Heads of—Civil List, Pensions, and other Permanent Charges.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
rear on Civil List on 5th January 1806	25,141	10	2½			
arge for Ditto, for One Year, to 25th December 1806, including 3,250*l.* Repayment of Advances	148,250	0	0			
	173,391	10	2½			
duct Arrear on 5th January 1807	39,395	15	6¼			
sues to the Civil List in One Year to 5th January 1807				133,995	14	8¼
ensions				93,250	16	2¼
ther Permanent Charges; viz.						
Public Infirmaries	3,450	0	0			
Public Coal Yards	3,382	9	3½			
Army Baggage	13,110	0	4			
Police Establishment	15,925	14	0½			
Inspector-General of Prisons	200	0	0			
Transportation of Felons	644	11	11¾			
Fees on Auditing Treasury Accounts	2,649	9	8			
Imprest Office	2,600	0	0			
Secret Service in detecting Treasonable Conspiracies	6,701	0	6½			
Annuities and Compensation Allowances	117,191	19	10¾			
Judges' additional Salaries, &c.	29,420	14	1¼			
Disembodied Militia	1,585	19	7			
Commissioners of Enquiry	2,210	13	7			
				199,072	13	0¼
				£.426,319	3	10¾

. 1.) An Account of the Amount of Bounties paid out of the Public Revenue, in the Year ending the 5th January 1807, being Payments in the Nature of Anticipation of Exchequer Receipt.

	£.	s.	d.
n Linen Exported	16,973	18	1¾
Fishing Vessels	5,994	7	11½
Bark Imported	9,402	8	10
Irish Coals brought Coastways to Dublin	38	4	0
Irish Cured Fish Exported	316	5	5
Corn Exported	197	6	8
o Distillers	6,948	14	9¼
Spirit Retailers	10,009	10	5
	£. 49,880	16	2½

F. 2.) An Account of the Amount of Payments to the Militia, Army of Reserve, Deserters' Warrants, &c. &c. in the Year ending the 5th January 1807.

	£.	s.	d.
Militia	49,479	7	7½
Army of Reserve	13,190	15	11¼
Deserters' Warrants	828	0	0
Fortification Compensation	1,528	4	1½
Compensation to Revenue Collectors in lieu of Fees on Licences	6,854	13	5
	£. 71,881	1	1¼

(G.) An Account of MONIES paid to the Office of ORDNANCE, in the Year to the 5th January 1807.

Payments to the Ordnance for the Grants of 1806 — — — — —	£. 874,475	0	0

(H.) An Account of the MONIES paid on Account of HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES in IRELAND, in the Year ending the 5th January 1807.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Regiments of the Line — — — — — — —	1,109,368	0	3¾			
Militia — — — — — — — — — —	807,717	11	7			
Volunteer Corps — — — — — — — —	310,790	13	0			
Military Hospitals — — — — — — — —	4,450	14	11¼			
Royal Military Infirmary — — — — — — —	4,000	0	0			
				2,236,326	19	10
Barracks — — — — — — — — — — — — —				286,659	2	9½
Staff Officers, &c. — — — — — — — — — — —				64,821	1	9
Half-Pay Officers, Supernumerary Officers, and Reduced Chaplains — — —				30,192	12	2½
Officers' Widows — — — — — — — — — — — —				4,947	6	9
Royal Hospitals — — — — — — — — — — — —				47,096	5	8¾
Public Officers, their Deputies, Clerks, and Incidental Expences — — —				9,501	7	4¼
				2,679,544	16	5
Extraordinary Services — — — — — — — — — —				496,142	6	4
				£. 3,175,687	2	9

(I.) An Account shewing the PAYMENTS in the Year ending the 5th January 1807, for MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£.	s.	d.
Repayment of Issues from His Majesty's Civil List, pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons — — — — — — — — — — —	3,250	0	0
Public Officers for several Services — — — — — — — — — —	1,780	0	0
Public Hospitals and Schools — — — — — — — — — — —	105,705	3	11½
Miscellaneous Services — — — — — — — — — — —	98,306	4	6¼
Public Boards — — — — — — — — — — — —	61,300	0	0
Commissioners for Paving, &c. the Streets of Dublin — — — — — —	15,309	5	6½
	£.285,650	14	0¼

(K.) An Account of the Amount of PAYMENTS from the VOTE OF CREDIT in the Year ending the 5th January 1807.

Amount of Payments from the Vote of Credit — — — — — —	£. 7,906	14	1¼

(1.) An Account of the Value of all IMPORTS into, and all EXPORTS from, IRELAND, in the Year ended the 5th January 1807; distinguishing the Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported; together with the Difference between the Official Value and the Real Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported.

		£.	s.	d.
Official Value of Exports	Irish Produce and Manufactures — — — —	5,030,722	15	10
	Foreign Articles — — — — — —	157,443	2	11
Official Value of Imports — — — — — — —		5,605,964	16	1
Real Value of Exports of Irish Produce and Manufactures — — — —		£.9,314,854	17	7

(2.) An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, which have been Built and Registered in the several Ports of IRELAND, between the 5th January 1806, and 5th January 1807.

Vessels.	Amount of Tonnage.
41	1,687

(3.) An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, and Number of MEN and BOYS usually employed in Navigating the same, which belonged to the several Ports of IRELAND on the 30th September 1806.

Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
1,076	55,545	5,081

n Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT of IRELAND, and Demands Outstanding, on the 5th January 1807; under the Heads of,—Loan Debentures, Exchequer Bills, and Lottery Prizes;—distinguishing under each Head respectively the Particulars of which such Debt or Demand consisted, and also what Part of the said Debt and Demand was then provided for, and in what Manner; and what Part thereof was Unprovided for.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Loan Debentures:						
esidue of Debentures bearing 4*l.* per Cent. Interest to the Year 1788, provided for by 27 and 28 Geo. III. but not claimed by the Proprietors; viz.						
Old Loan - - - - - -	275	0	0			
Loan by Lottery 1780 - - - -	1,220	6	0			
Loan by Lottery 1781 - - - -	730	0	0	(a) 2,225	0	0
Exchequer Bills:						
utstanding Exchequer Bills, provided for by several Acts of Parliament, but not claimed by the Proprietors:						
Payable 24 June - 1783 - . - -	8	6	8			
24 June - 1790 - - - -	50	0	0			
24 June - 1791 - - - -	100	0	0			
24 June - 1795 - - - -	300	0	0			
24 June - 1801 - - - -	50	0	0			
24 June - 1803 - - - -	150	0	0	(a) 658	6	8
Lottery Prizes:						
utstanding Lottery Prizes of the several Lotteries from 1782 to 1801 - - - - - - - - - -				(a) 27,027	0	0
Total - -				29,910	6	8

(a) Provision has been made for these Sums by several Acts of Parliament.

reasury-Chambers, Dublin Castle,
28th February 1807.

G. CAVENDISH.

An Account of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of IRELAND, as the same stood on the 5th January the different Funds in which it is invested—the Amount of the Capital Stock of each Fund— Dublin respectively—the Charge of Management—and the Annual Charge for the Reduction

By what Acts created.	Sums raised.	Payable in DUBLIN:			Payable in			
		3*l.* 10*s.* per Cent. per Ann.	4*l.* per Cent. per Annum.	5*l.* per Cent. per Annum.	3*l.* perCent. Consol. An. (British Currency.)	3*l.* perCent. Red. Ann. (British Currency.)	3*l.* perCent. Consol. An. from 5th Jan. 1808, (British Currency.)	4*l* perCent. Consol. An. (British Currency.)
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
13 Geo. III. . .	265000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15 Geo. III. . .	175000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17 Geo. III. . .	300000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25 Geo. III. . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27 Geo. III. . .	200000	200000	—	—	—	—	—	—
28 Geo. III. . .	918240	918240	—	—	—	—	—	—
27, 29, and 31 Geo. III. . .	174600	—	174600	—	—	—	—	—
33 Geo. III. . .	200000	—	—	200000	—	—	—	—
Vote of Credit 11 June 1793	150000	—	—	150000	—	—	—	—
34 Geo. III. . .	1029650	—	—	487983	—	—	—	—
35 Geo. III. . .	1591666	—	—	400000	—	—	—	—
36 Geo. III. . .	640000	—	—	640000	—	—	—	—
Vote of Credit 18 Oct. 1796	3250000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
37 Geo. III. . .	2018700	—	—	635000	1875000	750000	—	300000
38 Geo. III. . .	3424476	—	—	2054950	3000000	1000000	—	—
39 Geo. III. . .	5261000	—	—	2011000	3750000	1500000	—	—
40 Geo. III. . .	4666666	—	—	2500000	2200000	940000	—	—
41 Geo. III. . .	2750319	—	—	41985	3125000	1268750	—	—
42 Geo. III. . .	3791666	1770232	—	—	1300000	1200000	139250	—
43 Geo. III. . .	2166666	—	—	—	1600000	1600000	—	—
44 Geo. III. . .	6125000	—	—	1404531	3690000	4500000	—	—
45 Geo. III. . .	4333333	—	—	—	3750000	550000	—	—
46 Geo. III. . .	4166666	2780000	—	—	2000000	1320000	—	—
BANK OF IRELAND.								
22 and 37 Geo. III.	600000	—	—	600000	—	—	—	—
37 Geo. III. . .	500000	—	—	500000	—	—	—	—
£.	45773652	5668472	174600	11625450	26290000	14628750	139250	300000
					Irish Currency: 28480333	Irish Currency: 15847812	Irish Currency: 150854	Irish Currency: 325000

Total Principal Debt on 5th

N. B. For want of room, the shillings, pence, and farthings, are left out all through this account.

1807: Distinguishing the Years in which each Part thereof was created; distinguishing also the Annual Interest and Annuities, and the several Portions thereof payable in London and of said Debt.

LONDON.		Annual Interest.	Annuities on Lives or Terms of Years.	Charge of Management.	Annual Charge for Redemption of National Debt.		Total of Annual Expences.
l. perCent. Consolid Navy Ann. (British Currency.)	5*l.* perCent. Irish Stock, (British Currency.)				Pursuant to Act37Geo.III. for Redemption of Debt then existing.	By Acts providing 1*l.* per Cent. for Redemption of Debts created since 1797.	
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
—	—	—	15900	697	—	—	† 49597
—	—	—	10500				
—	—	—	22500				
—	—	—	—	—	2250	—	‡ 2250
—	—	39138	—	—	—	—	39138
—	—						
—	—	6984	—	—	—	—	6984
—	—	17500	—	—	—	—	17500
—	—						
—	500000	51482	10296	346	—	—	62125
—	110000	79583	18058	655	—	—	98297
—	—	48250	23437	319	—	—	72007
—	300000						
—	—	130062	5281	1235	67635	38714	242929
—	—	232747	5326	1728	—	64466	304268
—	—	271175	—	2256	—	76875	350306
—	—	227050	—	1373	—	59016	287440
—	—	144896	—	1966	—	47598	194461
—	—	143208	—	1136	—	46294	190638
—	—	104000	6951	1572	—	35346	147870
—	—	336401	—	3905	—	102770	443077
360000	—	159250	81250	3166	—	57263	300929
—	—	205200	—	2869	—	63766	271836
—	—	30000	—	—	—	—	30000
—	—	25000	18125	—	—	5000	48125
				* 6488	—	—	6488
360000 Irish Currency: 390000	1900000 Irish Currency: 2058833 390000 325000 150854 15847812 28480333 11625450 174600 5668472	2251929	217626	29720	69885	597112	3166274
an. 1806 -	64721356						

* Management on so much of the Debt payable in Dublin as has been converted into Stock, transferrable at the Bank of Ireland.

† Life Annuities.

‡ Expired Annuities.

Treasury-Chambers, Dublin Castle,
9th March, 1807.

G. CAVENDISH.

An Account, shewing how the MONIES granted for the Service of the Year 1806, have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads, so far as relates to IRELAND; stated in Irish Currency.

SERVICES.				Sums granted.			Sums paid.			Remains.		
Forces:	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Army, with Garrisons, and their Incidents, (part of 4315524*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* British) - - - - -	672663	8	2									
Foreign Corps (part of 985909*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* British) - - - -	205735	5	9									
Allowance to Non-commissioned Officers and Private Men of the Regulars, for Small Beer, and while on a March (part of 486666*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* British) - - -	77807	4	2									
Recruiting and Contingencies (part of 225404*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* British) -	135855	4	10½									
Augmentation of Pay for Infantry of the Line for 183 Days, from 25th June 1806, to 24th December following (part of 161700*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* British) - - - - -	17749	17	6									
				1109811	0	5½	1109368	0	3¾	443	0	1¾
Militia—Pay, &c. (part of 2470334*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.* British - - - -	906941	9	9									
Allowance to Non-commissioned Officers and Private Men for Small Beer, and while on a March, (a further part of 486668*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* British) - - - - -	62664	19	7									
Contingencies (part of 52,153*l.* 17*s.* British) - - - - -	24000	0	0									
Augmentation of Pay for 183 Days, from 25th June 1806, to 25th December following (a further part of 161700*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* British) -	6414	9	5									
				1000020	18	9	807717	11	7	192303	7	2
Volunteer Corps—(part of 1738806*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* British.)				770040	0	0	310790	13	0	459249	7	0
General and General Staff Officers, and Officers of Hospitals, serving with the Forces, (part of 234104*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.* British) - - - - - -				71332	14	6½	64821	1	9	6511	12	9½
Full Pay to Supernumerary Officers of His Majesty's Forces (part of 35315*l.* 2*s.* British) - - -				1219	18	6	1219	18	6	-	-	-
The Principal Officers of several Public Departments, their Deputies, Clerks, and Incidental Expences, (part of 176977*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* British) - - -				9638	15	4¼	9501	7	4¼	137	8	0
Half-Pay to reduced Officers of His Majesty's Land Forces, and Reduced Chaplains, (part of 184947*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* British) - - - - - - - -				32442	12	3	28557	3	6¼	3885	8	8¾
Military Allowances to Reduced Officers of His Majesty's Land Forces, (part of 5801*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* British) - - - - - - - -				868	9	9	415	10	2¼	452	19	6¼
In and Out Pensioners of the Royal Hospital near Kilmainham, and Expences of said Hospital, (part of 244711*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* British) -	52720	7	3									
Augmentation to the Out-Pensioners for 183 Days, from 25th June 1806, to 24th December following, (part of 50000*l.* British) - -	7940	16	2½									
				60661	3	5½	47096	5	8¾	13564	17	8¼
Pensions to Widows of Officers of the Land Forces, and Expences attending the same, (part of 31970*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* British) - - -	6500	0	0									
Augmentation for 183 Days, from 25th June 1806, to 24th December following, (part of 3723*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* British) - - - - - -	645	5	2½									
				7145	5	2½	4947	6	9	2197	18	5½
Carried forward -												

An Account, shewing how the MONIES granted for the Service of the Year 1806, have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads, so far as relates to IRELAND; stated in Irish Currency.—*Continued.*

SERVICES—*Continued.*	Sums granted.			Sums paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward - - - - - -									
General Hospital Expences of His Majesty's Forces in Ireland, including Medicaments, for General and Regimental Hospitals, and the Charge of the Royal Military Infirmary, Dublin, for Sick and Wounded Soldiers, (15418*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* British) - - -	16703	14	0¼	8450	14	11¼	8252	19	1
Barrack Department in Ireland, (458447*l.* 4*s.* British)	496867	16	0	286659	2	9½	210208	13	2½
Extraordinary Expences of the Army in Ireland, (600000*l.* British) - - - - - - -	650000	0	0	496142	6	4	153857	13	8
Ordnance:									
Office of Ordnance in Ireland, for the Year 1806, (677976*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* British) - - - - - - -	734475	0	0	734475	0	0			
More to replace the Sum advanced by the Exchequer in Ireland, for Ordnance Service in Ireland, to the 31st December 1805, beyond the Grants by Parliament for the said Service in the said Year, (129230*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* British) - - - - - - - -	140000	0	0	140000	0	0			
To make good a like Sum which has been issued, by His Majesty's Order, from his Civil List in Ireland, pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons, which has not been made good by Parliament -	3250	0	0	3250	0	0			
Public Officers for several Services:									
Stephen Moore, Esq. Accountant-General, for his extraordinary Trouble and Expence in preparing and stating the Public Accounts of Ireland, laid before Parliament, Session 1806 - - - -	340	0	0	340	0	0			
John Smart, Esq. Deputy Accountant-General, for his extraordinary Trouble in preparing the Public Accounts of Ireland, for Parliament, for One Year ending 5th January 1806 - - - - - - -	240	0	0	240	0	0			
Paul Le Bas, Esq. Examinator of Corn Bounties, for his Trouble in keeping the Accounts of said Office -	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Robert Marshall, Esq. Inspector-General of Imports and Exports, for his Expence and Trouble in preparing the Accounts of the Imports and Exports of Ireland, for Parliament, for One Year ending the 5th January 1805 - - - - - - - - -	250	0	0	250	0	0			
Roger Wetheral, Esq. First Clerk in the Office of the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports, for his extraordinary Trouble in preparing Accounts for Parliament - - - - - - - - - -	200	0	0	200	0	9			
George Hatton, Esq. Examinator of Excise, for his extraordinary Trouble and Expence in preparing Accounts for Parliament - - - - - - -	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Samuel Hood, Assistant-Examinator of Excise, for his extraordinary Trouble in preparing Accounts for Parliament - - - - - - - - -	150	0	0	150	0	0			
Thomas Haffield, Esq. Clerk in the Office of the Auditor of the Exchequer, for his extraordinary Trouble in preparing Accounts for Parliament - - -	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Miscellaneous Services:									
For defraying the Expence of Civil Buildings, from the 5th January 1806, to the 5th January 1807 - - -	25000	0	0	25000	0	0			
For defraying the Expence of Printing and Binding 250 Copies of the Acts of the 46th Year of his present Majesty - - - - - - - - - -	1200	0	0	1200	0	0			
For defraying the Expence of publishing Proclamations and Advertisements in the Dublin Gazette, and other News-papers, from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807 - - - - - - - -	10500	0	0	10500					
Carried forward - - - -									

An Account, shewing how the MONIES granted for the Service of the Year 1806, have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads, so far as relates to IRELAND; stated in Irish Currency.—*Continued.*

SERVICES—*Continued.*	Sums granted.			Sums paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward									
For defraying the Charge of Printing, Stationery, and other Disbursements of the Chief and Under-Secretaries' Offices and Apartments, and other Public Offices, in Dublin Castle, &c. and for the Riding Charges and other Expences of the Deputy Pursuivants and Extra Messengers attending said Offices, from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	21880	0	0	20774	2	11¼	1105	17	0¾
For defraying the Expence of Criminal Prosecutions, and other Law Expences of Government, from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	25000	0	0	25000	0	0			
For defraying the Expence of apprehending Public Offenders in Ireland, from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	2500	0	0	1749	7	7	750	12	5
For completing the Sum necessary for the Support of the Non-conforming Ministers in Ireland, for One Year, to 5th January 1806	254	18	10½	254	18	10½			
For the Support of the Non-conforming Ministers of Ireland, for One Year, from the 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1806	9429	0	0	9429	0	0			
For defraying the Expence of Pratique, in the Port of Dublin, from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	1047	10	2	1047	10	2			
For defraying the Expence of His Majesty's Gold Mine at Croaghan, in the County of Wicklow, from the 5th January 1806, to the 5th January 1807	610	6	11½	610	6	11½			
For defraying the Charge of Clothing the Battle-Axe Guards, for Eighteen Months, commencing 1st December 1805	740	0	0	740	0	0			
For defraying the Charge of Incidents of the Treasury in Ireland, from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	2000	0	0	2000	0	0			
Public Boards:									
Paid the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures, to promote and encourage said Manufactures, for One Year ending 5th January 1806	21600	0	0	21600	0	0			
The Board of First Fruits; for building new Churches, and re-building old Churches, in such Parishes as no Public Service has been performed in for 20 Years, and for the Encouragement of building Glebe Houses, &c. for One Year, from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	5000	0	0	5000	0	0			
Towards defraying the Expence of building the intended Hall for the Royal College of Surgeons; from the 5th January 1806, to the 5th January 1807	4500	0	0	4500	0	0			
To be paid the Dublin Society, for promoting Husbandry and other useful Arts; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807, for completing their additional Buildings, supporting the Botanic Gardens, and the other Objects of the said Society	10000	0	0	10000	0	0			
For defraying the Expences of the Farming Society; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	3000	0	0	3000	0	0			
For Paving, Cleansing, and Lighting, the Streets of Dublin; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	10000	0	0	10000	0	0			
To be paid the Commissioners for making wide and convenient Streets in Dublin; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	4500	0	0	4500	0	0			
To be applied to complete the re-building of the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Dublin, and building a Steeple and Spire thereto	2700	0	0	2700	0	0			
Carried forward									

An Account, shewing how the MONIES granted for the Service of the Year 1806, have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads, so far as relates to IRELAND; stated in Irish Currency.—*Continued.*

SERVICES—*Continued.*	Sums granted			Sums paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward									
Public Hospitals and Schools:									
For defraying the Charge of the Incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	22621	6	1	22621	6	1			
For defraying the Expence of the Foundling Hospital in Dublin; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	22500	0	0	22500	0	0			
For defraying the Charge of the Hibernian Marine Society in Dublin; from the 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	1588	15	0	1588	15	0			
For defraying the Expence of the Hibernian School for Soldiers' Children; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	8210	10	10	8210	10	10			
For defraying the Charge of the Female Orphan House near Dublin; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	1081	2	2	1081	2	2			
For defraying the Expences which may be incurred by the Association for discountenancing Vice, and promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	1391	2	6	1391	2	6			
For supporting the Westmorland Lock Hospital in Dublin; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	8988	0	0	8988	0	0			
For defraying the Charge of supporting the House of Industry and Penitentiary in Dublin; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	22862	17	10	22862	17	10			
For defraying the Expence of maintaining Eighty Patients in the House of Recovery and Fever Hospital in Cork Street; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	1030	18	6	1030	18	6			
For defraying the Expence of the Lying-in Hospital in Dublin; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	2287	8	0	2287	8	0			
For defraying the Charge of the Office of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	400	0	0	400	0	0			
For defraying the Charge of the Roman Catholic Seminary; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807	8000	0	0	8000	0	0			
For defraying the Expence of Madam Stevens's Hospital; from 5th January 1806, to 5th January 1807; and to complete the Repairing, Furnishing, and Enlarging of the said Hospital	4743	3	0½	4743	3	0½			
£.	5373425	6	3	4320503	11	2¾	1052921	15	0¼

Treasury-Chambers, Dublin Castle,
28th February 1807.

G. CAVENDISH.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

FIRST REPORT FROM THE COMMITTEE ON THE PUBLIC EXPENDITURE, &c. OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. *Presented to the House of Commons, July 22, 1807.*

PAY-OFFICE.

The Committee, appointed to examine and consider what Regulations and Checks have been established, in order to controul the several branches of the Public Expenditure in Great Britain and Ireland; and how far the same have been effectual; and what further Measures can be adopted for reducing any Part of the said Expenditure, or diminishing the Amount of Salaries and Emoluments, without detriment to the Public Service;

HAVING had referred to their consideration the proceedings of the committee which was instituted for the same purposes in the last parliament, began their enquiries, by prosecuting the examination of a subject, in which considerable progress had been made, but upon which they have delayed making an earlier report, judging it proper to suspend any statement of facts, until they could at the same time recommend the best mode, according to their judgment, of preventing similar abuses in future. The evidence received during the last session, contains an account of two transactions in the pay-office, of a most irregular, and improper kind, which were disclosed on the examination of Mr. Thomas, accountant in that office; by whom it was stated, that a draft for 7,000*l.* payable to the right hon. Thomas Steele (at that time one of the joint paymasters) or bearer, had been drawn by the cashier on the 11th of May 1799, under the head of extraordinaries of the army, and entered in the cash account of the office, with Mr. Steele's receipt as a voucher; and that another sum of 12,800*l.* was drawn for, precisely in the same manner, and a receipt given in the same terms, on the 3d of July, 1800. Of these two sums, the first was not repaid until the 3d of February 1807; nor the latter until the 8th of April, with interest upon both sums, from the date of their issue to that of their repayment, amounting to 7,390*l.* 13*s.* The correspondence between Mr. Steele and Mr. Thomas; letters of earl Temple (one of the joint-paymasters in 1807), addressed to lord Grenville, Mr. Steele, Mr. Rose, and lord Harrowby; three minutes of the lords of the treasury, directing what steps should be taken for securing the sum remaining due (for the first sum had been repaid previous to any proceedings of the board of treasury); minutes of the paymaster-general entered in the book of the office; and several other papers, are inserted at length in the Appendix, though not perhaps absolutely necessary for understanding the subject, that no circumstance which has reference to this business, may be withheld from observation. But the part to which the committee think it most material to direct the attention of the house, is the account given by Mr. Steele himself, when he desired to attend the former committee on the 26th of March 1807, and made his own statement of the circumstances relating to these transactions. He said, "The two sums mentioned by Mr. Thomas were issued by my direction, and I have no hesitation in stating that they were not issued for public service; I thought, as others did at the time, that I had full authority to direct those issues. I was urged to do so by private considerations of a very peculiar nature, which operated at that time upon my mind; and I thought that by directing them to be issued to myself, and making myself responsible for them, I could not by possibility incur the suspicion of concealment, or fraud. It was my intention that they should have been replaced in a very short time, but it was not in my power to accomplish it; they remained charged against me in the pay-office book till the beginning of the present year, when the former of the two sums was repaid; and the whole subject having been brought lately under the consideration of the board of treasury, they have directed me to repay the remaining sum, with the interest due upon both sums, by instalments at stated periods, which I have engaged to do. I cannot take upon myself to defend my conduct in this instance, which I must admit to have been incorrect, but I console myself with thinking that the public will have suffered no loss." And being asked, Whether he knew of any other transaction of the same kind, during the time he was in the pay-office? he said, "I do not." And being asked, Whether he knew of any arrear of the like nature arising from the transaction of any former paymaster? he said, "I certainly do not." And being asked, Whether any notice was taken of this transaction by the treasury, previous to the beginning of this year? he said, "I apprehend it was not ever known to the treasury, previous to this year." And being asked, whether any notice was taken by any other public office? he said, "Not to my knowledge."—On the 13th of April, Mr. Steele again attended the committee; and a part of lord Temple's letters being read to him (Appendix, No. 3.); and he being asked, Whether he had any explanation to give in reference to this letter? he said, "This being a statement of what passed in different conversations at different times, of which I made no memorandum myself, I certainly am not disposed to dispute the accuracy with which it is reported. I beg the committee at the same time to understand that I never have attempted to justify the issue of the two sums in question, upon the ground that they were applied directly or indirectly to public service; but that in my former evidence I acknowledged that they were not issued with any reference to public service, but I alone was responsible and accountable for them; and that I have, in fact, repaid them both, principal and interest." And a part of Mr. Steele's former examination, and an extract from his letter to Mr. Thomas, being shown to him, he further said, "The persons to whom I alluded in that letter, and in my examination, were the principal officers of the pay-office, who had long been established there, and who uniformly contended that the power of the paymaster-general to direct the issues of money from the bank remained unlimited by any of the provisions of the act for regulating the office of paymaster general." And being asked, "Did you consult any other person as to the operation of that act, upon the issue of money to the paymaster?" he said, "I did not." And being asked, Whether in point of fact, in any part of this transaction, he acted upon the opinions of any other persons, conjointly with his own, or consulted any other person on the subject? he said, "No."—The conduct of Mr. Rose, who succeeded Mr. Steele in the pay-office, being observed upon, in a minute of the paymaster, dated 27th of February 1807, Mr. Rose attended the committee, for the purpose of explaining the knowledge he had of this transaction; and he stated, that the facts relating to the two sums issued to Mr. Steele were communicated to him on the 10th February 1806, by Mr. Bradshaw, in the presence of Mr. Harmood and Mr. Thomas; but that, as he considered himself completely out of office at that time, he could not interfere officially, nor apply any possible remedy; that he had, however, desired Mr. Thomas to write to Mr. Steele, that he might insure his seeing him, and to let him (Mr. Rose) know, whether any interposition of his with Mr. Steele, would be necessary; that he had also a personal interview with Mr. Steele, and afterwards wrote a letter to him, enforcing what he had recommended in convertion; as the answer to which led him to rest satisfied that the whole matter would be communicated, without delay, to lord Grenville, or the paymaster-general.—As no entry was made of these two sums in the extraordinaries of the army presented to parliament, it became an object of enquiry, for what reason they were not included? to which Mr. Wood, deputy cashier in the pay-office, answered, that they were omitted by the express order of Mr. Steele; and, upon being further examined, he said, that other sums had also been omitted in a former year (1797) by Mr. Steele's direction, which had been advanced to Messrs. Carey, Pratburnon, and Bryan; adding, that without such particular direction he should have thought it his duty to include all those sums. In one of Mr. Steele's letters, it is to be observed, that the reason which he assigns for this omission is, "that the sums so issued, being intended to be replaced at an earlier period, could not with propriety have formed part of the army extraordinaries." If such has been the rule of that office in making up the account of extraordinaries, and if it has been also usual that all sums so issued, if replaced before the delivery of the accounts to the auditors, should not appear at all in those accounts, your committee judge both these practices highly improper to be continued, because they tend to keep back from the house, in the first instance, and finally from the auditors, the full knowledge of the disposal of the public money, and to facilitate the temporary application of sums to purposes of a different nature from those to which they are destined by the votes of parliament.—The money issued to Mr. Carey, and the two others in 1797, was for the purpose of procuring a supply of specie for army services, from Hamburgh, at a time when there was great difficulty in obtaining it, owing to the restriction of payments in cash, by the bank. Mr. Boyd undertook to import a large sum, and the persons who receive the money, which amounted to 100,000*l.* by the paymaster's drafts on the bank, were nominated by Mr. Boyd, for the purpose of keeping the transaction secret, which he judged necessary for its success.—The service was not performed; and the principal sum so issued was repaid by Mr. Boyd, in the following year, by a similar sum which he received on account of another service, (the remitting of money to the Cape of Good Hope for the payment of Troops) which he contracted with government to perform; in which he also failed. The question of interest upon the 100,000*l*. was involved in the discussion of some claims preferred by Mr. Boyd, against government; and the repayment of the second sum is still in a course of legal proceeding, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the house of Messrs. Boyd and Co. when proper steps were immediately taken for recovering it, by direction from the lords of the treasury; and your committee are informed, that the principal difficulties which have prevented a satisfactory title from being made to purchasers (under this bankruptcy) are now nearly adjusted, and in the course of the next term, it is probable that the most considerable purchasers will be ready to complete their purchases, and to pay their purchase-money into court.—Upon the important subject of recommending measures which may prevent similar abuses in future, your committee observe with great concern, that the most obvious, and perhaps the only effectual remedy has been found by experience hitherto unattainable; but they think it necessary to represent as their deliberate opinion, that without an earlier examination, and auditing of accounts, irregularities can hardly be prevented; and that temptation will never be wanting to make use of public money, while there exists a great probability of its being for a long time uncalled for. After the accounts come before the commissioners for auditing, no attention is wanting in requiring proper warrants in discharge for every payment, and no sum is allowed without a voucher of that kind; but so slow has been the progress hitherto, that notwithstanding the observations made on the subject by the committee of Finance in 1797 and 1798, not one account of any paymaster-general has been finally settled and declared, nor made ready for declaration, in the nine or ten years which have since elapsed.—Parts of the accounts and vouchers for the year 1782, were delivered to the auditors in 1788, 1789, 1791, and 1798; parts of those for 1783 were delivered to them in 1792 and 1798; part of those for 1784, in 1794; and part of those for 1785, in 1797. It appears also that a supplementary account of the paymaster-general, from 24 April to 24 December 1782, and a supplementary account for 1783, were delivered into their office, together with the attested accounts for 1784 and 1785, no longer ago than on the 9th of February last.—A letter from the chairman of that board affords a reasonable expectation that the account of the paymaster-general for the year 1782 will be finally audited, and ready for declaration about Christmas next; and that, provided there be no delay in the delivery of the subsequent accounts, the present arrear of the pay-office accounts may be cleared at the auditor's office in the course of five or six years. It will be the duty of your committee, should they be re-appointed, in the ensuing session, to make an early enquiry into the progress which shall have been made during the recess, and to consider how far the provisions of the act of 46th Geo. III. c. 141, under which the present board of commissioners for auditing the public accounts was appointed, have contributed to the object they were intended to answer, by facilitating the due examination and more speedy settlement of the public accounts; and whether any and what further regulations may be devised, for the attainment of so important and desirable an end.—Although some effectual improvement in that system, would be the most radical and substantial remedy, there are other subordinate measures fit to be enforced immediately, for which the regulations of office may in a great degree be sufficient; and legislative provision may be added wherever it becomes necessary.—Much of the delay, which occurs in procuring the clearing and covering warrants from the war-office, without which the paymaster's accounts cannot be examined by the auditors, may be removed, by making the transactions between these two offices more simple and methodical. It would be desirable in all instances to issue warrants at once, instead of transacting so much of the ordinary business by letters, which has formed a constant subject of complaint on the part of the paymasters; and it appears, that if warrants on account were granted by the secretary at war for regimental services not completed within the year, the paymaster's accounts might be delivered soon after the end of every year to the auditors for examination.—The issue of money being in fact made originally upon the authority of the letter only, no other enquiry seems to be made in granting the subsequent warrant, than whether it agrees with the letter; and therefore any additional signatures to the warrant, which bear the appearance of further check and examination, add in reality no sort of security to the public, while the responsibility (which can never be desirable) becomes divided between two offices.—Your committee see no sort of necessity for every individual warrant being signed by his majesty, nor for its being countersigned by the lords of the treasury, except where money is issued by their orders. In all cases where the treasury is not concerned, the money is now actually paid upon the requisition of the secretary at war, and his name alone ought to stand as sufficient authority for the warrant, making him, in whose department it is, responsible for the service and the expenditure.—It would be sufficient for his majesty, in whom all money is originally vested by grant of parliament, to sign a warrant for large sums from time to time, leaving the detail of the application of them, as is the practice with regard to monies issued on account of the navy, and the ordnance, to the department under whose directions the particular service is performed.—The delay occasioned by the warrants being taken up by army agents, instead of being directly returned to the pay office through their own officers, ought to be entirely obviated, as it seems already to have been in some degree, with regard to what are called clearing warrants for regimental services. No reason appears why they should pass at all into the agent's hands, who may have an indirect interest in withholding them, and for the passing of whose accounts they are in no degree requisite.—Another regulation proper to be adopted, is a different manner of making out the accounts of extraordinaries to be laid before parliament, which the present paymaster informed your committee that he had directed to be done in future; and that an account should be regularly kept in the office, classed under the same heads as those for which the grants of parliament are annually voted.—No sums which have been issued in the course of the year, ought ever to be left out of the account of extraordinaries annually laid before parliament, for they create a temporary deficiency in the balance of the paymaster's cash, even if they are to be repaid; they therefore should be noticed in the first account after the issue by a memorandum, as sums not ultimately to be charged upon the public; and credit should be taken for them in any subsequent account, when they are actually replaced at the Bank. It would also tend materially to the clearness of all these accounts, if no articles of expenditure were inserted, but such as relate strictly to the army; instead of which, it is to be observed, that issues of money for the purchase of corn, and various miscellaneous purposes not directly relating to that service, have not unfrequently been admitted into them, and intermixed with army services; which your committee conceive to belong more properly to the particulars of the distribution of any vote of credit which may be granted for the year in which such articles appear.—A greater regularity in bringing up the accounts in the office itself, is essential in various points of view; and the attention of the paymaster himself is particularly necessary for insuring the attendance, and application of all the officers who are under him, and for enforcing a more punctual and accurate discharge of their duty, than appears to have hitherto prevailed. Their books should be frequently balanced, and the cash-book ought always to be made up to the latest period possible; to the neglect of which it is in some measure owing, that it has been impossible to conform to the provisions of the statute 45 Geo. III. c. 58; and the consequence has been, that ever since the passing of that act, the 5th sect. prescribing the mode in which the monthly memorials are to be presented to the Treasury; and the 8th clause in the Auditor's Act, 46 Geo. III. c. 141. sect. 8. requiring all accountants to deliver in within three months after the end of each year, an account current of all sums received and paid by them within the year, have been totally disregarded.—It would have been necessary in this place, to observe upon the imperfect manner in which the entries of money paid by individuals to the paymaster's account, have been made by the clerks of the Bank in the cash-book of the office, if your committee had not received an assurance from the Governor of the Bank, that directions have been given to discontinue this practice, with regard to this, and all other public offices.—The practical inconvenience to which the former mode was liable, appeared in a remarkable instance, in the course of the last year, when no less a sum than 291,348*l.* remained for about four months in the Bank, without any information of the payment being given to the paymaster; which, though he ought certainly to have received from the accountant in his office, who was employed in making the payment, yet no good reason can be assigned why the negligence of that officer was not corrected by a communication from the Bank. A larger issue of money from the Exchequer, to the amount of that sum, than would otherwise have been required, must have been the consequence, and the public were of course either unnecessarily increasing exchequer bills, and paying interest for a sum which ought to have been at their disposal; or services which were to be paid with this money must have been suffered to remain unsatisfied.—The act 45 Geo. III. c. 58, having repealed that of 1783, is now the only subsisting act for regulating the business of this office; and it therefore became the duty of your committee to examine how far it had been complied with, or had been found effectual, in the remaining points which it attempts to regulate.—The time of making up the accounts, directed by sect. 21, has not been observed, any more than the clause in the Auditor's act, 46 Geo. III. c. 141. sect. 8. above referred to. The clause with regard to regimental agents, sect. 23. has indeed been attended to in terms, but it has been found of little use in practice; because the paymaster, having no means of knowing the balance in the hands of agents, has no method of controverting the statements which they may think proper to deliver in, as to the aggregate balance of their accounts, it being always possible, that though an agent may be a debtor for one regiment (where he is concerned for several), he may be a creditor on account of another.—The books of the office have been brought up, subsequent to the enquiry of the former committee, to as late a date as the nature of the case admits of; but at that period, and when the present paymaster was appointed in April 1807, the fair cash-book was not brought up later than to the month of November 1806; nor were the accounts frequently, nor regularly balanced.—It would hardly have been deemed requisite to point out the propriety of appointing persons duly qualified by their knowledge of writing and arithmetic, and of a sufficient age to discharge the duties of clerks in the office, if the present paymaster had not very lately found it necessary to discharge some of those who had been admitted into the office, on account of their insufficiency and inexperience.—If your committee do not recommend any alteration in the power of drawing for money (to whatever amount) which is at present vested in the paymaster, or in the cashier, it is not from any want of consideration bestowed upon this part of the subject: but they are at a loss to know, if it be withdrawn from those officers, in whom it can be lodged more properly, or with absolute security; for it is unquestionable, that in some department or other of government, it must necessarily be placed. If more signatures than one should be required to every draft, there is great risk of the public service being continually retarded, and the inconveniences will be much greater, if delays should be interposed in the first instance, of the same sort with those which now occur after the payments are made, and which tend only to obstruct the settlement of account, but not the service itself. It would inevitaby follow, from any such division of responsibility, that, in the multiplicity of public business, credit would be given implicitly by one department of government to another, that the form of signing would soon become a matter of course, and that the paymaster would act under as little practical restraint as he does at present. If the paymaster and the cashier should be directed jointly to sign every draft, some sort of additional check may perhaps be laid upon the latter, but none will be felt by the head of the office: and it is obvious that if such had been the established practice of the office before the date of the two drafts, which have given occasion to this enquiry, the paymaster would not in the slightest degree have been precluded by it, from drawing for the money in the very mode he did, nor from detaining it, for as long a time, in his possession.—The whole business of the pay-office is so intimately connected with that of the war-office, that it is hardly possible to report fully upon the former, without entering into an ample examination of the latter; but in the particulars which have been pointed out, their relative situation admits of alteration, with advantage to the public, as far at least as may be sufficient to prevent the paymaster's accounts from waiting for the auditing of those of army agents, and others, in which he has no concern, and over whom he has no control. To examine whether he has discharged his duty by issuing money upon regular vouchers, proceeding either from the war-office or the treasury, cannot be a matter of intricacy, or delay; and if the secretary at war should be authorized to grant warrants upon account for all services not completed within the year, and to grant upon his sole authority warrants for all other services, as more formal and regular documents than letters, for every payment, the same practice being also introduced into the treasury, when any issues are directed by that board for army services; and if, further, the auditors should be empowered and required by an alteration of the act, (if necessary) to examine separately the accounts of the extraordinaries as soon as they are presented to them, and to compare every payment with the bank cash-book, there is every reason to expect, not only that every paymaster's account might be settled within a short period after the expiration of each year, but that a substantial check would be provided against all temptation to withdraw money from the service for which it is granted, when the detection of any such misapplication must immediately follow the examination of the annual accounts compared with the cash-book of the bank. This opinion of your committee is fortified by that of the chairman of the board for auditing accounts, who stated his belief, that if the cash accounts required by the 46 Geo. III. 141. sect. 8. were delivered into the audit-office, as well as the accounts of service also referred to in that section, and if the cash accounts were compared with the accountant's bank book, it would not be possible for the paymasters general, or any other public accountant, to receive public money upon drafts made payable to himself, without that circumstance falling under the observation of the commissioners.—With regard to regimental accounts, and the difficulties which occur in expediting and settling them, some judicious suggestions have been received by your committee, which will deserve further consideration, whenever the mode of keeping and passing accounts in the war-office shall come under their examination. That the present system is defective, may be concluded from a long experience of its being found totally inadequate to obtain the two main objects, of perspicuity, and expedition; but whether it should be absolutely changed, or partially modified, your committee have not as yet received information sufficient to determine. The simplification of the branch connected with the pay-office, in the manner they have suggested, they venture to recommend as unquestionably beneficial; and they trust that the same principle may be extended with success to every other department of the military expenditure.

Extracts from the Appendix.—Examination of the right hon. Thomas Steele, March 26, 1807.

The two sums mentioned by Mr. Thomas, were issued by my direction, and I have no hesitation in stating that they were not issued for public service. I thought as others did at the time, that I had full authority to direct those issues. I was urged to do so by private considerations of a very popular nature, which operated at that time upon my mind; and I thought that by directing them to be issued to myself, and making myself responsible for them, that I could not, by possibility, incur the suspicion of concealment or fraud. It was my intention that they should have been replaced in a very short time, but it was not in my power to accomplish it. They remain charged against me in the pay-office books till the beginning of the present year, when the former of the two sums was repaid; and the whole subject having been brought lately under the consideration of the board of treasury, they have directed me to repay the remaining sum, with the interest due upon both sums, by instalments at stated periods, which I engaged to do. I cannot take upon myself to defend my conduct in this instance, which I must admit to have been incorrect: but I console myself with thinking, that the public will have suffered no loss.—Do you know of any other transaction of the same kind, during the time you was in the pay-office? I do not.—Of any arrear of the like nature, arising from the transaction of any former paymaster? I certainly do not.—Was any notice taken of this transaction by the treasury, previous to the beginning of this year? I apprehend it was not known to the treasury, ever previous to this year.—Was any notice taken by any other public office? Not to my knowledge.

Examination of the right hon. Thomas Steele, April 10, 1807.

[Read part of the letter from lord Temple to lord Grenville.] Have you any explanation to give in reference to this letter?—This being a statement of what passed in different conversations at different times, of which I made no memorandum myself, I certainly am not disposed to dispute the accuracy with which it is reported. I beg the committee at the same time to understand, that I never have attempted to justify the issue of the two sums in question, upon the ground that they were applied directly or indirectly to public service; but that in my former evidence I acknowledge that they were not issued with any reference to public service, but that I alone was responsible and accountable for them, and that I have in fact repaid them both, principal and interest.—[Read Mr. Steele's former examination, and extract of a letter from him to Mr. Thomas.]—Question repeated.—The persons to whom I allude in that letter, and in my examination, were the principal officers of the pay-office, who had long been established there, and who uniformly contended, that the power of the paymaster-general to direct the issues of money from the bank remained unlimited by any of the provisions of the act for regulating the office of paymaster-general.—Did you consult any other person as to the operation of that act upon the issue of money to the paymaster? I did not.—Whether, in point of fact, in any part of this transaction, you did act upon the opinions of any other persons conjointly with your own, or consult any other person on the subject? No.

Examination of the right hon. George Rose, April 13, 1807.

You are desired to state, when and in what manner you became acquainted with the transactions relating to Mr. Steele's two drafts. On Monday the 10th of February, 1806, Mr. Thomas, with Mr. Harmood, and Mr. Bradshaw, two of the senior clerks of the pay-office, came to my house; and, after some conversation on other subjects, when they were leaving the room, Mr. Bradshaw, under some apparent embarrassment, said he wished to apprize me of a circumstance of an extraordinary nature which had occurred in the time of my predecessors: that Mr. Steele had, in the year 1800, taken two sums of 7,000*l.*, and 12,000*l.* out of the cash in the hands of the paymaster-general, on giving his own receipt for the same; which receipt was written by Mr. Wood, deputy cashier, without any authority having appeared for the same, either from the treasury or the war-office; at which statement I expressed great surprise, and to Mr. Thomas some resentment, at the same having been delayed till I was out of office, and could apply no possible remedy, observing, the transaction was, on the face of it at least, a most irregular one; but that, from my long knowledge of Mr. Steele, I was perfectly sure he would be able to explain it, so as to acquit himself of having done any thing more, than taking upon himself a serious responsibility; that he probably had a voucher in his possession, but that in any event, it had been his (Mr. Thomas's) indispensable duty to remind that gentleman of the transaction on his quitting office in 1804, in order, that if it had not been satisfactorily explained, he might then have stated it to me and my colleagues, on our appointment: to which Mr. Thomas answered, he had called two or three times at Mr. Steele's door, without finding him at home: such a justification appeared to render his conduct still less excusable; because if he thought it necessary to see Mr. Steele on the subject, he certainly should have apprised him of his wish to do so, that he might be sure of meeting with him. I therefore desired him to write to Mr. Steele, to insure his seeing him, and to let me know, on my return from Bugden, whether any interposition of mine with Mr. Steele would be necessary: on the 20th, Mr. Thomas came to me accordingly, when he told me that he had seen Mr. Steele, who said generally, that the sums before mentioned as received by him, were for army services. Whether, subsequent to the communication made by Mr. Bradshaw in the presence of Mr. Thomas, you had any communication with Mr. Steele on the subject; and if so, what was the purport of it? I had a personal communication with Mr. Steele on the 21st of February, which I considered as of a private nature, being out of office; but the particulars of which I am perfectly willing to give.—Mr. Rose being desired to proceed, stated, that Mr. Steele declined entering into particulars, not feeling himself at liberty to do it; that the advances were made to a person or persons, he was not sure which, for services of a secret nature; that the whole would be repaid, but he could not at that moment exactly fix the time, acknowledging that he had no warrant, or other authority for the issue: the advice I gave him was, that, under such circumstances, I thought he should see either lord Grenville, or the present paymaster-general, and explain to his lordship, or them, so much of the transaction as should satisfy them,—the whole, certainly, if they should think it necessary; adding, that it was by all comparison better he should do that in the first instance from himself, than wait to give an explanation when he should be called upon to do so; especially, as the precedent in this case would shew to future paymasters-general the possibility of their taking money placed in the bank on account of the public, for their own private accommodation, at any time when they should find themselves under a pressing urgency to do so, which was plainly against the spirit of the pay-office act. I wrote to him the same evening, enforcing the advice I had given to him in the morning; in answer to which I received a letter, dated 23d February, 1806:—"I will certainly follow your advice, and "take an early opportunity of communica-"ting to lord Grenville the circumstances "which relate to the issue of the two sums in "question: you may therefore, if you think "proper, apprise Mr. Thomas of my in-"tention."—Whether on the same day that Mr. Bradshaw made the communication relating to Mr. Steele in the presence of Mr. Thomas, you, in the same conversation expressed your willingness to enter in the minute book a minute, recommending to the notice of your successor an increase of salary to the six senior clerks?—Of that, I have no recollection, as to its having passed on that day; but the measure having been agreed on by my colleague and myself previously thereto, it may have happened that upon that day I told them I would enter the minute. I have no recollection of the minute being ante-dated, but I think it probable it may have been so, as on the 10th I considered myself completely out of office.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON THE COMMERCIAL STATE OF THE WEST-INDIA COLONIES. *Ordered to be printed, Aug.* 8, 1807.

The Committee who were appointed to take into consideration the Commercial State of the West-India colonies, and to report their proceedings, from time to time, to the house of commons; and who were empowered to report the minutes of evidence taken before them; and to whom all minutes of evidence which were taken before the committee in the last session of parliament, on the West-India planters' petitions, together with their proceedings, were referred; have, pursuant to the order of the house, examined the matters to them referred; and have agreed to the following Report:

YOUR committee have thought it their duty, in the first place, to enquire into the situation of the West-India planters at the present moment, and for several years preceding; and have examined various respectable witnesses, proprietors of estates, who have resided many years in the West Indies, and who have had the properties of several absentees under their management; and also many merchants intimately acquainted with the expenses and profits of a great variety of estates, and generally conversant with the West-India commerce. From their testimony it appears, that since the year 1799, there has taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the planters, resulting from a progressive diminution of the price of sugar, although at the same time the duty, and all the expences attending the cultivation, have been increasing, till at length the depression of the market has become such, that the prices obtained for the last year's crop will not pay the expence of cultivation, except upon estates on a very great scale, making sugar of a very superior quality, or enjoying other extraordinary advantages. Calculations have been laid before your committee, from the accounts of estates both in Jamaica and the other islands, by which it appears, that the British supplies and island expences amount to 20*s.* and 10*d.* in the former, and to 19*s.* 6*d.* in the latter, on the cwt. of sugar, after accounting and giving credit for the amount received for the sale of rum. As these calculations are formed upon an average of years and upon estates of the ordinary scale, and in no respects unusually circumstanced, it appears to your committee, that these sums per cwt. of sugar may be taken as the average expence of cultivation, independent of interest upon the capital; and your committee are confirmed in this opinion by finding a similar calculation in the report made by the sugar-distillery committee, in the last parliament. To this must be added an expence of from 15*s.* 6*d.* to 16*s.* per cwt. necessarily incurred for freight, insurance, and other mercantile charges, between the shipping the goods in the colonies, and their being offered to market in this kingdom, forming together an amount of from 35*s.* to 36*s.* which appears upon this evidence, to be the absolute cost to the planter per cwt. of sugar before any return of capital can attach.—Upon a reference to the average prices published in the gazette, for the last eight months, which vary from 36*s.* to 31*s.* giving a mean price of 33*s.* 6*d.*, it appears evident, that the planters must have cultivated their estates at a loss.—The interest which has been stated to your committee as what should be the fair profit upon a capital of such a nature as that of a sugar estate, consisting not merely of land and negroes, but of buildings of great extent and cost, necessary for the carrying on of such manufactures, and subject to various and peculiar risks and vicissitudes, is not less than 10 per cent.—During the period of prosperity previous to 1800, it is stated that in general the profits did not exceed that sum; and that, from that period, they have gradually diminished to 2½ and 1½ per cent. till at the present moment, there is no return of interest whatever.—It may perhaps be right to notice one exception, namely of an estate most favourably circumstanced in every respect, where the profits are stated to have amounted, during the four years 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1798, to 12 per cent.; but they appear also to have declined ever since; in 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804, to have been reduced to about 6 per cent.; and in 1805, to about 3 per cent., and subsequently to have suffered a still farther reduction.—In the course of their investigation of the situation of the planters, your committee thought it right to ascertain whether it might not be in their own power, in many instances, to remedy the evils of their situation, by converting their sugar estates to other more profitable cultivation; but the evidence on that point shews, that such a conversion must be attended with so great a sacrifice of capital, as to be out of the question as a measure of relief.—With a view to the prospect for the future, they have obtained a return of the quantity of sugar at present in the West-India docks; from which, and from other evidence, it appears, that the quantity now on hand is unusually great for the time of year. The crop of last year is also on the point of coming into the market.—It should not be omitted further to state, that for many years past the islands have almost entirely escaped the natural calamities (of hurricanes, &c.) which have occasionally proved destructive to the property in those countries.—In investigating the causes of that depression of the market, from whence the whole of the planter's distress appears to originate, the first object which strikes your committee, is, that extraordinary situation in which he is placed, which prevents him alone (in exception to every other similar case) from indemnifying himself for the increase of duty, and of other expences attending his cultivation, by an equivalent increase of price to the consumer. For it appears, that since the year 1799, the duty on sugar has been raised from 20*s.* to 27*s.* and contingently to 30*s.* per cwt.; the expences of the estates are calculated to have risen in many articles 50, and in others above 100 per cent.; and the price has fallen from 69*s.* to 33*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. the average of the last eight months. As it appears obvious, from the above statement, that the duty is heavier than the article can bear at its present price, it is suggested that it might be expedient, for the relief of the home market, to extend the principle which has been adopted on the contingent increase of duty from 27*s.* to 30*s.*; so that from the maximum of duty then fixed, on a gross price of 80*s.* affording 30*s.* duty and 50*s.* to the planter, the duty should be thrown back on a similar scale in proportion to the depression of the market, till the price arrives at 60*s.* gross, leaving 20*s.* (the original duty) to government, and 40*s.* to the planter; or, in other words, a reduction of 2*s.* gross price, from the average then fixed for 1*s.* of duty on a reduction of the imposition of the new duty, as far as 20*s.*—An increase of the bounty on the export has been also recommended; and your committee are of opinion, that it would afford great relief if given as an accompaniment to measures of restriction upon neutrals, so as to render the expences on British and foreign produce equal in the foreign market.—A considerable depreciation in the price of rum having also taken place, it has been suggested, that the encouragement of the consumption of that article would be a considerable advantage to the planter. Your committee are aware that such encouragement has been given, to a certain extent, but if it were found practicable to carry that assistance further, by an increased consumption in the army and navy, such a measure would, in their opinion, have very beneficial effects; or a reduction of duty on rum might afford essential relief to the planter, without loss to the revenue, which would be indemnified by an increased consumption of that spirit.—Great, however, as are the evils of the decrease of price and increase of charges, it does not appear to your committee, that they are the original causes of the distress of the planter, by applying to which alone any practicable remedy, he could be more than partially relieved; but that the main evil, and that to which these are ultimately to be referred, is the very unfavourable state of the foreign market, in which formerly the British merchant enjoyed nearly a monopoly, but where he cannot at present enter into competition with the planters, not only of the neutral but of the hostile colonies. The result of all their enquiries on this most important part of the subject, has brought before their eyes one grand and primary evil, from which all the others are easily to be deduced; namely, the facility of intercourse between the hostile colonies of Europe, under the American neutral flag, by means of which not only the whole of their produce is carried to a market, but at charges little exceeding those of peace; while a British planter is burthened with all the inconvenience, risk, and expence, resulting from a state of war.—The advantages which the hostile colonies derive from the relaxation of that principle, which prohibited any trade from being carried on with the enemy's colonies by neutrals during war, which the enemy himself did not permit to those neutrals during peace, may be in part estimated by reference to a statement of the imports into Amsterdam alone, from the United States of America, in the year 1806, amounting to 34,085 hhds. of coffee, and 45,097 hhds. of sugar, conveyed in 211 vessels, hereunto annexed; and to a statement also annexed, of the amount of West-India produce, exported from the United States of America, between the first of October 1805, and 30th of September 1806. In point of comparative expence, the advantages of the hostile colonies will be further illustrated by the evidence of Mr. Marryat, supported by satisfactory documents, which shew the charges of freight and insurance on sugar from the hostile colonies, through the United States of America to the ports of Holland and Flanders, and to those of the Mediterranean, to be less by 8*s.* 11*d.* to the former, and by 12*s.* 6*d.* to the latter, than those charges on British sugars to the same ports.—Your committee cannot omit to state also another important advantage enjoyed by the French colonies, from the sale of nearly the whole French mercantile marine to neutrals, under the stipulation of each vessel being returned into French ports, in order to be navigated as French ships, within twelve months after peace, and with the enjoyment, during war, of the same privileges in the ports of France, as if they were actually French, for instance, to import sugar at a duty of 4*s.* per cwt. less than the duty imposed on sugar imported in neutral vessels.—In order to counterbalance, in some degree, the advantages thus enjoyed by the hostile colonies, to the detriment of the British planter, it has been recommended, that a blockade of the ports of the enemy's settlements should be resorted to; such a measure, if it could be strictly enforced, would undoubtedly afford relief to our export trade.—But a measure of more permanent and certain advantage would be the enforcement of those restrictions on the trade between neutrals, and the enemy's colonies, which were formerly maintained by Great Britain, and from the relaxation of which the enemy's colonies obtain indirectly, during war, all the advantages of peace; while our own colonies, in the intercourse with whom that system of monopoly which has been held essential to the commercial and military navy of this country, is rigorously enforced, are deprived of the advantages under which in former wars they carried their produce to the foreign markets, and which in the present war, by means of our decided naval superiority, would have amounted to the exclusive supply of the whole of Europe; and when those extraordinary measures are taken into consideration which have been adopted to exclude the British colonial produce from the European market, it appears to your committee to be a matter of evident and imperious necessity, to resort to such a system as, by impeding and restricting, and as far as possible, preventing the export of the produce of the enemy's colonies from the places of its growth, shall compel the continent to have recourse to the only source of supply which, in that event, would be open to it.—As it may be apprehended that, from the adoption of such measures, difficulties might arise in that intercourse, from which the West Indies at present derive a considerable proportion of some of their supplies, your committee have thought it their duty to make enquiry into the resources in that respect to which recourse might be had in such an event. During the only period which affords an example of the suspension of that intercourse, the evidence concurs as to the fact of a supply having been obtained (though not without temporary and occasional inconveniences) from a variety of sources which may reasonably be relied upon, in case of such necessity, at the present moment, to a greater amount than at the former period. From the examination of persons who, in consequence of their residence in the British North-American settlements, or extensive commercial connections with them, possess the best information as to their present and future resources, there is ground to believe that some supply of the principal articles of lumber might be obtained from thence immediately, and to expect that, with due encouragement, the quantity of that supply might be increased to any extent.—The supply of flour which they could at present afford to the West-India market would be small, and of inferior quality. They appear to be capable of affording a large supply of fish, and what deficiency might exist in other articles of salt provisions, might be made up by supplies from Europe. —Upon the whole, the impression which your committee have received, is, that the trade now carried on between the British West Indies and the United States of America, is very convenient and advantageous to the inhabitants of our colonies, and one which they could not relinquish without essential detriment, unless it were compensated by other advantages; but that it is not essential to their existence, or equivalent to the disadvantages of their situation, in those respects which your committee have already gone through in the present statement.—Your committee have briefly stated the distressed situation of the West-India planter —the causes which have gradually produced his distress, which are beyond his reach to remedy, and which must continue to operate with increased effect—and having stated such measures of relief as have been suggested to them, and such as, from the best sources of information, appear most adequate to the end in view, have only to add, that if those remedies are liable to objections and difficulties, there is, on the other hand, the strongest concurrent testimony and proof, that unless some speedy and efficient measures of relief are adopted, the ruin of a great number of the planters, and of persons in this country, holding annuities, and otherwise dependent upon those properties for their income, must inevitably very soon take place, which must be followed by the loss of a vast capital, advanced on securities in those countries, and by the most fatal injury to the commercial, maritime, and financial interests of Great Britain.

Second Report, from the Committee on the Public Expenditure, &c. of the United Kingdom.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

The committee, appointed to examine and consider what Regulations and Checks have been established, in order to control the several branches of the Public Expenditure in Great Britain and Ireland; and how far the same have been effectual; and what further measures can be adopted for reducing any part of the said expenditure, or diminishing the amount of salaries and emoluments, without detriment to the public service;

Directed their earliest enquiries to the management of the public debt, which the committee on finance in 1797, pointed out as the first object under the head of expenditure, in their XIVth report. The annual charge is of no inconsiderable magnitude; and the following observations are intended to shew how far it may admit of reduction.—The rate of allowance settled in 1786, has not been varied since; but no documents are preserved at the treasury, or the bank, containing any calculations upon which it was founded. The proposal was made by Mr. Pitt, under general considerations of "the increased amount of the debt," and a reliance on the disposition of "the bank to give every reasonable accommodation to the public." The time at which the agreement was concluded, affording a prospect of continued peace, could present no expectation of a speedy augmentation of the debt, much less of such an augmentation as has since been incurred.—Whatever may have been the computation upon which the bargain was concluded, it is to be observed that the lowest rate at which a part of the debt was then managed (being 360*l.* per million) was not adopted as the standard; and consequently, upon the annuities created in 1786, an inconsiderable increase of expense accrued in equalizing the whole, while upon every other part of the debt, a large saving was effected by reducing the allowance from 562*l.* 10*s.* to 450*l.* for each million.—The management of the public funds differs so materially in practice from all other mercantile or banking transactions, that it is not easy to establish a satisfactory criterion for fixing the commission at which so extensive and complicated a concern ought to be conducted; but there are two instances, the same in kind, and differing only in degree, which deserve attention, as they tend to throw some light upon the subject.—The first of these is that of the South-sea company, which continues to manage its own portion of the debt according to the original allowances, the arrangements with the bank in 1786, not having been extended to this company, a circumstance which attracted the notice of the committee on finance, (XIV. 11.) who remarked, that, "whether any further reduction can or ought to be made in this rate of allowance," was a point "for the wisdom of parliament to decide."—Upon the part of the debt which forms the South-sea stock, the rate of charge is not uniform. The proportion of 532*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* to each million, obtains with regard to the greater part, and the allowance upon the remainder bears the proportion of 562*l.* 10*s.* to each million. The whole expense of managing this concern by the company was, in the year ending 5th January, 1807, 10,722*l.* of which 3,692*l.* was paid to the sub and deputy governors and directors, in number twenty-three, and 4,735*l.* to the clerks and officers, in number thirty-six. The sum annually paid by the public to the South-sea company, is 14,713*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* and about 70*l.* more for fees and allowances to the cashier. The proportion which the salaries of the clerks bears to the whole expenditure deserves notice, and also the great number of the directors, almost equal to those who superintend the extensive business of the bank.—The second example occurs in the more recent agreement made with the bank of Ireland, by statute 40 Geo. III. cap. 3. in which the precise allowances then and now given to the bank of England, were fixed as the standard for managing the Irish debt, though the debt of Ireland did not, in that year, equal the capital of the South-sea company, being between 21 and 22 millions.—The management of the public debt in America may also afford some illustration of this subject, though it differs in one material respect, from the business transacted by the bank of England, inasmuch as the banks of the United States undertake merely the payment of the dividends, the transfers being made at the public offices of the government. Upon this account, and from the limited number of stockholders (who do not exceed 15,000) their trouble, expense, and risk, scarcely admit of comparison with the bank of England. The American banks transact this business free of all expense to the government; the balances left in their hands, which are used for their advantage (like those deposited with any private banker) being considered as a sufficient compensation.—Assuming as an incontrovertible proposition, applicable to all mercantile concerns, that, in proportion as the scale of business becomes enlarged, the rate of commission may be reduced, and that a moderate commission upon a large business produces a greater proportionate profit than a higher rate upon one more confined, it is obvious that a charge of allowance, which may be reasonable upon 20 or 25 millions, becomes profuse and extravagant upon 5 or 6 hundred millions.—The actual progress of the debt comes next to be considered, which, on the 5th January, 1786, was 224,102,424*l.* and the charges of management were then (according to the reduced scale of allowances) 100,846*l.* On the 5th of January, 1797, the year in which the committee on finance reported, the principal of debt unredeemed was 272,892,444*l.*, the charges of management upon which, so far as concerned the bank, were 115,543*l.*—On the 5th of January, 1800, the year of the renewal of the charter, the principal of debt unredeemed was 376,185,801*l.* and the charges of management, received by the bank, were 170,053*l.*—The debt unredeemed on the 5th of January 1807, was 550,441,314*l.* and the charges of management, received by the bank, were 265,818*l.* to which must be added 5,687*l.* on account of the Austrian loan, according to the same rate of commission. The allowance of 4000*l.* towards the expences of the house, and also the original allowance of 1,898*l.* on 4,000,000*l.* purchased from the South-sea company, are in addition to the before mentioned sums. The increase in the establishment of the bank, which has been rendered necessary by the progressive augmentation of this branch of their business, consists principally in a large addition to the number of clerks; of whom the whole number employed in the public business, exclusively, or principally, was, in 1786, 243; in 1796, 313; and in 1807, 450; whose salaries, it is presumed, may be calculated, at an average, at between 120*l.* and 170*l.* for each clerk; taking them at 135*l.*, which exceeds the average of those employed in the South-sea house, the sum

is, . :	£.60,750
at 150*l.* the sumis	67,500
at 170*l.* the sum is	76,500

either of which two last sums would probably be sufficient to provide a superannuation fund. The very moderate salaries received by the governor, deputy governor, and directors, amount to between 7 and 8,000*l.*; and only a part of these must be considered as compensation for the trouble of superintending the public business.

Incidental expences and sundries may be estimated at about	£. 15,000
Buildings additional, and repairs, at about	10,000
Law expences, and losses by frauds and forgeries, at about	10,000

—Without being too minute in endeavouring to calculate what increase may have taken place in these last articles, of which the bank do not keep any distinct account, it is to be noticed that the whole increase of the officers who actually transact the business, in the last eleven years, is only 137, whose annual expence may be from 18,449*l.* to 23,290*l.*; the addition to the other permanent charges being probably about one-half, or two thirds of that sum; but that the additional allowance for management in the last ten years, is more than 155,000*l.* This general conjectural estimate of the expences actually incurred by the bank exhibits, if it be near the truth, the charge which would have attended the management of this business by government, if, previous to the arrangement which took place in 1786, it had been thought advisable to adopt the suggestion, formerly made by the auditors of public accounts, when this whole matter was referred to them by the treasury.—Their report, already printed in XIV. 30. well deserves the consideration of the house; and particularly the estimate they formed of the real value of the service, which they supposed might be executed at less than one third of the charge at that time incurred, that is, at a rate of allowance under 187*l.* 10*s.* for each million, when the debt was no larger than has been before stated.—Your committee, however they may approve the general principle of the reasoning contained in that report, are far from thinking that such a transfer of management would have been expedient, or desirable in itself, being of opinion that the debt can be managed no where more commodiously, and that it ought no where to be managed so cheaply, as at the bank.—The committee on finance so far agreed with the auditors of the public accounts, as to intimate an opinion in favour of the reduction of the existing rate of allowance for managing the public debt. They state "that the bank, over and above the charges of management, are accustomed to receive allowances from the public, at the rate of 805*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* per million, for receiving contributions for loans; and 1000*l.* or sometimes more, for contributions to the lottery; and that they have the benefit of holding all the money for half-yearly dividends, besides having the custody of cash for the navy and army services.—Upon reviewing therefore these circumstances in the present times (1797), and without questioning the propriety of the arrangement made in 1786, when the public debt was so much inferior in amount, your committee cannot forbear to state it as a question still deserving the attention of parliament, whether a further reduction of expence cannot, and ought not, to be made upon this branch of public expenditure ?" — Besides the mangement of the debt, the bank have large transactions with the public, affording a considerable profit to the corporation; into the nature and amount of which, for the purpose of laying the whole matter before the house, it is proper to enter.—The amount of the several balances of public money, lying in their hands, are first to be stated :

1. The average balance of the cash kept at the Bank during the three months ending the 5th of January 1807, under the head of customs, excise, and stamps, appears to have been about £. 457,000
And under the head of the post-office, during several months in 1807, in which year that account was first opened, about - - 20,500
£. 477,500

2. The average balance of sundry other accounts, during a similar period of three months, to 5th January, 1807, viz. under the head of paymaster-general of the forces, treasurer of the navy, treasurer of the ordnance, barrack-master-general, transport office, agent-general of the volunteers, treasurer of Chelsea hospital, surveyor-general of woods and forests, accountant-general of the court of chancery, and commissioners for the reduction of the land-tax - - - - - - - - - 1,531,974

3. The average amount of unclaimed dividends in the hands of the bank, during 1806, appears to have been . 1,341,154
Deduct the sum lent to government on that account without interest . . . 376,739
964,415

4. The average balance during the period of three months, to 5th January, 1807, in the hands of commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, arising from the dividends received by the commissioners on the stock purchased by them, and from the issue of sinking fund money 1,488,073
£. 4,461,962

5. A further balance of cash to a very large amount, consists of sums lying nominally in the exchequer, which nevertheless actually accumulate for the benefit of the bank, and are for the most part applicable at the end of each quarter, to the payment of dividends. It is the established usage at the bank to draw daily from the exchequer the several sums in question as they accrue, depositing indeed exchequer bills in return for their own notes, which are received as money. This deposit is to be considered simply as a security for the public money drawn away, as the growing interest on the exchequer bills belongs entirely to the bank; and in case all the exchequer bills possessed by the bank, which they think fit to apply to this purpose, prove insufficient for the whole sum, the surplus remains in the exchequer in the shape of bank notes.—The notes thus taken out of circulation amount occasionally to several millions, and by their detention in the exchequer, both the bank and the public are placed in circumstances substantially the same as if the notes in question were carried to the bank, and constituted a balance due to the public on a deposit account, differing in no respect from other deposits.

The total amount of exchequer money, by which the bank may thus have profited, was

In 1806	Excheq. Bills.	Bank. Notes.	Total Sum
Jan. 10	2949000	8000	2957000
Feb. 7	2745000	9000	2754000
Mar. 7	4715000	15800	4730800
Do. 28	6739000	15900	6754900
April 24	4997000	11300	5008300
May 23	5943000	1017400	6965400
June 20	6009000	3014800	9023000
July 18	4395000	15600	4320600
Aug. 15	4789000	1014200	5803200
Sept. 12	4326000	4515100	8841100
Oct. 10	5102000	4019700	9121700
Nov. 7	4270000	1512800	5782800
Dec. 5	3870000	3007200	6877200
Dec. 19	4398000	3012200	7410200
£.	65162000	21189000	86351000

The average amount of this total sum is 6,167,928
£. 10,629,890

To this sum may be added a balance of a temporary nature, which has remained for no inconsiderable time in the bank, on account of the commissioners under the convention with the United States of America, and which is part of 600,000*l.* originally deposited and gradually reduced to 475,029
Total average balances . . . . . £. 11,104,919

Your committee are aware, that in thus exhibiting average balances of cash in the bank, instead of the several actual balances, they may possibly be considered as presenting an unfair view of the subject; but it must be observed, that however fluctuating many of the individual balances may be, the aggregate is never likely to vary materially; and that in particular, if the balances of exchequer money, which are moderate in the early part of each quarter, and extremely large towards the conclusion of it, are compared with the balances of the commissioners for the sinking fund, and those on account of unpaid dividends, both of which are large in the beginning of each quarter, and small towards the end, the aggregate sum under these principal heads will be found to furnish a stationary balance of a most important amount. The documents from the bank, and the exchequer, which could conveniently be furnished, do not afford an exact statement of the whole actual balance of public money in the hands of the bank, on any great number of separate and given days; they, however, give the following results, viz. that on the 11th of October, 1806, the time immediately preceding the payment of the dividends, the sum in the hands of the bank, under the first mentioned head, of customs, &c. was . . . . . £. 176,974
Under the second head, of paymaster-general, &c. 1,378,900

Under the third head, of unclaimed dividends, on 9th Oct.	1,033,175		
Deduct	376,739		
		656,436	
Under the fourth head, of the commissioners for the sinking fund, Oct. 11 . .		389,197	
And under the fifth head, of exchequer money, they were, on the 10th of October, being the day on which the exchequer monthly accounts were made up . . .		9,121,700	
			10,167,333
Making the total on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of October, 1806			11,723,207
To which, if the money vested in the American commissioners be added			475,029
The Total actual balances will be			12,198,236

They also shew, that on the 1st of November, a period of about three weeks subsequent to the payment of the dividends, the balances under the first head of customs, &c. were			608,133
Under the second, of paymaster, &c.			1,356,051
Under the third, of unclaimed dividends . .	1,559,144		
Deduct as before	376,739		
		1,182,405	
Under the fourth head, of sinking fund . .		2,217,171	
And, under the fifth, of exchequer money, they were, November 7, the day on which the exchequer monthly accounts were made up (being 4,270,000*l.* excheq. bills, and 1,517,00*l.* bank notes)		5,782,800	
			9,182,376
			11,148,160
Money of American commissioners			475,029
Making the total actual balaces on the 1st and 7th of November, 1806			11,623,189

They also shewth at,

On Dec. 1, 1806, customs, &c. were			954,735
On 29th Nov. paymaster, &c.			1,403,155
On Dec. 1, unclaimed dividends	1,173,129		
Deduct .	376,739		
		796,390	
On the 29th Nov. sinking fund . . .		1,511,815	
Dec. , exchequer bills . .	3,870,000		
Bank notes	3,007,200		
		6,877,200	
			9,185,405
Together			11,543,295
Money of American commissioners			475,029
Total			12,018,324

They also shew that,

On 8 Nov. customs, &c. were			587,904
On Do. Paymaster, &c.			1,415,853
On Do. unclaimed divs. probably		1,460,000	
Deduct		376,739	
		1,080,261	
On Do. sinking fund .		2,116,363	
7 Nov. exchequer:			
Exchequer bills	6,427,000	5,782,800	
Bank notes .	1,512,800		
			8,982,424
Together			10,986,171
Money of American commissioners			475,029
Total			11,461,200

It thus appears that the aggregate actual balances, in four different periods of the quarter ending January 5, 1807, so far as these balances can be stated, fluctuated only between the sums of

10,986,171	and	11,723,207
475,029		475,029
11,461,200		12,198,236

The excess of the actual balances of this period above the average balances before stated, arises from the circumstance of its having been thought proper, in stating those average balances, to form the estimate of the average cash in the exchequer from an account of the whole year.—The magnitude of these balances, and of the profit which must be derived from them (a profit which is likely to increase during the war, but which may be subject to diminution on the return of peace) has attracted the attention of your committee no less than that of the allowance for the management of the national debt. The annual interest calculated upon them amounts to between 5 and 600,000*l.* In the case of a private banker, floating balances cannot be considered as productive of a profit equal, or nearly equal, to the whole interest upon them; because, both the charges of the management of the concern, and the interest lost by maintaining the stock of ready money deemed necessary for securing the punctuality of current payments, operate largely in diminution of such profit; but in the case of the bank of England, the charges belonging to their banking transactions with government must evidently be small in comparison with the profit of those extensive transactions. The aggregate balances of public money, in the hands of the bank, have been shewn to admit of no great fluctuations; nor do they require to be provided for (especially at the present period) by means of a stock of unproductive money, the notes of the bank itself being employed to meet any such occasion.—Your committee therefore are inclined to consider a sum equal to 5 per cent. interest, on the average balances in question, to be not far from the amount of the profits arising from this source. These profits undoubtedly are intermixed with the other profits of the bank, but their general amount may, without difficulty, be distinguished and ascertained. Excepting the sum gained by the management of the public debt, and of loans and lotteries, and by trade in bullion, the whole gain of the bank must obviously consist of interest on various sums lent; and the amount of the daily interest so accruing, must necessarily bear an exact proportion to the total daily amount of the several funds in their hands, deduction being made for that part only, which is kept invested in cash and bullion, these being the only unproductive articles of any moment in which their funds can be employed. But as some doubts may be excited by the annexed evidence, respecting the productive quality of some of these balances, it seems proper to enter fully into the subject; in doing which, the circumstances which accompany and follow each augmentation of the government balances, must be minutely detailed.—Whenever an addition is made to the amount of these balances, it is effected in general by a payment into the bank of their own notes. The notes so paid in are cancelled. Thus a reduction takes place in the circulating notes, and these notes are a fund, which supplies, in the same manner as the government balances, the means of lending at interest. Every such reduction of notes, however, must be considered as temporary, because the maintenance of the circulating bank paper at the accustomed, or nearly the accustomed point, is felt by the bankers and merchants of the metropolis to be necessary to the regularity of current payments. Bills of exchange are therefore offered to the bank to be discounted, in such quantity as to restore the amount or nearly the amount of notes cancelled by means of any increase of balances, unless the bank itself, by delivering out notes in payment for exchequer bills which they may have bought, or for loans to government, should have rendered the application for additional discounts unnecessary. This application for additional discounts, on the occasion of an increase of balances, must indeed ordinarily precede such increase, and furnish the means of effecting it.—That the great augmentation of government balances in the bank, which has taken place since the year 1797, (an augmentation amounting probably to seven or eight millions,) has not permanently diminished the notes in circulation, is proved by the annexed account of notes in circulation between the 7th of February, 1795, and the 1st of February, 1807, by which it appears that the notes, exclusive of 1 and 2 pound notes, were,

On 7 Feb. 1795	12,870,500
6 Feb. 1796	11,215,000
And on 1 Feb. 1806	12,856,770
And 1 Feb. 1806	12,333,430

The fluctuation in those 12 years (with the exception of a short period preceding the suspension of the cash payments) was only between the sums of 11,589,380*l.* and 13,845,800*l.* to which last-mentioned sum they amounted on the 25th of January, 1801, a period not long subsequent to the day of paying the dividends, when a more than ordinary issue of paper must be supposed to have taken place. Since therefore each augmentation of the government balances, though it may be at first attended by a diminution of bank paper, is followed by a proportionate re-issue of that paper, and since, in return for the paper so re-issued, additional bills are discounted, additional exchequer bills are bought, or additional loans are furnished to government, (all articles equally yielding interest,) it follows that those additions which are made to the balances must be considered as producing a corresponding increase of interest. The proportion will be exact, whenever the notes suppressed are exactly restored, provided the quantity of cash and bullion continues precisely the same.—Whether the cash and bullion in the bank have been augmented since the same period of 1797, and, if augmented, whether in a material degree, on the ground of the increased magnitude of the balances due from the bank to the government, is a question into which your committee cannot, from want of documents, particularly enter. They conceive, however, that if an augmentation of the cash and bullion be admitted, it must be considered as principally intended to meet any demand to which the bank may be exposed by its circulating paper, and especially as a provision for the payment of their one and two pound notes, the circulation of which may cease whenever the bank shall have resumed its payments in cash.—In the evidence upon this part of the subject, it is admitted, that the notes of the bank are productive of profit: but it appears to be assumed, that the government balances are only so in proportion as they tend to augment the amount of notes; whereas your committee are fully persuaded that both balances and notes, are and must necessarily be, productive.—The funds of the bank, which are the sources of profit, and which constitute the measure of the sum they have to lend, (subject only to a deduction on account of cash and bullion,) may be classed under three heads.—First, the sum received from their proprietors as capital, together with the savings which have been added to it.—Secondly, the sum received from persons keeping cash at the bank. This sum consists of the balances on the deposit accounts both of government and of individuals. In 1797, this fund, including all the balances of individuals, was only 5,130,140*l*. The present government balances alone have been already stated at between eleven and twelve millions, including bank-notes deposited in the exchequer.—Thirdly, the sum received in return for notes put into circulation. A corresponding value for every note must originally have been given, and the value thus given for notes constitutes one part of the general fund to be lent at interest. A note-holder, indeed, does not differ essentially from a person to whom a balance is due. Both are creditors of the bank, the one holding a note which is the evidence of the debt due to him, the other having the evidence of an entry in the ledger of the bank. The sum at all times running at interest will be in exact proportion to the amount of these three funds combined, deduction being made for the value of cash and bullion.—Under the three heads above mentioned, first, of capital and savings; secondly, balances of deposit accounts; and thirdly, notes in circulation; all the sums are stated which the bank would have to discharge in the event of the winding up of their affairs; and they must of course have assets sufficient and available for this purpose, which assets can only consist of cash and bullion, and securities for money lent.—In whatever degree therefore any one of the three first mentioned items, namely, capital, deposits, or notes, increase, the other two remaining fixed, in the same degree must the sum running at interest increase, provided the cash and bullion do not vary; and this adaptation of the sum at interest to the amount of the balances, may be presumed to take place without any particular cognizance of the subject by the directors, who make a profitable use of the balances, by consenting so far to satisfy the current demands for discount, or by making such loans to government, or buying such number of exchequer bills, or other securities, as may suffice to maintain in circulation the accustomed quantity of notes. —It is impossible therefore to admit, that the bank have no means of placing out at interest the whole of the large sums which constitute the government balances. Those balances are lent at interest, because a demand for loans to this extent cannot fail to arise out of the natural demand for the accustomed quantity of notes. The bank have no property of any moment lying dead, cash and bullion excepted; they possess indeed property in buildings, but these are stated in the evidence to have been paid for as they were erected, out of their current profits, and constitute no article in their accounts. Unless, therefore, they have a sum at interest applicable, together with the cash and bullion, to the purpose of answering the demands of those who have deposits in their hands, they have not assets necessary to satisfy the three classes of claimants which have been mentioned.—Your committee cannot allow the validity of an argument which is to be found in the evidence, against the profit derived from the balances, that the bank do not wish to enlarge the scale of their business, and that it is their custom to suppress, rather than encourage, the demand for their notes, nor can it be admitted as a general proposition, that their notes form the criterion of their profits. Since these balances are placed in their hands without interest, and are then lent out at interest, they must unquestionably be considered as enlarging the scale, not merely of their business, but of their profits. That the amount of notes is one criterion, and is a most important source of their profits, is undoubtedly true, but it is equally true that the amount of balances is another; and although the careful limitation of the circulating paper is an act of prudence, the balances cannot be considered as affected by such limitation; nor can it be inferred, from the propriety of limiting the paper, that there exists any similar occasion for restricting the other branches of the business of the bank.

The productive quality of the floating balances is confirmed by a statement presented by the bank itself to the secret committee of the house of lords in 1797, (page 132). From thence it appears, that the bank-notes were, on the 25th of February, 1707 . . . . £. 8, 640,850

And the "drawing accounts' (or deposit accounts) and "audit roll" (or unclaimed dividends, &c.)	5,140,130
And the "surplus" (or undivided profit of the bank) which was of the nature of additional capital	3,826,890
Making together .	17,597,280

This debit side of the account exhibited the total sum due both to the bank proprietors and others on the 25th of February, 1797, with the exception of 11,686,800*l.* capital lent to government, which was adverted to only at the foot of the statement. The credit side of the account enumerated the effects (amounting to the same sum of 17,597,280*l.*) applicable to the payment of that debt.—These assets were stated to consist of "advances on government securities," viz. on "land and malt," on "exchequer bills, &c." "bills discounted, &c." and "cash and bullion." Supposing therefore the amount of surplus capital and bank notes on the debit side, and the cash and bullion on the credit side, to continue stationary, the amount of the other articles on the credit side (all of them articles producing interest), must necessarily fluctuate in exact correspondence with every fluctuation of the deposits ; and in case another statement, formed in the same manner as that presented in 1897, were now to be made out, the sum of 8,640,250*l.* of notes having been augmented to 16,621,390*l.* and the sum of 5,130,000*l.* of deposits having risen probably to about 13 or 14 millions, there would unquestionably be an increase of about 16 or 17 millions running at interest to be stated on the other side, deducting whatever may have been added to the cash and bullion since February 1797.—The annual and temporary bonus of five per cent. which the bank have for some successive years added to their accustomed dividends of seven per cent. and the recent augmentation of their regular dividends to ten per cent. exclusive of property tax ; the rise also of the market price of their stock, which having sold in 1800 from 156*l.* to 172*l.* per cent. now sells at 230*l.* are strong circumstances in confirmation of the large increase of their profits. This increase cannot be accounted for by any material augmentation of the advantages derived from the management of their own capital, nor from that part of their business which they transact as bankers to individuals, (a part indeed at all times comparatively small in its amount) ; for although the number of persons having accounts open with the bank, has been lately much increased, the floating balances on those accounts are known to be in general very small, most of the accounts being kept open only for the sake of the opportunity which they afford of borrowing in the way of discount. The extension either of loans to government, or of discounts to the merchants, or of both, is the necessary effect of the augmentation of the government deposits, and it is to the largeness of these deposits that the increased profits ought to be referred.—The gain which the bank have derived from the issue of one and two pound notes, amounting to 4,287,960*l.* on the 1st of February last, may be expected to cease whenever the payment of cash shall have been resumed.—The next point to be considered is whether any of the public balances may safely admit of diminution ? Those under the first head, namely, the balances which are lodged in the bank by officers in the receipt of revenue, which make weekly payments of their cash into the exchequer, evidently admit of no reduction.—Some few of the balances under the second head, which belong to offices of large expenditure, may perhaps be diminished by the more careful application of an economical principle lately introduced, that of occasionally furnishing to the heads of certain offices, exchequer bills instead of money, which bills are sold in the market in the quantities, and at the times which the immediate occasions of the office require, and therefore diminish the necessity of maintaining large balances in cash.—The balances in the bank, under the third head, of unclaimed dividends, appear to your committee to admit of reduction. These balances have been already represented as less by 376,739*l.* than the gross amount at which they are given by the bank, because, in consequence of the act passed in 1791, c. 33, that sum remains in the possession of the public, out of the 500,000*l.* advanced nominally by the bank, but really taken out of the unclaimed dividends, which were then, for the first time, brought under the notice of parliament and made applicable to the public service. It seems to have been an unintentional omission in framing that statute, that no provision was made for making up deficiencies to the public, as well as to the bank, whenever the whole sum of such unclaimed dividends might rise above, as well as whenever it should fall below the stipulated amount of 600,000*l.*; and if it should be judged expedient to continue and pursue the principle of that act, it should be amended with a view to this object ; and the usual amount of unclaimed dividends being ascertained, it may be fit to apply to the public service according to the same regulations, whatever may probably be the surplus above the 100,000*l.* which was intended at all times to remain in the bank. The sum, which, on the score of those dividends, may be now applied to the public service, is certainly not less than 428,261*l.* in addition to the 376,739*l.* making in all 800,000*l.* The unclaimed dividends in the hands of the bank, amounted at that period of the year 1806, at which they were the lowest, namely, on the 8th of July, to

986,573*l.* and at the lowest period of some antecedent years, they have not fallen below 900,000*l.* The following mode of diminishing the cash balances under the fourth head (of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt), and under the fifth head (of exchequer money), has suggested itself to your committee.—A large part of the sum in the exchequer is destined to be paid on the four quarter-days to the commissioners for reducing the national debt, for dividends on redeemed debt standing in their names, and for sinking fund; and the sum so received by the commissioners (amounting now to above two millions quarterly), is employed in the purchase of stock in equal portions on all the transfer days of the succeeding quarter. It seems expedient, that to a portion of this sum an economical principle should be applied. It may be inferred from the paper inserted in the appendix, and from the annexed evidence, that by the middle of each quarter a sum of more than one million is always nominally in the exchequer, and actually in the Bank, which is applicable at the end of the quarter to the purpose of paying the sum then due to the commissioners for reducing the national debt. Your committe, therefore, recommend that the sum of about one million should be issued in the middle of the next, or of some subsequent quarter, to the commissioners, to be applied by them to the object of buying up stock in the course of some succeeding months, in addition to the regular and accustomed purchases. The means of carrying on the regular purchases will be furnished by issuing to the commissioners, on the quarter-day subsequent to the issue of the million, a sum less by one million than that which would have been paid to them according to the accustomed course, and by issuing a further million six weeks after that quarter-day, by which time the exchequer will be able to supply it. Assuming that the same mode of issuing all sums due to the commissioners at half-quarterly, instead of quarterly periods, may continue, the effect of the proposed measure will be to give, in the year in which it is to take place, a clear million sterling to the sinking fund, by the application of which, in that year, annuities amounting to nearly 500,000*l.* per annum may be bought up, the other operations of the sinking fund continuing precisely as before. In consequence of the application of this extra million to the extinction of debt, there must be a reduction of one million in all future balances of the exchequer money in the bank, during the last six weeks of every quarter, and a similar reduction in the future balances of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt lodged in the bank during the first six weeks of every quarter. A reduction to this extent is practicable at present, and a further reduction may, on similar principles, be made at any future period, when the increased amount of the sinking fund, and of the balances of cash in the hands of the commissioners, shall afford similar reasons for repeating the same operation. By this anticipation, the exchequer money destined to pay the sum due to the commissioners of the sinking fund, would not be diverted from its original purpose, but a portion of it would be applied somewhat earlier to that very object, and in addition to the original sum, and the public creditor must unquestionably be benefited by such an augmentation of the sinking fund.—If the preceding proposition should be deemed liable to objection on account of the preference, so far as respects one million, which is proposed to be given to the commissioners for the sinking fund, over the general body of stockholders, the objection may be removed, by giving to the stockholders a preference to which they are not now entitled, as a compensation, empowering them to receive on the quarter-day the whole of their dividends on stock, antecedently to the issue of any dividends on the stock of the commissioners.—Such being the general state of the connection between the public and the bank, it becomes an object of consideration, in the last place, what have been the transactions between them since the year 1786? These are, first, the statute of 1791; secondly, the renewal of the charter in 1800; and thirdly, the agreement for the loan of 3,000,000*l.* in 1806.—First, The act of 1791, c. 33, authorized the bank to advance 500,000*l.* without interest, for the service of the public, which came in fact, as has been already explained, out of the unclaimed dividends, but in consequence of the second clause for repayment, in case of a deficiency, the sum remaining in the hands of the public, is not more than 376,739*l.* there being no provision for increasing it after the diminution had once taken place. It was a further enactment of this statute, that the allowance for managing the debt should continue at the rate of 450*l.* per million; and it is observable, that this is the only statute which contains any distinct stipulation upon that point.—The committee on Finance in 1797 distinguished the debt created subsequent to 1791, from that which is within the obligation of this act, remarking expressly, that "Since that year the case is different, and no such stipulations exist. All the subsequent loan acts, and those for funding exchequer, navy, and victualling bills, have left the contract open, reserving a power to the treasury to make any such compensation as should be reasonable."—Secondly, by the act 40 Geo. III. c. 28. the bank charter was continued until 1st August 1833, on condition of three millions being advanced for the public service, without interest for six years ending 5th April 1806: the sole right of banking as a corporate body, and the other privileges, are fully recited and confirmed; but nothing is expressly stipulated with regard to the rate of allowance for managing the debt.—The circumstances attending this negociation are related in the evidence of Mr. Thornton, who was at that time governor of the bank, and from whom the suggestion of renewing the charter originally came. He states, that the various sources from which the bank derive profit, in consequence of their exclusive privilege, and of their connexion with government, were enumerated by Mr. Pitt, who made a claim on the part of the public for a direct participation in the profits, according to a fixed proportion; and that the claim, though not admitted in its full extent by himself on the part of the company, was ultimately agreed to; that a calculation was formed upon the basis of such participation; and that the interest of three millions, for six years, was given to the public as the fair result. The authority therefore of Mr. Pitt, and the consent of the then governor of the bank, established a general principle of participation in those profits of the bank, which arise from their exclusive privilege, and from the balances of public money in their hands, and whether the participation be supposed to be in the fixed proportion of 1-4 1-3 or 1-2, it cannot fail to be extremely considerable. In one of the conversations upon this subject, it appears to have been distinctly assumed on one side, and to have been admitted on the other, that the government balances in the bank which were drawn from the exchequer (estimated then by Mr. Pitt, as they nearly were, at two millions and a half on an average), and the growing balances of the commissioners for the sinking fund, were productive of profit, and an expectation is said to have been given, that they should not be withdrawn from the bank without compensation. The productive quality of some of the government balances being admitted, it is not easy to conceive that the bank have any method, except that of increasing their cash and bullion, of preventing the productive quality of the same balances when enlarged to the extent that they now are, or of other balances which have been added. The circumstance of the bank gaining a profit by the management of the public debt, appears to have been in some degree adverted to; but the propriety of the rate of allowance then subsisting did not come particularly under consideration. The documents necessary to form a correct opinion upon the complicated concerns of this extensive business, were probably not fully before either of the two parties at the time of this agreement; it is obvious, that they cannot be collected without considerable and detailed investigation, nor digested without industry and attention; and the pressure of other duties may well account for a want of leisure for so laborious a research at the period of the renewal of the charter. The other balances of public money do not appear to have entered into Mr. Pitt's calculation, as they were at that time of trifling amount, and the probability of any such increase as has actually taken place in the balances drawn from the exchequer, in consequence of the great augmentation of revenue (an increase from an average sum of 2½ millions to an average sum of five or six millions) was not adverted to, and can hardly be supposed to have been in contemplation. Supposing all the suggestions which your committee have made with a view of diminishing the balances in the bank to be adopted, the amount of balances still remaining will probably more than double the amount of those which existed in 1800, or which could then be contemplated as likely to exist at this time; and therefore, if the intention of Mr. Pitt not to withdraw the balances of exchequer money, or those arising from the accumulation of the then existing sinking fund, without compensation, should be adhered to, that intention will not be frustrated, the unexpected enlargement of the same balances, and the addition of so many others, forming much more than compensation in question. Thirdly, the last agreement with the bank which it will be necessary to notice, was in 1806, 46 Geo. III. c. 41. when the three millions, which ought to have been repaid on the 5th of April, were continued as a loan to the public until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, at an interest of 3*l.* per cent. which is to be considered as a gift of 60,000*l.* per annum, so long as the war continues. Whether this bargain was concluded upon an examination sufficiently comprehensive of the general situation of the bank, is not now the question; but the transaction is most material in another view, as it evinces that the agreement made in 1800, was not considered either by those who acted upon the part of the public, nor by the bank directors themselves, as a bar against further participation, whenever the increase of their profits derived from the public, and the circumstances of public affairs, might, upon similar principles, make such a claim reasonable and expedient. After a summary recapitulation of the advantages which the bank derive from their charter, and from their connection with the public, it will be proper to enumerate the benefits which the public receive from them in return. 1st, A large profit on the management of the public debt is enjoyed by the bank; and, 2dly, the interest arising from between 11 and 12 millions of government balances lying in their hands. 3dly, They have whatever profit is to be derived from their paper circulation, amounting to 16,621,390*l.* the issue of which results from the exclusive powers given to them by their charter. It may be remarked, however, that it is a circulation of which they carefully limit the amount, and on account of which, as well as with a view to the general demands of the state, they are subject to the burthen of ordinarily maintaining a large stock of cash and bullion, and of providing, except during the suspension of payments in cash, all the gold and silver used for the coinage of money. The advantages which government, on the part of the public, receives in return, are the following: 1st,—The capital (11,686,000*l.*) of the bank is lent to the public at the rate of 3*l.* per cent. The benefit derived from this loan, amounting at present to 233,720*l.* is not stated in the annexed evidence, as having been particularly adverted to in the conversations which took place between Mr. Pitt and the governor of the bank, on the occasion of the renewal of the charter, but the continuance of this benefit to the public is secured by the act. 2d,—Advances are made to the extent of 2,750,000*l.* upon the annual land and malt taxes, or the duties substituted, at an interest of 4*l.* per cent. The established custom of lending to this extent, at a moderate interest, must undoubtedly be considered as an intended compensation in part for the benefit which the bank derive from the use of public money. 3d,—A sum of three millions was lent to government, as has been already stated, without interest, for six years from 1800, as the price of the renewal of the bank charter; and it was agreed in 1806, that the same should be sent at 3*l.* per cent. during the continuance of the war. Another direct advantage derived to the public consists in the receipt at the bank, of the property tax upon the dividends, and the prompt payment of it into the exchequer, without charge, or extra allowance; by which means all delay is obviated in the collection of a large portion of the war taxes, and the expence of officers is saved. The stock transferred to the commissioners for reducing the national debt, and on account of the redemption of land-tax, is not charged by the bank with any allowance for management; which two sums amount to about 184,000,000*l.* exclusive of South-Sea annuities. The practice of making advances upon certain instalments of the public loans, on the security of the receipts, is a considerable accommodation to the subscribers, and enables government to contract for loans upon terms somewhat more advantageous than could be done if that facility were not afforded. The Bank, however, receive in return the legal rate of interest, as they do also upon all transactions with the government, except those already stated. The accommodations derived by the public from its connexion with the bank, have been carried, in some years, to a very large amount; and it must always be considered as an object of the greatest consequence to maintain the permanence of an establishment of such opulence and credit, which, by the judicious conduct of its own affairs, has contributed so materially to extend the commercial prosperity, and to maintain the public faith of the country. Your committee cannot conclude their report without bearing testimony to the favourable disposition so often manifested on the part of the bank towards the public service; and they entertain no doubt of the same readiness to accede to any equitable arrangement that may be proposed under the present circumstances.

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